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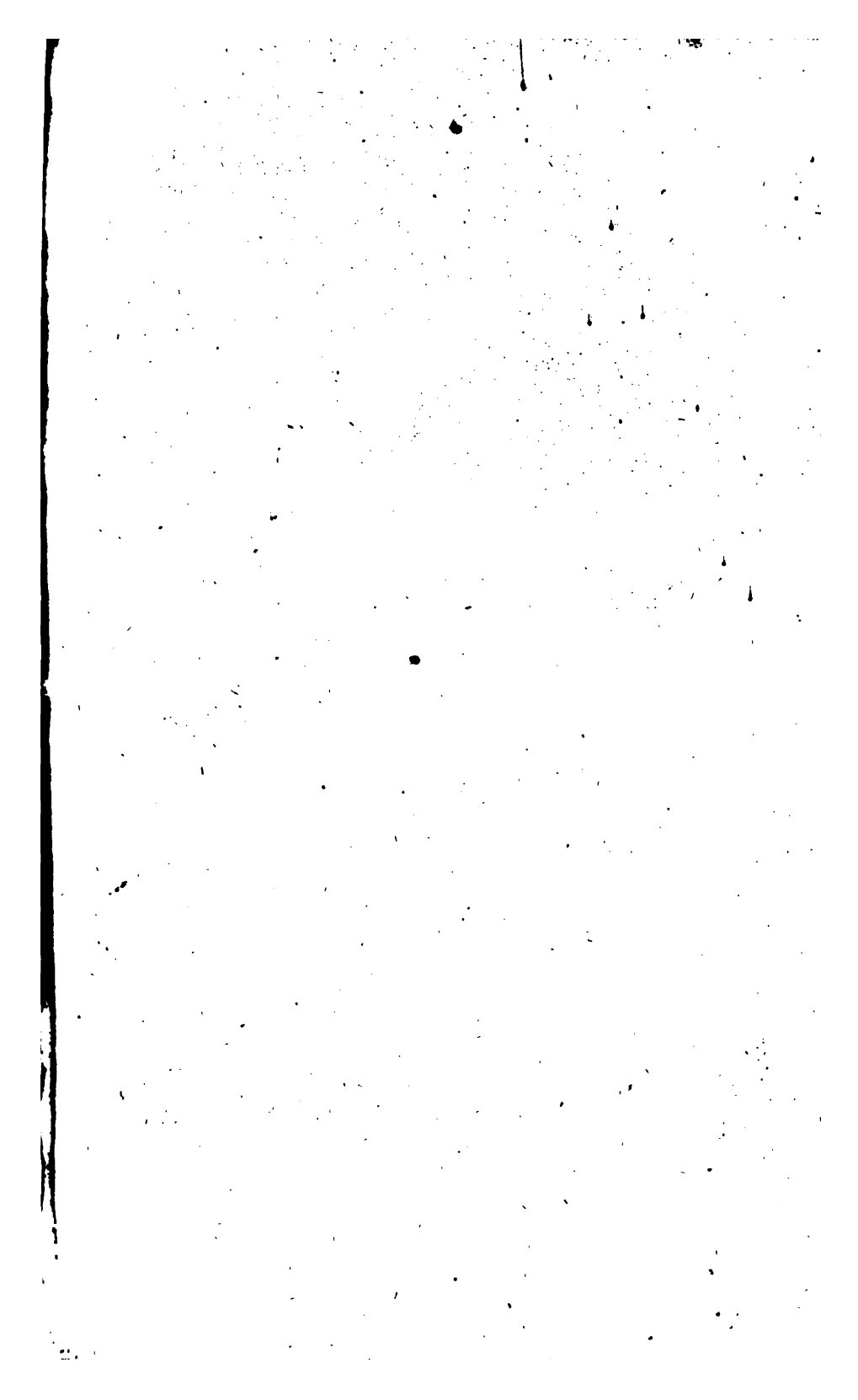
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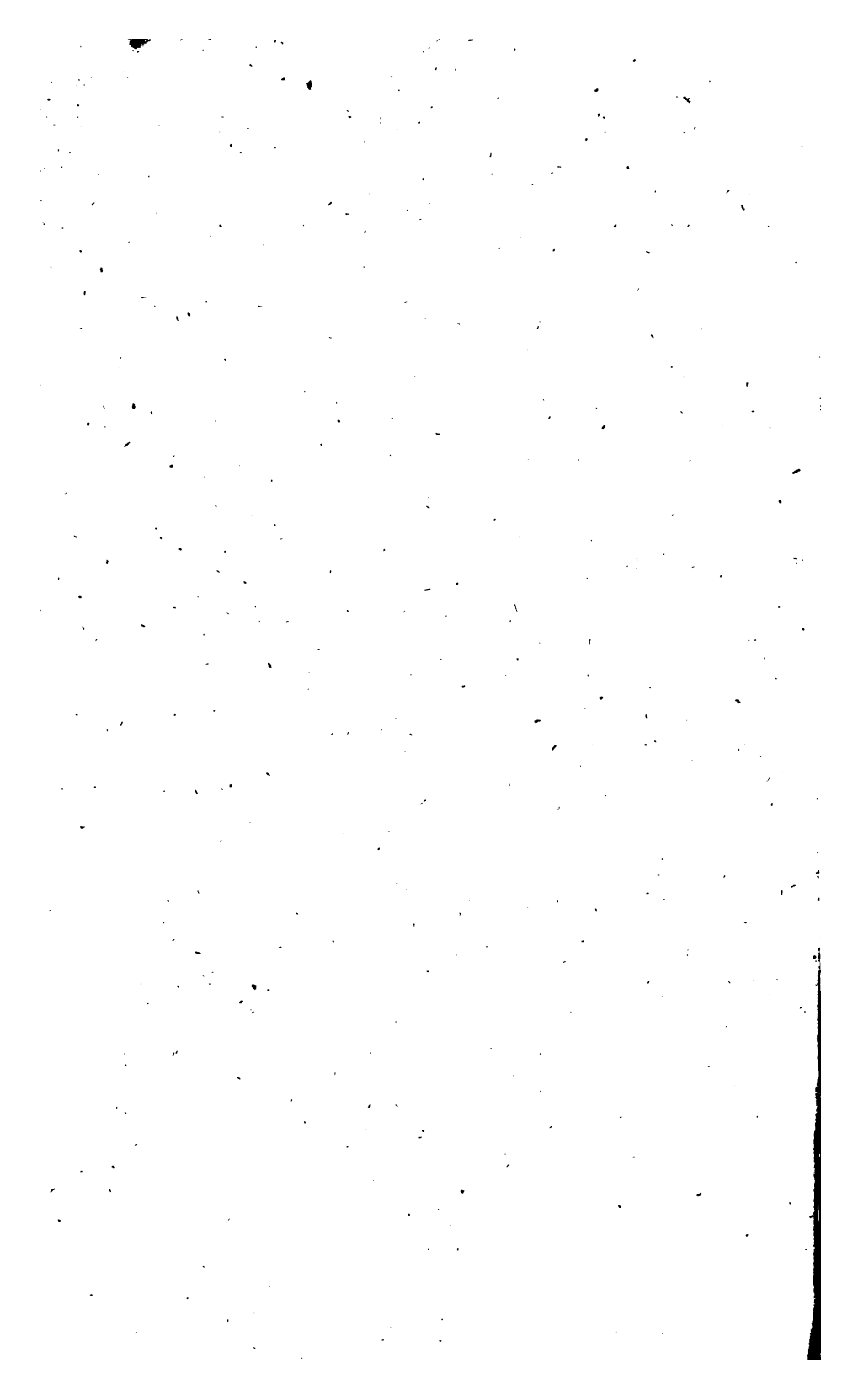
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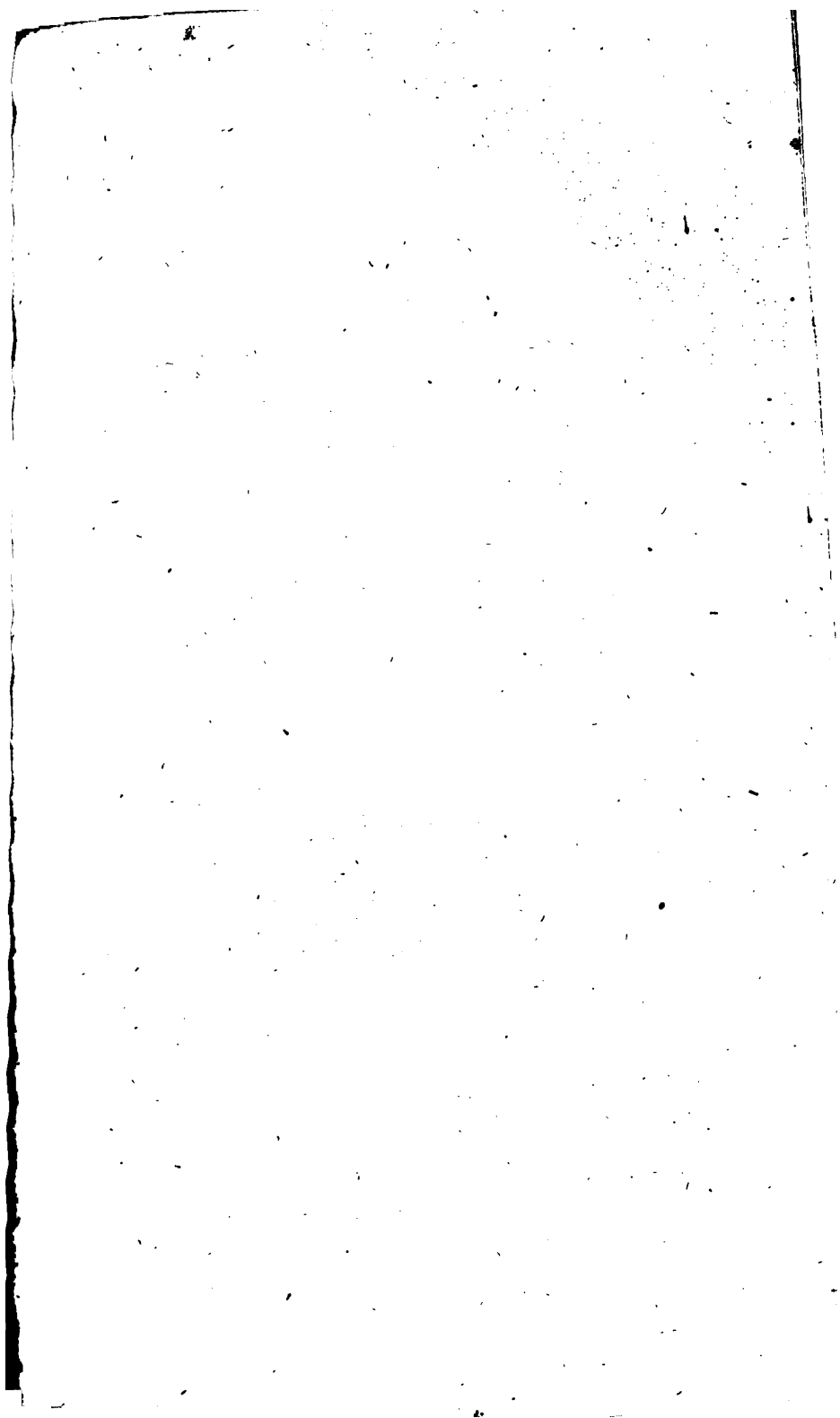
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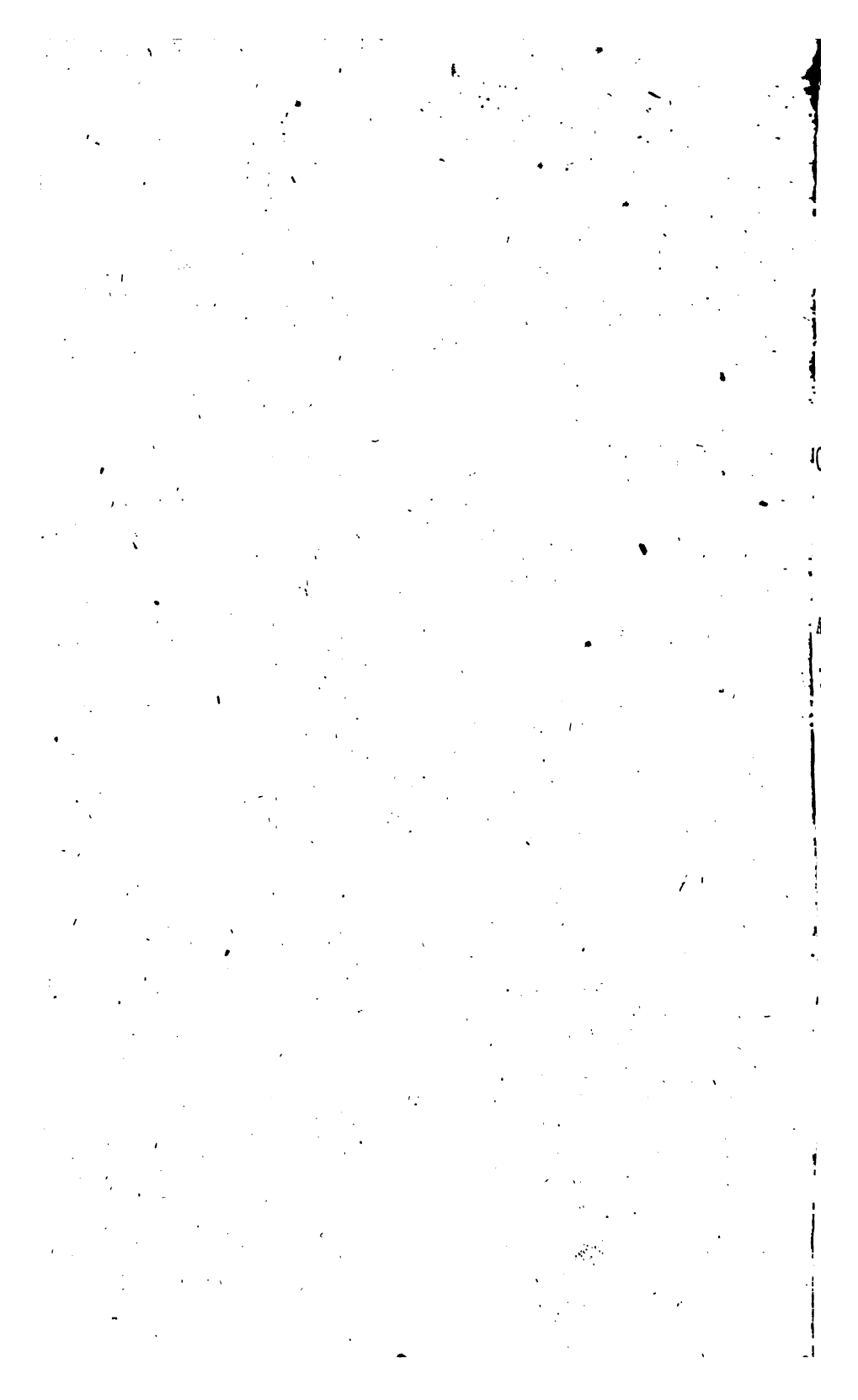
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AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with
CHARTS, MAPS,* NOTES, &c.
AND
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέλχεσθαι μὴ καταλείβειν· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐνρήσις ἀλόπως
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνῆλθεν ἐγκόπως.* Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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MDCCLXXIX.



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Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

C H A P. · VIII.

*The History of the Jews, from their Return from
the Babylonish Captivity, to the Destruction
of Jerusalem, by Titus Vespasian.*

THIS chapter, containing an epocha of five hundred and thirty-six years, may be conveniently divided into seven sections or æras, according to the following chronological order.

	Years of the flood.	Total of years.	
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The History of the Jews.

	Years after Chr.	Total of years.
V. To the birth of Christ, concluding with an account of the principal Jewish sects at that time: and,	33	70
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S E C T. I.

*The History of the Jews, from their Return out of Ba-
bylon, to their being governed by their High-priests,
where the canonical Books end.*

Yr. of Fl.
1812.
Ante Chr.
536.

AS soon as the seventy years captivity, pronounced by
Jeremiah against this rebellious people^a, were fully
accomplished (A), the great Cyrus ascending the throne,

^a Jerem. xxv. 11. xxix. 10.

*Cyrus's
decret.*

(A) These seventy years are differently computed: some begin them from the fourth of Jehoiakim, and end them at the first issuing of Cyrus's decree. Others, from the words of Zechariah, place the beginning of it at the destruction of Jerusalem, and its conclusion at the publication of Darius's decree for rebuilding of the temple, and restoring liberty to the Jews.

Both computations may be justly maintained, and may have even been designed by Jeremiah, since between either of the two epochas there are just seventy years, and the latter begins and ends just eighteen years after the former. For as the captivity, which began in the fourth of Jehoiakim, could not be said to be completed till the total destruction of the city, and Jewish monarchy; so neither could

their deliverance, begun at the first decree of Cyrus, be said to be completed till the fourth year of Darius, which put it in full vigour and execution.

We may reckon a third method or stage of computing these seventy years, which answers in the same exactness with the two former; namely, from the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar, when Nebuzaradan carried off all the remainder of the conquered Jews; at which time the captivity was completed: and the full restoration of their temple-worship, at the dedication of the new temple, and their celebrating the first passover, in the seventh year of Darius; when, and not till then, was fully completed the end of their thralldom, and the Jewish religion restored to its ancient splendor and regularity (1).

(1) Vide Prideaux Connect. vol. i. part 3.

issued out that decree in favour of them, by which they were permitted, not only to return to their own land, but also to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem, renew the divine worship, and transport thither all the sacred utensils which Nebuchadnezzar had brought away from thence. These last he ordered to be delivered by Mithridath, his high treasurer, to Sheshbazzar, whom we take to be the same with Zerubbabel, who, being the grandson of Jehoiakim, or Jeconiah, king of Judah, was then the first prince of the royal blood, and therefore appointed head governor of Judæa, under the title of Tirshata. He likewise gave directions concerning the dimensions of the temple, which was to be sixty cubits in height and breadth, built upon a strong foundation, with three rows of great stones, and a row of timber; the expence of the whole to be furnished out of the king's house. To all these the king added a full permission to all the Jews that were disposed, to return into Judæa; and to those who preferred staying behind, perfect liberty to contribute, as liberally as they pleased, gold, silver, or any other precious stuffs, towards the building and adorning that edifice^c.

Immediately upon the publishing of this edict, the chiefs of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with the priests and Levites, assembled; and as many as retained still a love for their country, and a zeal for the God of Israel, disposed themselves to return. As for the rest, who were the far greater number, and preferred the land of Babylon to it, they contented themselves with furnishing their brethren with gold, silver, cattle, and other conveniencies, either for their journey, or for the building of the temple and city. At the head of these were Zerubbabel mentioned above, and Jeshua the high-priest (B). The next in rank were Nehemiah and Mordecai, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Bilsham, Mispar, Bigvai, Rehum, and Baanah, all heads of families, and assistants to Zerubbabel, in the re-establishment of the Jewish affairs, both in church and state^d. The rest amounted to about forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty, including those that came after-

*The heads
of those
that re-
turned.*

^c Conf. Ezram i. 8. ii. 2. iii. 8. ro. v. 16. See Ezra vi. 3, 4.

^d Ezra ii. 2. Nehem. vii. 7.

(B) This office belonged to him by a lineal descent, he being the son of Jozadak, whose father Seraiah, high-priest at the taking of Jerusalem, had been put to death at Riblah.

As for Jozadak, he was carried captive into Babylon, and had been dead some time before the publishing of this decree, so that Jeshua was then the head of the pontifical family.

*The total
of them.*

wards with Nehemiah; besides their servants and slaves of both sexes, which were in all seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven. Neither were they all of the tribes of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, though from that time they were all blended together under the name of Jehudim, or Jews; for many of those of the other ten tribes, which had been formerly carried away by Tiglath-Pilezer, Shalmanezzer, and Esarhaddon, took the advantage of the king's edict, to return into the land of their forefathers. To these we may add a great number, who had formerly gone from the idolatrous ten tribes, to put themselves under the protection of the kings of Judah^e: and this may be the reason why the whole number of those mentioned in Ezra's list amounts but to twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and to thirty-one thousand and thirty-one in that of Nehemiah; whereas both these historians make the sum total to be forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty; so that the overplus seems to be added from those of the other ten tribes, which returned with those of Judah and Benjamin. We find likewise mention made of two hundred men and women singers, whom they brought with them; four hundred and thirty-five camels, seven hundred and thirty-six horses, two hundred and forty-five mules, and six thousand seven hundred asses^f.

*Priests
that re-
turned.*

One may see by this list, how small the number was of those who returned, in comparison of those who stayed behind: and accordingly the Jews themselves tell us^g, that only the bran came out of Babylon, but that the flour staid behind: even of the priests, who were divided into twenty-four classes, only four returned, namely, those of Jedaiah, Immer, Paschur, and Harim. These, however, soon after their arrival, subdivided themselves each into six, that they might again make up the old number, and called themselves by their names accordingly^h. Some of these, not being able to make out their lineal descent from the priesthood, were deprived of the office and privileges of it, until some high-priest should arise, who could decide their title by the urim and thummimⁱ. The same dispute happened also concerning some others, who being come from Tel-Melah, Tel-Harfa, and other places, could not prove themselves to belong to any tribe^k. These were about six hundred and fifty in number, besides three hun-

^e 2 Chron. xi. 16. xv. 9. & al.

^f Ezra ii. 65, & seq.

^g Talmud Babyl. in Kethushim.

^h Sedar Holam Rabb. cap.

29. Talmud Hieros. in Taanith. Vide Prid.

ⁱ Ezra ii. 62, 63.

^k Ezra ii. 59, & seq.

dred and ninety Nethinims, the posterity of those Gibeonites, whom Solomon did afterwards dedicate to the service of the temple; so small was the number of those of unquestionable descent, who returned either with Zerubabel or Nehemiah. And hence it is, that, ever since this time, the number of Jews that dwelt in Palestine, was always vastly inferior to those that were dispersed in Chaldea, Persia, &c. The priests, Levites, singers, Nethinims, and other officers of the temple, settled in or near Jerusalem, that they might readily wait on the service of God, by rearing up his altar, and preparing all other things against the next grand solemnity: as for the rest, the greater part of them dispersed themselves in the neighbouring cities and country, where some of them had formerly dwelt, and where they probably found also some of their brethren, whom Nebuchadnezzar had left.

By this time the month Tishri, the first of the civil, and seventh of the ecclesiastical year, was at hand. The first day of it was the feast of the trumpets, because the new year was to be proclaimed by the sound of that instrument. It ushered in moreover two other great solemnities, namely, the expiation-day, or grand fast, which was to be kept on the tenth; and the feast of tabernacles, which began on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-second of the month inclusive. The greatest part of that of expiation, they were forced to omit, for want of a temple: however, they failed not to come from all parts to the solemnity, and to fast, pray, and to offer the proper sacrifices on the altar, which they had by that time repaired; so that from this day they ceased not to offer the morning and evening, and all other sacrifices prescribed by the law of Moses. The feast of tabernacles coming five days after that of expiation, they erected booths at Jerusalem, and celebrated that festival with the usual solemnities, and so set about to restore in good earnest the worship of God in that metropolis.

The feast of trumpets.

In this solemn assembly, it was resolved to begin the rebuilding the temple, towards which every one cheerfully contributed according to their power. The whole sum amounted to sixty-one thousand drachms of gold, and five thousand minas of silver (C), besides an hundred vestments

Expiation-fast.

Feast of tabernacles celebrated.

In this solemn assembly, it was resolved to begin the rebuilding the temple, towards which every one cheerfully contributed according to their power. The whole sum amounted to sixty-one thousand drachms of gold, and five thousand minas of silver (C), besides an hundred vestments

(C) Every drachm of gold about nine pounds sterling; the being computed to be worth whole amounted to seventy-five thousand five hundred about ten shillings of our money; and every mina of silver, pounds.

for the priests to officiate in. This was indeed a small sum toward such a vast and expensive undertaking; and therefore we suppose it to have been a free-will addition of their own to a much greater, which had been contributed by their brethren, who chose to stay in the places of their dispersion. This money was put into the hands of proper officers, who were to oversee the work: these immediately hired workmen, sent to Tyre and Sidon for cedars from Libanus, pursuant to Cyrus's decree, and employed the first year in preparing the materials for the building.

Yr. of Fl.
1814.
Ante Chr.
534.

The foundation of the temple laid.

In the second month of the following year, which was the third of Cyrus's reign, and the second from their return, they began to lay the foundation of the temple with great solemnity, in the presence of Zerubbabel the governor, of Jeshua the high-priest, and of the whole congregation. It was accompanied with the sound of their trumpets, and other musical instruments, the priests and musicians singing some psalms proper to the occasion, and all the people shouting for joy. But whilst the younger sort were thus expressing their satisfaction, many of the priests, Levites, and heads of families, who had seen that famous building in its splendor, fifty-three years before, could not forbear uttering the loudest lamentations, when they considered the plan of this which they were now going to build; inasmuch that the acclamations of the one, and the sighs and groans of the other, were so intermixed, that it was not easy to distinguish them from each other¹ (D).

Whilst the work was carrying on, the Samaritans (E) came to Zerubbabel, and the Jewish congregation; and

ex-

¹ Ezra iii. 5, & seq.

(D) This difference, however, cannot be understood of its largeness, since the new was built upon the foundation of the old. Of the two, the decree of Cyrus seems to allow this new one three times the breadth of that of Solomon; this being but twenty, and that sixty cubits broad; but Prideaux has sufficiently proved, that the dimensions were the same, only differently taken, to wit, the one from in to in, and the other from out to out: the grief of the old men, there-

fore, must have arisen from the meanness of the materials now used, so different from those that had been provided by Solomon, and the want of innumerable ornaments supplied by that prince and his successors.

(E) These were not of the seed of Israel, but the posterity of that mixed multitude, whom Shalmanezzer king of Assyria sent from Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, Sepharvaim, and other provinces, to inhabit those parts, out of which he had

expressed an earnest desire to join their assistance in it, seeing they had worshipped the same God ever since the time of Efarhaddon, king of Assyria, who had settled them there. But whether the Jews suspected their sincerity; or despised a people who were not of the seed of Israel, but only imperfect worshipers of God; Jeshua, Zerubbabel, and the whole congregation, refused to let them bear any part in the undertaking, alleging, that the decree of Cyrus being only directed to those who were of Israelitish descent, it would be a dishonour to their nation to admit any strangers as partners in the work^m. This refusal proved the source of a bitter and irreconcilable hatred between these two nations, the sad effects of which the Jews soon felt in the immediate obstruction of their undertaking, and numberless ill offices which they underwent from the incensed Samaritans.

Why obstructed by the Samaritans.

The first step they took was to bribe underhand some of the king's head ministers and officers, to represent the Jews as a rebellious nation, and their rebuilding of the temple as dangerous, and tending to shake off their obedience to his crown. They failed not to carry their point, and the work was accordingly stopped, in a great measure, not only during the remaining five years of Cyrus's life, but also during the reign of his successor. However, while Cyrus lived, the Jews still continued gathering materials for their work, in hopes of better times: they were assisted by the Tyrians and Sidonians, who furnished them with cedars from Libanus, with masons, carpenters, and other workmen; and these received in return a proportionable quantity of corn, wine and oil from the Jews, as their ancestors had formerly done from king Solomonⁿ. But Cyrus was no sooner dead, than the Samaritans, encouraged by the ill disposition of his successor Cambyfes, called in Scripture Ahafuerus^o, instead of their former clandestine practices, declared themselves openly against the Jews, and wrote in the most pressing terms to that monarch to put an immediate stop to their undertaking. Cambyfes, however, probably out of respect to his father's decree, would not seem to revoke it, but privately gave

^m Ezra iv. 1. & seq.

iii. 7.

^c Ezra iv. 6.

Conf. 1 Kings v. 8. & seq. & Ezra

had carried the ten Israelitish tribes; they therefore took the name of Samaritans from Samaria, the capital of that king-

dom; but by the Jews they were called Cuthim, from Cuthah, one of the provinces out of which they came.

The History of the Jews.

them leave to obstruct the execution; so that the work, though it was not wholly suppressed, went at least very heavily on during his whole reign, which lasted but seven years and five months.

Yr. of Fl.
1826.
Ante Chr.
522.

The building obstructed by the Samaritans.

Cambyfes being dead, and one of the magi having mounted the throne (F), the Samaritans failed not to renew the accusation against the Jews to that usurper; they represented to him, that this nation had been always famed for rebellion, for the truth of which they appealed to ancient records; and added, that if they were suffered to proceed in rebuilding their city and temple, it would not be long ere they shook off the yoke. The usurper, who had been one of the chiefs of the sect of the magi, against whom the Jews were known to be diametrically opposite in point of religion, did not want any great arguments to induce him to suppress them; but sent an immediate decree to them, to desist from their enterprize, and charged the Samaritans to see it executed. These, therefore, having received the order, went straitway with it to Jerusalem, and caused a total stop to be put to the work, till the Jews obtained a fresh decree in the second year of Darius his successor's reign, that is, about two years after.

The Jews punished with dearth.

The Jews, by that time, had been so disheartened, partly by the constant opposition of the Samaritans, and partly by this last decree, that though the latter ceased with the discovery and death of the usurper, yet did they not shew the least readiness to resume their enterprize, till God had punished their indolence with a great dearth, and let them know by his prophet Haggai, it was upon that account that both their harvest and vintage had failed°. This was indeed an effectual argument to awake the zeal of that selfish people, who had by this time taken care to seat themselves in commodious and sumptuous houses, without giving themselves any farther thought about the house of God. The prophet was therefore sent to the governor, to the high-priest, and to the rest of the heads of Judah, to upbraid them with their ingratitude; and, at the same time, to assure them, that if they would now set about the work in earnest, God would not only make it prosper in their hands, but that he would make

The work resumed.

° Haggai i. 6. & seq.

(F) This is he whom Ezra as Smerdis, by Herodotus; calls Artaxerxes, or rather Artahshastha: he is differently Mardys, by Æschylus; Spendadates, by Ctesias; and Oropastes, by Justin.

the

the glory of this second temple by far exceed that of the first. This message had at length the desired effect; and the people, roused by these promises and threats, resumed and pursued the work under the eye and guidance of Haggai and Zechariah^p.

In the mean time the Samaritans, who kept a watchful eye over them, applied to Tatnai, whom Darius had made governor of Syria and Palestine, and acquainted him, that this enterprize was resumed, not only against the king's order, but to the manifest detriment of his realm. They expected, probably, that this new governor would have immediately suppressed that work; but he, being a man of more temper and moderation, repaired to Jerusalem, accompanied by some of his counsellors, and one Shetharboznai, who is supposed to have been governor of Samaria, and enquired of the Jews by what authority they proceeded in the work. Zerubbabel and Jeshua acquainted him with the decree they had formerly obtained from Cyrus; and at the same time produced the sacred vessels, which that monarch had ordered to be restored to them, in order to renew the worship of God in Jerusalem. Tatnai, having received this answer, thought the matter of too great consequence to interpose, until he had sent a full account of it to Darius, and desired that search might be made concerning that decree. It was accordingly found among the records that were kept in the palace of Ecbatan, where Cyrus was at the time of his granting it; and Darius, out of respect to that great monarch, two of whose daughters he had then married, readily confirmed it by a new edict, in which all the grants of the former were repeated and ratified, with this severe penalty annexed, that whosoever should presume to contravene or obstruct it, his house should be pulled down, and himself hanged on a gallows made of the timber. The execution of the decree was committed to Tatnai and Shetharboznai, and was brought to them accordingly much about the beginning of the fourth year of Darius's reign, and by them communicated to the Jews^q.

It was then that the building began to rise apace, since they were now not only free from any obstructions from their enemies, but were supplied, by the king's order, with all the necessaries towards the expence of it, out of the treasury of that province: this addition of the king's bounty, joined to the offerings, which both they of Pale-

*Tatnai
comes to
Jerusalem.*

*Darius's
decree.*

*Yr. of Fl.
1830.
Ante Chr.
518.*

^p Ezra v. 1, & seq. Zechar. i. 1, & seq. ^q Ezra vi. 6, & seq. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 4.

*The temple
finish'd.*

tine, and their brethren abroad, paid towards it, caused such a dispatch in the work, that it was completely finished in three years; that is, in the sixth year of Darius, and in the month Adar, which is the last of the Jewish year, answering in part to our February. The dedication was celebrated with solemnity and joy, and with abundance of sacrifices; after which they prepared themselves for the approaching festival of the Passover¹, at which many of their brethren from other provinces assisted: and from this time we reckon the complete restoration of the Jews. Accordingly, when those that dwelt in Babylon sent about this time to Jerusalem, to enquire of the prophets, whether they might not thenceforward desist from keeping the fasts of the fifth and seventh months (G), Zechariah, among other things contained in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies, tells them that they had now kept those fasts seventy years². In memory of this decree, which was given from Shushan, or Susa, the Jews gave the name of Shushan to the eastern gate of the outward temple-wall, and caused a bas-relief of that metropolis to be set up over it, which continued there till its total destruction by the Romans³.

*Samaritans refuse
to pay to
it.*

In the mean time, the mortification which the envious Samaritans received from the king's decree in favour of the Jews, and the wonderful dispatch with which they had finished their temple, served only to augment their rancour. They deeply repented their being obliged to pay, not only towards the rebuilding of that edifice, but towards the sacrifices and oblations that were daily to be offered up there for the prosperity of the king, and the whole realm, as well as for the maintenance of the priests. Therefore, as soon as the temple was finished, though the out-buildings were still unrepaired, they made it a pretence for withholding the usual tribute, alleging, that it was to cease as soon as the building was finished. This refusal obliged the Jews to send a deputation to Darius, at the head of whom were Zerubbabel, Mordecai, and Ananias,

¹ Ezra vi. 15. vii. 6.

² Ezra vi. 16, ad fin.

³ Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple, chap. iii.

(G) These were fasts which the captive Jews kept in those two months, in memory, first, of Jerusalem being first besieged by Nebuchadnezzar; secondly, of its being taken by him; thirdly, of its being burnt with

the temple; and, fourthly, for the murder of Gedaliah. All which fasts they keep to this day, though they have somewhat changed their place in their calendar.

to complain of the Samaritans. Darius received them with his usual benevolence; and, after a full hearing, issued out a fresh decree, commanding his officers at Samaria to cause the usual tribute to be paid to the temple; and ordaining that, for the future, on no pretence whatever, the Jews should have any cause of complaint upon that article^u. After this edict they met with no farther obstacle during the rest of that monarch's reign, which lasted twenty-eight years longer, nor during the twelve years of his successor; but enjoyed a perfect peace, being governed by their high-priests in matters of religion, and in those of state by the heads of the tribe of Judah, though still in subjection to the kings of Persia, and subordinate to his governors on this side the Euphrates. Xerxes had no sooner succeeded his father, than he confirmed all the privileges formerly granted to the Jews. In the third year of his reign, according to the Alexandrian chronicle, died the Jewish high-priest Jeshua, in the fifty-third year of his high-priesthood, and was succeeded by his son Joiakim^x. Xerxes, being murdered in the twenty-first year of his reign, was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes, the Ahasuerus of Scripture, the husband of Esther, and consequently the greatest friend the Jews ever had, either before or since their restoration.

Yr. of Fl.
1890.
Ante Chr.
458.

Xerxes.

Esther, or Hadassah, was an orphan of the tribe of Benjamin, brought up and adopted by her uncle Mordecai; this last was a descendent of those who had been brought captives into Babylon, with Jeconiah king of Judah; and, by his constant attendance at the palace-gate, seems to have been one of the king's porters. He had found interest enough to introduce his niece into the palace, among other beauties who were to be candidates to succeed the repudiated Vashti; and she had already so captivated the Persian monarch, even before he had set the diadem on her head, that she could obtain any thing from him which her uncle bid her ask; it being a peculiar privilege of those virgins, whenever their turn came to appear before the king, to obtain whatever they requested^v. It is therefore reasonably supposed, that it was by her interest that Ezra, a very learned and zealous Jew, of the house of Aaron (H), obtained an ample commission from Artaxerxes

*Artaxerxes
or Ahasu-
erus, fa-
vours the
Jews.*

*Ezra sent
into Judaea.*

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. iv.
ubi supra, cap. v.

^x Nehem. xii. 10. Joseph.

^v Esther ii. 13, & seq.

(H) He calls himself here, the son of Seraiah, who was according to the Hebrew idiom, the high-priest whom Nebuchadnezzar

xerxes to return to Jerusalem, with as many of his nation as were willing to go with him, and there to regulate or reform all matters, whether of church or state, as he should see fit ².

Ezra staid some days near the river Ahavah, for the rest of his company; and, during that time, being willing to take some Nethinims with him to Jerusalem to serve there as formerly in the temple, he sent some of his retinue to Iddo, who was chief of those that dwelt near the place Casiphia (1), from whence he gathered about two hundred and twenty of them, besides some priests and Levites; with these, having proclaimed a solemn fast, to implore the divine protection, he set forward, and arrived at Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month, or the middle of July, that is, after a journey of four months.

His commission.

At his arrival he opened his commission before the whole Jewish assembly, and there delivered to the priests the offerings which had been made by the king, the nobles, and the Babylonish Jews. Having sent to acquaint the governor of Syria and Palestine with the power he had received from the king, he began with appointing judges and magistrates to reform every thing that was contrary to the law of Moses; and, pursuant to his commission, empowered them to punish offenders, not only with fines, imprisonment, and other lesser punishments, but even with banishment and death, according to the nature of the crime ². Ezra continued in the faithful discharge of his authority thirteen years, that is, till he was succeeded by Nehemiah, who was sent thither with a fresh commission from the same monarch. But, in the mean

² Ezra vii. 6, & seq.

¹ Ezra vii. 25, 26.

chadnezzar caused to be slain at the taking of Jerusalem; but, had he been his real son, he must have been at least a hundred and thirty-two years old, supposing him to have been an infant when his father died, and so wholly unfit for such a journey and employ; whereas we find him capable of reading the Scriptures to the people from morning to noon, one whole week, and of assisting Nehemiah in his office thirteen years after, when he must have

been at least a hundred and forty-five years old.

(1) It is not easy to guess what place this was: the text calls it Casiphia hammakom, Casiphia *the place*. Some have taken it for the Caspian mountains, situate between Media and Hyrcania, in the mines of which these captive Nethinims are supposed to have been sent to work; if so, it is no wonder they should be so ready to embrace the benefit of the king's decree.

time,

time, the Jews received fresh tokens of the king's favour upon his raising Esther to the diadem. Ezra, relying upon the protection of two such powerful friends as the new queen and Mordecai, who now engrossed the king's favour, gave himself up wholly to the care of the Jewish affairs, and to reform some crying abuses which had crept in among those who were returned from Babylon under Zerubbabel (K).

*Reforms
the church
and state.*

His next great work was to reform the whole state of the Jewish church, by restoring its discipline and rites, according to its ancient pattern, under the former prophets. In order to which, his first care was to collect and set forth a correct edition of the sacred books, and then to reduce the observance of the Mosaic law to that standard. This circumstance we find neither expressly mentioned in the sacred historians, nor in Josephus; but we have it from the Talmudists, and other ancient Jews, who add a great many others, which not carrying the same probability, we shall omit as fabulous. But as for this point of his collecting and revising the sacred writings, making some small additions to them, and fixing the canon of the Old Testament to twenty-two books, as they are now received by the Jews and protestant Christians; we have many reasons to confirm the fact. He was well versed in the language; his extensive authority enabled him to gather up all the best copies that could be met with, either at Jerusalem, or among the dispersed Jews; and he had the assistance of two or three prophets (L) in the work. The then confused state of the

*Collects the
sacred
books.*

Jews

(K) One of these was the intermarriages, which not only the common people, but even priests, Levites, and heads of families, had made with some of their idolatrous neighbours; by which they had introduced a mixed mongrel breed of Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Samaritans, and other strange nations, among the true Israelites.

(L) These were Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, to which the Jews add Daniel, and his three companions. As for Malachi, they pretend

that he was the same with Ezra; that this last was his proper name, and Malachi, which signifies *my angel*, or *messenger*, was that of his office, as being the person or prophet sent by God to restore the Jewish church to its pristine splendor and standard.

St. Jerom and some other ancient writers have maintained the same notion: sure it is, that Malachi is rather a common than a proper name, and that in Ezra's time prophets were called by it; and accordingly several ancient fathers

Jews required such a collection and revival of the sacred writings; and some such thing we find done soon after Nehemiah's arrival in Judæa, when Ezra brought forth the sacred volume, and read and expounded it to all the people from morning till noon, during the whole seven days of the feast of tabernacles^b. Lastly, the whole current of Talmudist writers, and all the ancient and modern Jews^c (except the Samaritans, who reject all but the Pentateuch, as shall be seen in due time; and Josephus, who perhaps did not think proper to tell the world that the sacred writings stood in need of such a revival and amendment), ascribe this work to Ezra, as president of the sanhedrim, and chief director and overseer of the whole; in which opinion they have been followed by no small number of ancient fathers^d, and by far the greatest part of modern writers. We may farther add, that there is no other way of justifying that great and zealous man, for leaving the city and outworks of the temple in that desolate state in which Nehemiah found them at his coming; but the supposition, that he thought it of greater moment to bestow his time and care in this new and correct edition of the sacred code, and to busy himself in repairing the outworks of the city and temple^e. It is in the time of this revival that he is supposed to have exchanged the old Hebrew character for the more beautiful and commodious Chaldee, now in use, and to have invented the Mafforah (M), vowel and other points.

^b Nehem. viii. 2. & seq. ad fin. ^c Seld. de Synedr. Buxtorf. Tiberiad. & Auct. ab eis citat. ^d Clem. Alexandr. Strom. lib. i. Iren. lib. iii. Basil. Epist. ad Chilon. Isidor. Orig. lib. vi. & al. mult. ^e Nehem. i. 2. ii. 14. & seq.

thers quoted Malachi under the title of the angel or messenger of God.

What seems to confirm, that he was an assistant to, if not the same with Ezra, is his reproving the people for marrying strange wives, for their oppression of their poor brethren, and several other abuses, which were then rectified by Ezra and Nehemiah.

(M) By the term Mafforah, or Massoreth, which signifies *tradition*, is meant the unwritten rule or canon, by which

the reading or writing of the sacred books was fixed. The Jews affirm it to have been given by God himself to Moses, who delivered it to Joshua, Aaron, &c. by whom it was transmitted by oral tradition, through a long succession of holy and inspired men, quite down to rabbi Judah, surnamed Hakkadosh, or *the holy*, who wrote it in the book which they call the Mishna; all which we consider as a series of rabbinic fictions.

Another

Corrects them.

Another and very useful improvement which he and his inspired associates are generally, and with great probability, believed to have made to this new edition of the sacred books, is the interspersing here and there an explanatory clause by way of parenthesis, and making such other additions to the text, as were necessary to explain, illustrate, or confirm it. Of this nature some suppose the account of Moses's death, and the excellent character given to that great lawgiver in the last chapter of Deuteronomy, to have been; but it seems to us more probable, that this was inserted much earlier, namely, by Joshua, or some of his contemporary writers, in order to inspire the people with a singular respect for him and his writings. However that be, we meet with a great number, which, being manifestly inserted long after the facts, cannot well be ascribed to any but Ezra, or some of those prophets that assisted him in the work: thus we find in several of the historical books, concerning some ancient monuments, such words as these added by way of testimony, "which remain unto this day ^f (N)." To the same end he is supposed likewise to have added some new names of places to the old appellations, which were become obsolete. Thus Abraham is said to have pursued the confederate kings as far as Dan, the name which the Danites gave long afterwards to the city of Leshem or Laish ^g. The same was done to Beth-el, anciently called Luz; to Hebron, whose original name was Kirjath-Arba, and to many more, by the help of whose new names we come

^f Deut. iii. 14. Joshua x. 27, & alib. plur. ^g Conf. Genes. xiv. 14. & Joshua xix. 47. Judg. xviii. 29.

(N) Thus it is said in Genesis, that "the Canaanites did then dwell in the land;" which words could not be inserted till they had actually been extirpated out of it: and in another place of the same book it is said, "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king in Israel;" which last words must of necessity have been inserted long after Moses's time. The large iron bed of Og, king of Basan, said in Deuteronomy to have been still to be seen in the me-

tropolis of the Ammonites, plainly intimates, that that prince had been killed long before this last clause was added. Lastly, and to mention no more, the twenty-fifth chapter of the Proverbs, which begins with these words, "The Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah copied out," plainly shews the words were added some considerable time after this last named king, who was twelve generations off Solomon.

*Restores the
divine
worship.*

to the knowledge of the places there mentioned, which we could never have known by their old denominations.

The last work of this great man was to restore the worship of the temple according to its ancient form before the captivity; to revise and amend the Jewish liturgy, and to add particular prayers and thanksgivings proper for the festivals that were superadded after their return from the captivity; such as the dedication of the new temple^b, of Purim^c, and the like; and as the Psalms entered into almost every part of their worship, and were to be sung alternately, it is not to be doubted but he took the same pains in collecting the whole book, and giving it the same revival which he had given to the rest. Whether he digested them in the same order we have them now in, as is generally believed by Jews and Christians; and whether he was the author of those which were manifestly composed during the captivity, and after their return from it, such as we take those which were styled Gradual to have been; and lastly, whether he lived to finish all these things, or left them to be completed by his successors, we will not pretend to determine. One thing the second book of Maccabees informs us of, that Nehemiah founded a library at Jerusalem, in which he deposited the acts of the kings, of the prophets, and of David^d; which seems to intimate as if the revival of them had been completed before that time.

It is no less uncertain whether this revival of the sacred books reached so far as the restoring the poetical parts to their ancient metre, or whether they contented themselves with such a punctuation and division of verses as would best fit them for the service of the temple. The generality of writers declare for the latter opinion; but there is one reason which appears to us very strong for the former, namely, that those Psalms which were composed after the captivity, run much in the same cadence with those which had been written before it; and many of them seem to be in no circumstance inferior to them; which is a plain intimation, either that the rules of Hebrew poetry were not lost at Babylon, or that they were recovered after their return, though they have been in vain sought for ever since the total dispersion of that nation.

Ezra was succeeded by Nehemiah, after he had governed the Jewish church and nation thirteen years. Josephus

^b Ezra vi. 16.

^c Esther ix. 29, ad fin.

^d Chap. ii. 13.

tells us¹, that he died and was buried at Jerusalem; but the rest of the Jews affirm that he returned into Persia, and died there in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. They bear so great a veneration for him, that they look upon him as a second Moses, a restorer of the sacred books and Massorah, and, in a word, one every way worthy to have been their lawgiver, had not that honour been bestowed on Moses. They join the books of Ezra and Nehemiah into one, and make him the author of it; and he was certainly author of the first, since he mentions nothing in it but what was done in his time, and under his eye; and almost every where speaks of himself in the first person: but if he wrote the second, some additions must have been made to it since his death; though the difference of style seems to prove it of another hand, as are the two books of Chronicles, which it is not, however, improbable he might have had the revival of. As for the other two books falsely attributed to him, and known by the names of the first and second books of Esdras, they are justly rejected.

Ezra's death and character.

Nehemiah, cup-bearer to the king of Persia, a Jew (O) of great learning and piety, had heard by some of his nation lately come from Jerusalem, of the ruinous condition which that city still stood in, notwithstanding the favours which that monarch had heaped on the returned Jews. Being therefore aided by the queen, who is expressly said to have been at the table when he made his petition to the king^m, he obtained a commission from him to succeed Ezra in the government of Judæa, with full power to rebuild and adorn both city and temple, and with fresh

Nehemiah sent into Judæa.

Yr. of Fl.
1903.
Ante Chr.
445.

¹ Antiq. lib. xi.

^m Nehem. ii. 6, & seq.

(O) The text calls him barely the son of Hachaliah, without informing us of what tribe he was. Some therefore, from a passage in the Maccabees, where he is said to have offered sacrifices, and from his being reckoned at the head of the priests that signed the new covenant with God, have affirmed him to have been of the family of Aaron.

But as there is nothing conclusive in all this, and it seems

expressly contradicted by his saying in another place, that he was not a fit person to shelter himself in the temple; the far greater part suppose him to have been of the royal family of Judah; and this is so much the more probable, because we find none but such promoted to those high stations about the king's person; but never read of a priest that was so, till a long time after, and upon a quite different account.

orders to Sanballat, and others of his officers on this side Euphrates, to furnish him with all necessary materials out of the royal treasury. Nehemiah, having gathered a fresh supply of men and women to return with him into Judæa, departed under an escort, which the king had granted, and arrived at Jerusalem, where he kept himself in private three days; at the end of which he went in the night, accompanied with a few of his men, to take a full view of the city and walls, which he found to answer exactly the sad report that had been made of it to him at Shushan. On the morrow he sent for the heads of the people, and in the great assembly opened his commission, which he told them he would immediately put in force. With respect to the city wall, he divided the work between a number of great families, each of which undertook a part of a stated extent, and were to build it at their own charges; and the new governor plied them so close, that in fifty-two days they had all completed their tasks, notwithstanding the many discouragements which they met with both from within and without.

*The wall
finished.*

In the prosecution of the work, they were forced to bear with many bitter sarcasms from Sanballat, an Horonite (P), governor of Samaria, and others of his officers; but this was nothing to some of their underhand plots to obstruct it; for they went so far, as to hire certain treacherous Jews to dishearten both the governor and people, with the specious pretence, that they were sent from God to put a stop to the enterprize. Nehemiah soon detected their arts; but foreseeing that his enemies would use force, if their deceitful practices failed, he ordered the people to arm themselves, even while they were at work, placing strong guards to defend them, and trumpeters at convenient distances from each other, that at what quarter soever they should chance to be attacked, the rest, upon hearing the alarm, might come immediately to their assistance. But the greatest obstacle of all was, that the poorer sort, who were to bear the greater share of the labour, had been so

(P) Probably so called, because he was a native of Horonaim, a city of Moab. Their other two principal enemies were Tobias the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian; all consequently ill-affected to the

Jews; but now doubly so, since they were likely to be dispossessed by them of many a good estate, which they had seized on, during their captivity.

Impoverished.

impoverished by continual extortions from the rich, for some years before his arrival, that they had already been forced to mortgage their lands, sell their sons and daughters, and submit to so many other hardships, that they were quite disabled from pursuing the work. Nehemiah, who expected nothing less than to hear of such horrid cruelties committed by the Jewish rulers, upbraided them in the severest terms; and partly by persuasions, and partly by his own authority, obliged them to restore all their ill-gotten wealth to the poor owners; at the same time he took care that they should be supplied with all necessary sustenance while they continued in the workⁿ. By these means, he defeated the measures of the Samaritans. As soon as the wall was finished, he caused the dedication of it to be celebrated, with the usual solemnities, by the priests and Levites^o; and left the government of the city to his two brothers Hanani and Hananiah^p, whilst he himself returned, as is reasonably supposed, into Persia, to obtain a new commission, the former extending no farther than the rebuilding the city wall, which was now actually finished.

Is consecrated.

Hitherto Jerusalem remained but thinly peopled, the far greater part of the Jews having settled themselves in the countries round about; and whenever any business called them into the city, they seldom failed returning at night to their respective habitations. This practice Nehemiah had indeed forbidden, while the wall was building; but after it was finished, they returned to their country-seats; so that he was obliged to provide for its safety, by causing a greater number of people to come and settle within the walls. He persuaded, at first, the nobler and richer to build them houses there; an injunction which they the more gladly complied with, because the country was very much infested with thieves and banditti. They afterwards took in all that willingly offered themselves to come and settle there; but these not proving sufficient, he was fain to take every tenth family by lot; so that by this time the city being well built, peopled, guarded, and fortified, it began to resume something of its former lustre^q; and Herodotus, who saw it soon after this time, compares it to Sardis, the metropolis of Asia Minor^r (Q).

The city peopled.

ⁿ Nehem. v. pass. ^o Ch. xii. ^p Ibid. chap. vii. ^q Nehem. xi.

^r Herodot. lib. iii.

(Q) Herodotus calls it Cadytis; but whoever reads what the learned Prideaux has said on that subject, will easily think with him, that it could be no other than Jerusalem.

*The law
publicly
read and
expounded*

*Fest of ta-
bernacles.*

Whilst Nehemiah was thus employed in peopling and fortifying the city, adorning the temple, and rectifying the genealogies, both of priests and people (R), Ezra, who had by that time finished his collection of the sacred books, was preparing himself, and some other learned priests, to make a solemn lecture of them to the whole nation on the next approaching festival, which was that of the trumpets, ushering in the new year. To this end a capacious scaffold or desk was raised in one of the largest streets of the city, that the people, who came from all parts of the land to the feast, might conveniently hear his voice. Ezra was seated in the midst, with the sacred volume before him; and on each side stood six priests, well versed in the Hebrew and Chaldee, who interpreted in the latter what he read in the former, verse by verse. At noon, Nehemiah reminding them of the joyful festival they were celebrating, dismissed them for that day, charging them to spend the remainder of it in feasting and joy, and to make their poor brethren partake of their satisfaction. As the people expressed a more than common desire to have this lecture and exposition continued to them, Ezra complied with their request, until he and his assistants had gone through the whole Pentateuch. The grand festival of tabernacles being likewise near at hand, it opportunely happened, that the part of Leviticus in which it is enjoined, was read some days before; by which means they were made sensible, how short they had been till then of its due observation, so that the next they kept, was observed with greater precision and solemnity than it had been since the time of Joshua (S).

But

• Nehem. viii. 12, & seq.

(R) This had been done once before, soon after the return, as was lately hinted; but not so clearly, but that there were still many families of priests, Levites, and of the people, who could not make out their claim to their tribes. It is therefore likely, that some of them were since enabled to do it, and were then inserted in this new register, together with those who came up with Nehemiah. Several of the old families, that came up upon the first edict,

might be by this time extinct; all which is probably the cause of the difference we find in the genealogies of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

(S) It is supposed to have been at this solemnity, that the notable discovery happened of the sacred fire, related in the book of Maccabees. The Jews affirm, that Jeremiah, or some other prophet, had caused it to be hid in a dry well a little before the taking of Jerusalem: the memory of it having been still

But this was not all the advantage which Nehemiah reaped from this lecture of the law: there appeared such marks of concern in them, whenever any point was read, of which they knew themselves transgressors, that he made use of that happy disposition to extort from them a general confession of their sins, and a solemn promise and vow to rectify all that was amiss for the future; especially with respect to the four following heads; namely, 1. Not to make any intermarriages with the Gentiles, and to disannul the old connexions: 2. The observation of sabbaths, sabbatic years, and those divine commands which related to them: 3. The punctual payment of their yearly tribute to the temple, both for the repairs and the maintenance of the divine services in it: and, 4. The exact payment of their tythes, first-fruits, vows, &c. to the priests and Levites^t. The solemnity concluded with a generous collection, which he caused to be made among them for the service of the temple: in which, to shew a noble example to the rest, he himself gave a thousand drachms of gold, fifty dishes, and five hundred and thirty-two priestly vestments.

Having thus, with great credit and honour, completed the tenor of his commission, he returned into Persia, according to his promise to the king, after having enjoyed the government of Judæa twelve years.

During his absence, which lasted but five years, it is almost incredible, what abuses had crept into the Jewish church and commonwealth. Eliashib, whether the then high-priest, or some other of the same name, who was overseer of the temple-chambers^u, married his grandson to the daughter of Sanballat, the professed enemy of the Jews; and had so much base complaisance for him, as to accommodate his friend Tobiah the Ammonite, with a large apartment in that sacred place, from which even the Israelites, who were not of the tribe of Levi, were excluded.

Yr. of Fl.
1906.
Ante Chr.
442.

*The temple
profaned.*

Another shameful abuse was an almost total disregard of the sabbath; they threshed their corn, pressed their wine and oil, bought and sold from the Tyrians, and other strangers, who affected to bring their mercantile wares into

*The sabbath
profaned.*

^t Nehem. ix. & x.
ubi supra, sub an. 428.

^u De hoc vide Commentat. & Fried.

still preserved to that time, Nehemiah caused it to be fetched out for the divine service.

In memory of this wonderful discovery, the Jews instituted a feast, which they called the feast of the new fire.

the city on that day, rather than on any other of the week. To prevent this practice for the future, Nehemiah, having reprov'd those magistrates in the severest terms, ordered the gates of the city to be shut up every Friday night about sun-set, and not to be open'd again till the sabbath was quite over; by which means those strangers having been disappointed twice or thrice, and threatened from the walls with further punishment, desisted from coming any more on that day. What aggravated the folly and baseness of the Jews is, that they had among them three considerable prophets, who rebuked them severely for their crimes, and warn'd them of the dreadful punishments which they would bring upon them.

Forewarned by the prophets.

The worship restored.

Abuses reformed by Nehemiah.

These were Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi, whose prophecies demanded the utmost regard and attention (T). But what the authority of the prophets could not do, that of the governor's presence soon brought about; so that, besides those abuses we have already observed, he rectified a number of others, which were no less enormous; one of which was the ceasing of the divine worship through the avarice of the people, who, refusing to pay the priests and Levites their tythes, and other dues, had forced them to seek their living out of the temple and city. All these Nehemiah restored to their former regularity, and reformed every thing that was amiss, not probably all at once, as one might be apt to think, from their being mentioned together in one chapter^x, but at several times, and as opportunity served.

Holy Scriptures ordered to be read.

All these enormities, introduced within the short interval of his absence, being manifestly owing to their ignorance or forgetfulness of the Mosaic law, soon pointed out to him, that the only way to remedy them, was to enforce the frequent lecture and exposition of it, not only in Jerusalem, but also in all other cities and places of Judæa; an expedient which had been formerly used with good success by some of the pious kings of Judah. These lectures were

^x Nehem. ch. ult.

(T) Zechariah, for the number, excellency, and preciseness of his prophecies, is emphatically termed *Sol inter prophetas maiores*; he was contemporary with Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Malachi, if this last be not the same

with Ezra. He began to prophesy about two months after Haggai, and, with him, to encourage the rebuilding of the temple, by assuring them of the divine protection and blessing on the work.

probably

probably held at first in some great street or market-place, since we read of no buildings erected for that purpose before this time; but, as they quickly found the inconvenience of it in cold and rainy weather, it is not without good reason supposed, that this obliged them to build some convenient places to assemble in, which have been since known by the name of synagogues and schools. For the same purpose the Chaldee paraphrases, known by the name of Targums, were also introduced much about the same time, to facilitate the knowledge of the Mosaic law, and of the other sacred volumes, among those who were unacquainted with the original; but as these were not finished till a considerable time after Nehemiah's death, we shall take a more proper time to speak of them. Thus far had this great man carried on the reformation of the Jewish church and state.

*Chaldee
paraphra-
ses intro-
duced.*

How long Nehemiah lived after he had made this reformation, whether he continued in his place of governor, and whether he died in Judæa, or in Persia, neither the text nor Josephus inform us; only the latter says, that he died in an advanced age; and indeed even at the time where his book ends, he must have been at least seventy years of age. In his days, and about the eleventh year of Darius Nothus, died the high priest Eliashib, after he had enjoyed the pontifical dignity forty years; and was succeeded by his son Joiada, called by Josephus, Judas, the father of that Manasses (U), whom Nehemiah had forced to retire into Samaria. Whilst that governor lived, he supported his character by the most exemplary zeal for religion, justice, and the good of his nation; and the dignity of his office by a magnificent hospitality (X).

*Nehemiah's
death.*

After

† Antiq. lib. xi. sub fin. ult. cap. 5.
Vide Nehem. xiii. 19.

‡ Id. ibid. cap. 6.

(U) As for the unworthy son of Joiada, whom Josephus calls Manasseh, instead of complying with the governor's orders, of parting with his strange wife, he retired with her to Samaria, to his father-in-law; and drew a great many other rebellious Jews after him, who had been guilty either of the same, or any of those enormous crimes, which were then reforming at

Jerusalem; and went and settled themselves under the protection of Sanballat, the Samaritan governor.

(X) The daily provision of his table was an ox, six fat sheep, with fowl, fish, wine, and other things in proportion; at which he entertained, besides a hundred and fifty of the head rulers, who eat constantly with him, all the strangers of

Yr. of Fl.
1939.
Ante Chr.
4c9.

After his death, the face of that government was wholly changed. We hear no more of any governors of Judæa; but the country seems to have been joined and subject to the prefecture of Syria, from which the high-priests received their authority, as shall be seen in the next section.

S E C T. II.

The State of the Jews under the High-priests and Maccabees.

HITHERTO we have had Ezra and Nehemiah for our guides: after them we have no canonical books concerning the Jewish nation; so that we shall be forced to fetch all our intelligence from those of the Maccabees, and to fill up all the chasms out of Josephus; as for profane authors, they were so little acquainted with the Jews, that we have little or nothing from them, but what falls in occasionally with other parts of their history. Judæa was now become more strictly a province of Syria, and under the prefecture of it, the governors committed the administration of the Jewish state to their high-priests; so that from this time we may ascribe the greatest part of those misfortunes that befel their nation, to a set of men, who aspired to that high dignity, more through ambition and avarice, than any real zeal for their religion, or the welfare of their country. This epocha begins with a signal instance of it, which is the more remarkable, because we have it from Josephus^a, who is not often apt to turn accuser of his brethren.

Yr. of Fl.
197c.
Ante Chr.
373.

*Jeshua
killed in
the temple.*

Johanan succeeded his father Joiada in the high-priesthood^b, about the thirty-fourth year of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Bagofes, being then governor of Syria and Phœnicia, had contracted an intimate friendship with Jeshua, the brother of the pontiff; and had promised him a grant of the high-priesthood, some few years after Johanan's investiture. Jeshua, whom our historian calls Jesus, came immediately to Jerusalem, and acquainted his brother with it;

^a Ant. lib. xi. cap. 7.

^b Nehem. xii. 11, & 22.

any distinction, who came from other countries to Jerusalem; all which expence he supported at his own private charge, and without receiving any of

the allowance which was usually paid to the governors of that province, who had preceded him,

their

their interview was in the inner court of the temple, where the dispute arose to such a height, that Johanan, in striving to throw him out of that holy place, gave him a mortal wound. Bagoses, being informed of this accident, repaired immediately to the place, and upbraided the Jews in the severest terms, for thus polluting the temple of their God: he next offered to enter that holy place; but, being obstructed by the priests, he asked them angrily, whether they thought his living body more impure than the dead carcase which lay there unburied. Without staying for an answer, he forcibly entered; and, being fully informed of the fact, imposed a heavy mulct upon the temple, which was not taken off, till the death of Artaxerxes changed the face of affairs. However, they were not altogether free from troubles in the reign of his successor; for Ochus, having conquered the greatest part of Phœnicia, marched directly towards Judæa, besieged and took Jericho, and carried off a great number of Jews captives, part of whom he sent into Egypt, and part into Hyrcania, along the Caspian sea^c. Whether they had engaged with the Phœnicians against that prince, or by what other way they had disoblged him, our authors do not tell us, nor whether his resentment stopped here, or was felt in any other part of Judæa. About ten years after, in the eighteenth year of that monarch's reign, died Johanan, their high-priest, in the thirty-second year of his high-priesthood; and was succeeded by his son Jaddua; and, in three years, Ochus was poisoned by Bagoas, who set up his youngest son Arsaces on the Persian throne, who was soon after succeeded by Darius III.

*Johanan
fined for it.*

Yr. of Fl.
1997.
Ante Chr.
351.

*Jaddua
succeeds
Johanan.*

In the fourth year of this prince's reign, the Jews gave him such an instance of their loyalty, as plainly shewed they had not forgot what they had suffered from Ochus for siding with his enemies. Alexander the Great, having resolved upon the siege of Tyre, and being informed that the Tyrians, a nation wholly given to trade, received all their provisions from Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, sent to Jaddua, the then high-priest, to demand that supply of them, which they were wont to pay to the Persians. Jaddua modestly excused himself from complying with his demand, alleging, that his oath of fidelity to Darius did not permit him to transfer that tribute to an enemy. Alexander, provoked at this refusal, had no sooner completed the reduction of Tyre, than he marched straight to Jeru-

His fidelity to Darius.

^c Joseph, ex Hecat. contra Apion. lib. i. Solin. Syncel. & al.
falem,

Alexander's resentment.

Jerusalem, resolved to punish the Jews with as great severity as he had exercised upon the Tyrians. He was advancing with full speed towards their metropolis, when the pontiff, attended by all the priests in their habits of ceremony, met him at some distance from the city, in order to deprecate his wrath, and were very graciously received. Alexander entering Jerusalem, the high-priest and his retinue conducted him to the temple, where he caused a great number of victims to be offered to the God of the Jews. The reader may see an account of this transaction in our History of Alexander the Great, with an account of the great favours which that monarch granted to the Jews, and his postponing the request of the Samaritans to another opportunity. All that we need to add here is, that the temple of the latter on Mount Garizzim proved the source of continual evils to the Jews, and the constant asylum of their apostate brethren, who never failed to go over to the Samaritans, as soon as they found themselves in danger of punishment for any enormous crimes ^d.

Jews settled at Alexandria.

Alexander at the same time conferred many favours on the Jews, a great number of whom, at his return into Alexandria, he settled there, and endowed with large privileges and immunities, allowing them the free exercise of their religion, and admitting them to the same franchises and liberties with his own Macedonians^e. But what gave them the greatest advantage over their Samaritan rivals, was an insurrection in their capital against his favourite Andromachus, whom he had made governor of Syria and Palestine.

Highly favoured by Alexander.

All this while the Jews continued in his favour, both in Palestine and out of it; only those that were in his army, were like to have forfeited it by their refusal to assist at the rebuilding of the temple of Belus, which that monarch had begun. The invincible constancy with which they bore his severest punishments, wrought at length so far upon him, that he discharged them from his service, and sent them into their own country^f. Four years after his decease, died also Jaddua, the Jewish high-priest, in the twentieth year of his pontificate, and was succeeded by his son Onias, who enjoyed that dignity about twenty-one years.

Jaddua succeeded by Onias.

Their miserable state under Alexander's successors.

With Alexander expired the prosperous state of the Jews: their country, being situate between Syria and

^d Hecataeus Abder. ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. ii.

Curt. lib. iv. cap. 8.

^e Quint. Joseph. ex Hecat. lib. i. cont. Apion.

Egypt, became subject to all the revolutions and wars, which his ambitious successors waged against each other; being successively invaded and captivated by the Syrians and Egyptians, and constantly oppressed under either government. At first it was given, together with Syria and Phœnicia, to Leomedon the Mitylenian, one of Alexander's generals ^z, and confirmed to him by a second partition-treaty; but he being soon after stripped of the other two by Ptolemy, Judæa was the only nation which stood firm to him, from a sense of their oath of allegiance; so that the Egyptian king was forced to invade it with a powerful army, and accordingly laid close siege to Jerusalem. The place, being strongly fortified by art and nature, might have found him work enough, had not a superstitious fear of breaking the sabbath prevented the besieged from making any defence on that day; which being understood by the king, he caused it to be stormed on the sabbath, and accordingly took the city without any opposition ^a. This success did not however prevent his treating them with great severity; he carried near a hundred thousand of them captives into Egypt; but reflecting soon after on their known loyalty to their former conquerors, and the sacred regard they paid to their oaths, and being, by the reduction of Jerusalem, become master of Judæa and Samaria, he committed the keeping of several considerable garisons, both here and in Egypt, to them; and having made them swear allegiance to him, and to his heirs and successors, endowed them with the same privileges they had enjoyed under the Macedonians (Y).

Yr. of Fl.
2028.
Ante Chr.
320.

*Jerusalem
taken by
Ptolemy.
100,000
Jews car-
ried cap-
tive into
Egypt.*

By

^z Chron. Alex. Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. Ant. lib. xi. cap. ult.
^a Agathar. ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i. Arist. in Libell. de LXX. Interp.

(Y) Of those whom he carried away into Egypt, he chose about thirty thousand of the stoutest to fill his garisons; the rest he sent, some to assist them with provisions, others into Libya and Cyrene, which he had lately subdued. Appian adds, that he demolished the walls of Jerusalem before he returned home. However, he shewed such kindness to those Jews that came to settle in E-

gypt, that great numbers of them, being attracted, partly by the fertility of the country, and partly by the great privileges they enjoyed, flocked thither from other parts.

From the latter of the countries above mentioned, were descended the Cyrenean Jews, among whom was Jason, author of the History of the Maccabees, in five books, now lost, but of which the second book of

*Sichem
made the
capital of
the Sama-
ritans.*

*An account
of the Sa-
maritans.*

By this time the Samaritans, who daily increased in number, strength, and wealth, by the continual concourse of apostate Jews, made Sichem their metropolis, which they enlarged and beautified. As they were neither so scrupulous about their oaths of allegiance, nor so tenacious of the precepts of the Mosaic law, as their rivals of Judæa were, they seldom failed to side with the strongest, and, if occasion required, to comply with the will of their princes, even in things which were absolutely forbidden by their law. This policy, which they never lost sight of, freed them from the many persecutions which the Jews underwent; so that from this time, not only those who fled from Judæa to escape punishment, but a much greater number, went over to them, to avoid either persecution on account of their law, or the tyranny and oppression of their governors. As therefore this sect became so numerous and powerful, as to make a considerable figure in the Jewish history, our readers will doubtless expect to be informed, how far their religion agreed or differed from that of the Jews; and by what arguments they have, ever since their separation, endeavoured to prove their claim of precedence to, and to retort the imputation of schism upon them; since we have already seen, that they were originally a mixture of Cutheans, and other foreign nations, sent thither by the Assyrian kings, instead of the ten tribes carried away captive by them; and now become a more mixed and mongrel nation, by the constant resort and incorporation of all the renegade Jews (Z). The following articles contain a short summary of their

of the Maccabees is an epitome. Of the same country were those Cyrenean Jews mentioned by St. Luke, and that Simon, who helped to bear the cross of Christ.

This Jewish colony grew in time so numerous, that 100,000 of them were put to death for one mutiny in Vespasian's time; and yet, in a succeeding reign, they proved strong enough to master the whole province, and, as Xiphilinus tells us, in the life of Trajan, to massacre 200,000 inhabitants of other nations.

(Z) The Samaritans, in opposition to that which we have from the sacred books concerning them, boast themselves descended from Joseph by Ephraim; they pretend, that when Joshua entered into the Promised Land, he caused a temple to be built upon Mount Garizzim, and appointed Ruz, of the seed of Aaron, to officiate as high-priest, from whom they boast to have an exact genealogy, and uninterrupted succession down to this very time.

faith

faith in common with, and in opposition to, that of the Jews.

1. They believe in one God, and his servant Moses; *Their religion.* and that Garizzim is the only place of God's worship (A).

2. They always circumcise their males on the eighth day, never deferring it upon any account, as the Jews do, some of them till the hour of death.

3. They never allow themselves two wives, or to marry their nieces; but the Jews do both.

4. They are bound to wash themselves every morning, after either matrimonial converse, or any accidental defilement; so that they look upon every vessel and the household-stuff they touch, before such an ablution, to be polluted.

5. They observe the sabbath with the greatest strictness, abstaining from matrimonial commerce on that night, lighting no fires, nor stirring from their houses, unless to go to the synagogue, where they read some portion of the Pentateuch, offer up their prayers to, and sing the praises of God.

6. Of all their solemn festivals, the Passover is by them esteemed the chief; they likewise observe the other two of Pentecost, and of Tabernacles, with great exactness, and the grand fast of Expiation with uncommon strictness.

7. They never offer any sacrifice but on Mount Garizzim¹.

¹ Vide Int. al. Bafnag. ubi supra.

(A) The Jews, say they, follow other teachers, other precepts, taken from their other books, traditions, and expositions; we adhere to the five books of Moses, and reject all other writings, all other authority and interpretation, and guide our faith and practice solely by the precepts of our lawgiver. Accordingly they never admitted any other books but the Pentateuch. In consequence of this maxim, they reject all the prophetic and historical books, as written in

favour of the Jews, and especially of the house of David; they despise the Jewish pretence of oral tradition, and all their targums and talmuds.

They value themselves for having preserved the ancient Hebrew character, and curse the new one, which was since introduced by Ezra, whom they brand with the name of impostor, and who, they pretend, substituted it to the Moisaic one, for the sake of those other books which he foisted into the Jewish canon (1).

(1) Vide Bafnage Histoire des Juifs, tom. ii. part. i. chap. 3 & 4. lib. vii. chap. 25.

8. They

8. They boast a continued succession of priests, from Ruz, the son of Phinehas, the catalogue of which is preserved by them with the utmost strictness; and their high-priest always makes his residence at Sichem, now called Naplouse; from whence he issues out his directions to the whole sect for keeping their festivals, and whatever relates to the Mosaic observances (B). From this short account of their faith and practice, one would be apt to conclude, that, except those points which related to their schism, they had been much stricter observers of the Mosaic law than the Jews; but whatever they may have proved in later times, we shall meet with such flagrant instances of the contrary in the sequel of this and the next section, as will easily evince how ready they were, upon the least danger of persecution, or severe usage, from their governors, to sacrifice their religion to their interest and safety.

How and when the manuscript of the Pentateuch came into the hands of the Samaritans, is hard to guess. The general opinion is, that it was brought into Samaria by the priest, whom Esarhaddon sent to instruct the new inhabitants of that country. The book was not unknown to several ancient fathers, particularly Origen and St. Jerom, who both understood the Hebrew tongue; but they have given us no light about it. The opinion of some learned moderns^k is, that it was brought to Samaria by Manasses, Sanballat's son-in-law lately mentioned; and that it was transcribed from that of Ezra, since we find in it all the emendations and explanations which that inspired scribe is supposed to have made to those five books; and consequently could be of no older date, much less have been brought by that Hebrew priest above mentioned. However, each system has its difficulties, which are not easily solved; all that we shall add concerning this book is, that, besides this copy written in their old character in the Hebrew tongue, they had another written in the vulgar language spoken among them, because, like the Jews, they had forgot the old Hebrew, and were accustomed to a mongrel mixture of Assyrian,

Two versions of the Pentateuch.

^k F. Simon. Hist. Crit. V. T. lib. i. cap. 10. Prid. ubi supra.

(B) This sect is still very numerous, not only in the Ottoman empire, besides those which are dispersed into metropolis, but in Damascus, the northern parts of Europe Gaza, Cairo, and other parts of and Asia.

Babylonish,

Babylonish, and Chaldee. Besides this, they had a Greek version of it for the sake of their Hellenistical brethren, as the Jews had the Septuagint; and it is probable, that this was the version which is mentioned by several ancient fathers¹, since they cannot be supposed to have understood either the original, or the vulgar version. The old Hebrew copy afterwards remained unknown to the Christians, during near ten centuries. Scaliger was the first modern who got intelligence of it; after which it was brought over into Europe, and printed in the polyglots of Paris and London; the latter of which is by far the best and most correct, as well as the Latin version of it^m.

*Now
brought
into Eu-
rope.*

We return to Judæa, which we left in the possession of the king of Egypt, but which he was, about five years after, forced to abandon to Antigonus and his son, who came against him with a superior army. Ptolemy contented himself with demanding the cities of Ace, Samaria, Joppa, and Gaza, and with carrying off an immense booty, as well as a great number of inhabitants, whom he settled in Alexandria, and endowed with considerable privileges and immunities, as Alexander had done before him. He was then designing to make that city the metropolis of Egypt, and was so well satisfied with the fidelity and industry of the Jews, that he spared no encouragement to allure them; insomuch that vast numbers flocked continually thither from Judæa and Samaria, chusing to live under so generous and friendly a prince in a foreign country, rather than in their own, under the fluctuating government of so many contending tyrants.

*Judæa
yielded to
Antigonus.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2036.
Ante Chr.
312.*

Seleucus very much imitated the clemency and generosity of the Egyptian king, a character which was quite opposite to that of Antigonus; who was of such a fierce nature, that he stuck at no cruelty, falsehood, or tyranny, that served his turn. This made great numbers of the Jews fall away likewise from that tyrant to Seleucus, who gave them much the same privileges and franchises that his competitor granted in Egypt. He built sixteen cities in Lesser Asia, which he, from his father, called Antioch; nine he called by his own name, and six by that of his mother Laodicea; three from his first wife Apamea, and one from Stratonice his last wife: in all these he settled such considerable colonies of the Jews, espe-

*Seleucus's
friendship
to the
Jews.*

¹ African. Euseb. Diod. Tarsens. & al. ap. Prid. ubi supra.
^m Vide Scalig. de Emend. Temp. cap. 7. Usser. Epist. ad L. Calpel. Walton. Proleg. in Polygl. Morin. Prid. & al.

cially at Antioch in Syria, that they became almost as considerable a part of those cities as they were at Alexandria. Hence that nation came to spread themselves over Syria and Lesser Asia, whilst Judæa grew thinner of inhabitants, till it was again recovered by Ptolemy; after which they came still over to him from the provinces of Antiochus, and increased the number of those whom he found in Babylon; from all whom he received such considerable services, that he spared no favours nor encouragement to bind them to his interest.

Yr. of Fl.

2036.

Ante Chr.

292.

*Simon the
high-priest
dies.*

Soon after the recovery of Judæa by Ptolemy Soter, died Simon the Jewish high-priest, in the ninth year of his pontificate^a. He had succeeded his father Onias, and had been so eminent for his sanctity and integrity, which shone in all his actions, that he was surnamed the Just. He was the first pontiff of that name, and the excellent character which the author of Ecclesiasticus gives of him^o, shews how highly he deserved the surname which his nation had bestowed. But he was no less remarkable for his other virtues, as a Jewish prince and governor; witness his repairing and fortifying the temple and the city with high and strong walls, his famous cistern covered with brass, which he caused to be made in Jerusalem, as a reservoir for water, of such capacious circumference, that the author above quoted compares it to a sea; but his most considerable work was the finishing the canon of the Old Testament, of which we have already spoken (C).

He

^a Euseb. Chron.

^o Ch. l. 1, & seq.

(C) It has been already observed, that the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and of the Chronicles, could not have been inserted into the canon by those two writers; first, because there are in them some marginal corrections, which must have been inserted by some of their successors; and, secondly, because some genealogies are carried down far beyond their time, some even to that of Alexander the Great.

The book of Esther likewise seems to have been written after their time, and, as some think, the prophecies of Ma-

lachi. As therefore this Simon the Just is by all the Jews mentioned as the last of the great synagogue, and was a man of such eminent piety and learning, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he put the finishing stroke to the sacred code, either by inserting the books above mentioned, or, if they had been received before, by revising and giving his sanction to them.

From this pontificate is dated the completing of the sacred canon of the Old Testament, which was thenceforward received and conveyed without revival

He left a son, named Onias; but he being then an infant, Eleazar, Simon's brother, was substituted high-priest in his stead. He executed this office fifteen years, but with this difference, that whereas all the high-priests before had sat as presidents of the synagogue, or grand council of the Jews, Simon was succeeded in his last dignity by one Antigonus of Socho, a person of great learning and piety^p. This man, who the Jews tell us was the master of Saddoc, the chief of the Sadducean sect, taught, that our serving God ought to be free either from slavish fear of punishment, or from selfish hope of reward; and be wholly disinterested, and flow from the pure love and fear of that Supreme Being. Hence his disciple being unable to relish such a spiritual doctrine, took it into his head that his master meant no more by it, than that there were neither rewards nor punishments, nor even life after this; which notion became in time so general among the richer sort of Jews, that they monopolized all the great places in church and state, as we shall see in due time (D).

Rise of the Sadducees.

Ptolemy,

^p De hoc. vid. lib. Juchasin, Shalshel. El. Levita. in Cabbala, & al.

revisal or correction. From this time the Jewish doctors applied themselves wholly to study, explain, and comment upon them; and their expositions were in time received with as much submission, as the sacred books themselves.

(D) Antigonus thus became head of a new kind of synagogue, which continued from this time to that of Jehudah Hakkadosh, the compiler of the Mishna, as the old one had from Ezra to Simon the Just. The difference between them was, that the old one had bestowed their time and labour in collecting, revising, and completing the canon of the Old Testament; the latter were wholly employed in expounding and commenting upon it. These, therefore, whom the authors of the New Testa-

ment call by different names, such as doctors, scribes, lawyers, rulers, and such-like, affected to call themselves Tannaim, or *traditionalists*, because they handed down their expositions and doctrines by oral tradition to their disciples; and their authority once quoted in any of their schools upon any point, either put an end to the controversy, or the recusant was looked upon as an apostate from his master: and as all other disputes in political affairs were to be decided by the law of God, of which these Tannaim were the interpreters, so they were chosen also to assist, and some of the most considerable for learning, zeal, &c. to preside in all the courts of judicature, from the sanhedrim or great council of the nation, consisting of seventy-

Yr. of Fl.
2064.
Ante Chr.
284.

*Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus a
great
friend to
the Jews.*

*An account
of the Sep-
tuagint
version.*

*The author
of it a sa-
bulous
writer.*

*Blindly fol-
lowed by
the Chris-
tians and
Jews.*

Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, having succeeded his father in Egypt, the Jews found in him as great a protector as they had in Ptolemy Soter; and with this advantage, that the son, being a great lover of learning, and upon the point of rearing his noble library at Alexandria, strove to oblige them with greater favours than any of his predecessors had granted, in order to obtain from them a copy of the sacred books, to be translated into Greek, and deposited there among that immense number of volumes which he had procured from all parts of the world. This version is that which is commonly known by the name of Septuagint. Usher places the making of it in the seventh year of that monarch's reign. Indeed, when we consider how much this performance has been celebrated, not only by the most learned Jewish writers, but also by the ancient fathers, as well as many celebrated moderns; how much it has been extolled, as a work manifestly conducted by a miraculous Providence, and as such referred to and quoted, both by our Saviour and his apostles, and by all the primitive writers of the Christian church, it will perhaps be expected that we should be somewhat copious upon the subject. But when we reflect on the other hand, that all those extravagant encomiasts have not only blindly followed their romantic leader, but have, in many cases, embellished his surprising account of this transaction; that Aristæas, the first broacher of this history, has only covered himself with the personage, if not with the name of a heathen writer, and an officer of Ptolemy's guards, that he might be the more liberal of his incense to the Jewish nation; that he is guilty of several flagrant anachronisms, and of a manifest falshood at the very threshold of his account, where he makes Demetrius Phalereus the supposed promoter of this great work, a favourite of the king, when the contrary plainly appears; when we consider that Josephus, Aristobulus, a Jewish peripatetic philosopher, Philo, the Talmudists, and other rabbies, either only copied, or in some cases improved upon him; and lastly, that those ancient fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Cyril, Chrysostom, Austin, Epiphanius, and others, have too greedily swallowed up the Jewish account of this pretended miraculous version, by reason of the preference which Christ and his apostles seem to have given it either to the original, or to the other versions then extant; we

two, down to the more inferior city; and upon this account they ones, which they had in every were also called counsellors.

hope,

hope, upon all these considerations, our readers will easily excuse our not entering into so spacious a field, and be content with the succinct account we shall now give them of it in the note (E).

All

(E) The account we have of this version, out of the book which goes under the name of *Aristeas*, and out of those other authors who have followed him, is in substance as follows: *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, a great lover of learning, was enriching the noble library which had been begun by his father, when *Demetrius Phalereus*, who had the inspection of that work, acquainted him, that there were certain books held sacred among the Jews, which highly deserved a place in his collection, if they could by any means be procured. He advised him, at the same time, of a method, in all likelihood the most effectual, to prevail on the Jewish sanhedrim to send those volumes, together with a sufficient number of learned men, to *Alexandria*, to translate them into Greek; namely, by a general redemption of all the Jewish captives that had been taken during the late wars.

Upon enquiry, the number of them was found to amount to about a hundred thousand; at which *Ptolemy* was so far from being discouraged, that he caused an edict to be issued out for a total release, and the sum of twenty drachms per head to be paid for their redemption out of his own treasury.

After this signal favour to the Jewish nation, the king sent a splendid embassy, laden

with presents, to *Eleazar* the then Jewish high-priest; who, on his side, readily complied with the king's request, and sent him, with the copy of the sacred books, written in letters of gold, seventy-two Jews, well skilled in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, and a letter of thanks for his noble presents, in which he congratulated him on his glorious undertaking, and wished him good success.

Ptolemy received the interpreters with uncommon respect, and paid such a regard to the sacred volume, that he bowed himself seven times down to the ground before it; after which he entertained his guests with suitable magnificence seven days successively, assuring them, that he should esteem the day of their arrival as an addition to the glory of his reign. They were conducted three days after into the island of *Pharos*, which stood about seven furlongs from *Alexandria*, where *Demetrius* placed them in a sumptuous edifice, conveniently situated near the shore, and there they set immediately about the work.

Their method, according to *Aristeas*, was to sit at it from six in the morning to three in the afternoon; after which they returned into the city, where they had their victuals, and other necessities, prepared for them at the king's expence. Whenever any difficulty was

All that we shall add here will be two or three remarks concerning this work. The first is, that there was near that

started, they debated it in a full assembly; and when the point was settled, a fair transcript was made, and sent to Demetrius, till the whole version was finished, which took up only seventy or seventy-two days.

Philo, an Alexandrian Jew, who was sent on an embassy to Caius Cæsar, soon after our Saviour's death, has greatly improved the story of Aristæas, and speaks of this version as altogether miraculous; for, he adds, that upon comparing the several interpretations of those seventy men, which, according to him, had been carried on by each of them separately, there was not found so much as the difference of a word between them all, but that they had rendered every period, not only in the same sense, but in the same phrase, word, and order, throughout the whole; from whence he infers, that they were divinely inspired. He mentions nothing either of Aristæas or Demetrius Phalereus, probably because he would not be suspected of having copied and enlarged the former.

Justin Martyr, who has adopted this extraordinary addition of Philo, tells us, that Ptolemy had caused the interpreters to be shut up, each in a separate cell, to prevent their communicating their thoughts to one another; that, by the conformity of their several translations, he might the more easily judge of the faithfulness of the whole version.

He adds, that when they came to be compared together, there was such an exact conformity between them all, that the king, who looked upon it as altogether miraculous, sent the interpreters home laden with honour, and with the richest presents; and received their writings with that veneration which was due to books divinely inspired.

His account of this version is somewhat different in another work of his, where he tells us, that Ptolemy sent to Herod, king of the Jews, for those sacred books; and that, upon their being sent in their original tongue and character, which were unknown in Egypt, he had been forced to send to him for some interpreters to translate them into Greek; which desire being likewise complied with, copies of that version were still every where to be seen in the hands of the Hellenist Jews in his time.

After this ample testimony of that good and learned martyr, we need not wonder if so many ancient fathers have embraced the story, and looked upon that version as divinely inspired; and some of them have given it even the preference to the original, in those places where the difference between them could not be reconciled. Epiphanius, who lived about the middle of the third century, and pretends to have preserved the letter which Ptolemy wrote to the Jews, to obtain this version from them, has

that time a version made of the sacred Hebrew books into Greek, with which the Hellenist Jews were so highly delighted,

has given us a copious account of it; and to what has been said by Aristæas, and the other authors above mentioned, has added some other circumstances by way of improvement; such as that there were but thirty-six cells, into which the interpreters were shut up by two in each; that they had no windows, but received their light from the top by skylights; that each couple had a book given them to translate, which, when finished, was conveyed to the next cell, and so on to the third, fourth, &c. and thence to all the rest; by which means each book was translated thirty-six times: that they were confined to their work from morning to evening; after which each couple was conveyed in a separate boat to the royal palace, where they supped with the king; after which they were shut up, each in their separate chamber, till the next day, when they were again conveyed to their respective cells.

When the whole book of the Old Testament had gone thro' the thirty-six couples, their versions were read before the king, by thirty-six readers, while a thirty-seventh held the original in his hand, with which they were compared; and at the end were found to agree in every respect, both with the Hebrew, and with each other, to such a degree of exactness, that Ptolemy looked upon those interpreters as divinely inspired, and caused

their several works to be deposited in his library of Bruchium.

The Talmuds of Jerusalem and Babylon agree in most of these particulars above mentioned; but pretend that Ptolemy sent for those seventy-two Jewish elders, without acquainting them what work he designed to set them upon, till they were arrived at Alexandria, when he caused them to be all shut up, each in a separate cell, and gave them the sacred books to translate.

Lastly, and to name no more, St. Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius, quote some fragments out of one Aristobolus, a peripatetic Jew of Alexandria, who is said to have written a comment on the Pentateuch, and to have dedicated it to Ptolemy Philometor, to whom he had been tutor. In which dedication he mentions this Greek version, which had been made by Ptolemy's command, and under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus.

The two fathers above mentioned quote this comment to prove the possibility of Pythagoras, Plato, and other Greek philosophers, having taken most of their philosophy out of the sacred volumes, since they had been translated so long before in that known language.

The reader may see, by what has been extracted out of all those authors, both Jewish and Christian, that the story of this version has gained considerably by every hand it has gone

*A feast and
fast kept in
memory of
that ver-
sion.*

*Samari-
tans lay
claim to it.*

lighted, that, Philo tells us¹, they instituted an annual feast in memory of it, and made a yearly visit, in solemn procession, to the isle of Pharos, where it had been made by the seventy-two Israelitish elders: whereas, the more zealous Hebraizing Jews, who looked upon it as a vile prophanation of their holy religion, conceived such a horror against it, that they instituted a fast in memory of it. These even add, that the day on which it was began, proved as fatal to the Israelites, as that on which Jeroboam set up the golden calves at Dan and Beth-el, and that the sky was covered with thick darkness three days successively². The Samaritans have likewise laid claim

¹ In vit. Mosi.

² In lib. Sopherim. Vid. Scaliger. Not. in Chron. Euseb. sub ann. 1134.

through; and this improvement, as well as some other variations which are found among those writers, is one main argument why the far greater part of our modern critics reject it as a Jewish device; calculated to advance the glory of that nation.

But this is not the only plausible argument against it. We have observed, in the text above, some material objections that are justly urged against the pretended Aristeas, who is the first writer of this story; particularly, that he was a Jew in disguise, notwithstanding his pretending to be a heathen, and one of Ptolemy's guards: and this appears first from his style, which is fraught both with Hebraisms, and with panegyrics on the Jewish nation. 2. The praises he gives the Egyptian king and court are mostly false, and all of them calculated to advance the credit of the Jews.

The vast expence which he makes Ptolemy to have been

at, to get this version perfected, and which, put together, and computed at the most moderate rate, must have amounted to near two millions sterling; the sending for seventy-two elders, that is, six out of each of the twelve tribes, at a time when the names and tribes of Israel were absorbed into that of Jews; the extraordinary answers which those interpreters are said to have given extempore to the king's questions; and lastly, the story of Demetrius Phalereus being such a great favourite with that monarch; and the victory which the latter is there affirmed to have gained at sea over Antigonus, and which is mentioned by no other writer; all these, put together, render the whole account very incredible. But our design is not here to confute it, but to direct our readers to those authors who have written more copiously on that subject, and which he will find below (1).

(1) Du Pin. Script. Ecclesiast. part i. chap. vi. sect. 3. Simon. Hist. Crit. V. T. lib. ii. cap. 2. Usser. Hoddy, Prid. Connect. sub A. C. 277. Calmet sub voce Septante, & al.

to the glory of this version, and pretend that their high-priest, as well as that of the Jews, having been invited by Ptolemy to come at the head of a number of learned men to carry on the work, upon a review of both translations, that of the Samaritans had been preferred to the Jewish version, and placed in the library of the Egyptian monarch *.

But whether all the books of the Old Testament were translated at once, and by the same set of men, or, as some affirm, only the five books of Moses, we have no sufficient ground to affirm: the latter supposition doth, however, appear the more probable of the two, from the difference of style and exactness, which manifestly appears in them; for that of the Pentateuch is not only more faithful and agreeable to the original, but seems somewhat more ancient, and in the Alexandrian dialect; whereas that of the other books is more loose and incorrect, and sometimes renders the same Hebrew word differently from that of the Mosaic books, which seems to intimate that they had been done by different hands, and at some distance of time. Upon the whole, it is probable, that if the first version went no farther than the Pentateuch, the Hellenist Jews, who found so great a benefit from it, did not go long without having all the rest of the sacred volume translated into the same tongue.

Our next remark is, that the learned Usher has fixed the time of this version to this year, as he believed the main part of the history, which we have under the name of Aristeas, to be true and genuine; for, had he placed it later, it could not have coincided with the time of Eleazar, who is there mentioned as the Jewish high-priest, who sent the seventy-two translators into Egypt, and who died about the beginning of the following year; and, had he placed it earlier, it would have been before Ptolemy had married his sister Arsinoe; whereas the Jewish pontiff is there introduced as complimenting that princess, in his letter to the king, as his sister and queen.

We return now to the reign of Ptolemy, under whose benign influence the Jews, enjoying all the tranquillity they could wish, made use of that interval to study and explain the sacred books. They kept open schools, and Antigonus Sochæus was at the head of them: he died in great esteem of his nation, though Sadoc, and another disciple, named Baithus, forsook him and his doctrine,

*Jews
highly fa-
voured by
Ptolemy;*

* Lib. Josue sub citat.

to spread their own new-fangled Epicurism. He had two successors, namely, Joseph the son of Joazer, who took the title of nassi, or *prince*, and Joseph, the son of John, who assumed that of ab-beth-din, or *father* or *president of the sanhedrim*; and these jointly read their public lectures at Jerusalem^t. The Jewish chronologers last quoted, place Antigonius's death about the end of the twentieth year of Ptolemy's reign.

by Antiochus Theos.

On the other hand, some other contending monarchs shewed no less a desire to ingratiate themselves with the Jews; particularly Antiochus, surnamed Theos, or *the God*, and grandson of Seleucus, granted to those of Ionia the same privileges and franchises with the Greeks. This prince maintained a long and bloody war against Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was, at length, terminated by a treaty of marriage, wherein the former was to marry Berenice the daughter of the latter, and to repudiate his first wife Laodicea; but he having broken his contract by a series of enormous murders, was become so odious to all his subjects every where, that Ptolemy Euergetes, who had succeeded his father in Egypt, easily dispossessed him of the provinces of Syria and Cilicia, besides several other cities of Asia. Euergetes, in his return from all these conquests, past through Judæa in his way to Egypt, and, visiting Jerusalem, offered a great number of sacrifices at the temple, as an acknowledgement of his late successes^u (F).

Manasses made high priest.

Yr. of Fl.

2015.

Ante Chr.

243.

Onias high priest.

Soon after this period Eleazar died, and Onias, though above thirty years of age, was, for what reason does not appear, set aside from the high-priesthood to make way for his great uncle Manasses, the son of Jaddua, the uncle of Simon the Just. Manasses being then very old, enjoyed it but a little while; and left it to Onias, who ascended the pontifical chair in the thirty-second year of his age, and in the thirty-sixth of Ptolemy Philadelphus, but in an unlucky hour for the Jews. Onias, being of a base sordid spirit, neglected every thing but hoarding up of treasure, and was like to have ruined the Jewish state by his avarice, had not a near relation of his found out a notable expedient to save it^w.

^t Pirke, Abboth. Juchasin, & al. sup. citat.
Apion. lib. ij.

^u Joseph. cont.

^w Id. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 3.

(F) And yet he lived and have been an impious polluted a heathen; therefore his tion according to the religion sacrificing in the temple must of the Hebrews.

Judæa

Judæa had till then been taxed at the yearly tribute of twenty talents of silver, which sum his predecessors had constantly paid to the kings of Egypt; but Onias growing more covetous, as he grew older, had sunk that money into his own coffers, instead of sending it to the king's treasury. How long he had gone on in arrears, our author doth not tell us; but they were grown to such a height, that Ptolemy Euergetes thought fit to send Athenion, one of the officers of his court, to demand them of that pontiff, threatening him at the same time, that if they were not immediately paid, he would drive all the Jews out of their country, and re-people it with new colonies of his own. This unexpected demand put the whole city into the utmost consternation; and Onias, who valued neither his dignity nor nation, in comparison of his money, was the only person who remained insensible of the danger; resolved to sacrifice both to the resentment of that prince, rather than refund any part of his stolen pelf. His sister had then a son by her husband Tobias, who, though young, was highly esteemed for his piety, justice, and prudence: he was then at his country-seat, whither his mother sent him word of the peril in which her brother's fordid disposition was like to involve the whole nation. Joseph (that was the noble youth's name) lost no time to come and expostulate with his uncle. He upbraided him in the strongest terms for basely preferring his ill-gotten riches to the sacred nature of his function, the safety of his country, and especially his friends and relations; and finding him deaf to all he urged, advised at him at least to take a journey into Egypt, and endeavour to obtain a remission, either of the whole, or part of the debt. All the answer he could obtain from the resty old pontiff was, that he never coveted either his dignity or government; and that he was resolved to forego them both, rather than take such a long journey. There being no remedy left, Joseph offered to go and deprecate the wrath of the Egyptian monarch. His uncle relishing the proposal, he convened the people, and communicated his design, which was universally applauded. Then he invited Athenion to his house, where he entertained him sumptuously, and by dint of some valuable presents secured his good offices with the king his master. Accordingly that minister, on his return to court, prepossessed Ptolemy very much in favour of Joseph. This young Jew, in a little time, set out for Alexandria, where he not only prevailed upon the king to mitigate his demand

*His fordid-
ness like to
have been
fatal to the
Jews.*

*Joseph's
policy to
save his
country.*

*Goes into
Egypt.
His success
there.*

of

of the arrears of the tribute; but also by his address obtained the farm of the revenues of Cœlesyria, Phœnicia, and Judæa. Having procured this profitable contract, and borrowed a considerable sum of his Egyptian friends, he returned to Jerusalem, attended with an escort of two thousand men, to assist him in collecting the royal tribute, and to punish those who should refuse to pay it: the success of his commission the reader may see in the note (G).

Ptolemy Philopator. In the interim, Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator, succeeded his father Euergetes in Egypt, not without strong

(G) The Ascalonites were the first who felt the severe effects of his authority. They had not only disobeyed his commands, but had even loaded him with bitter invectives, so that, to prevent the infection spreading farther, he was forced to make a severe example of them to the rest. He caused twenty of the ringleaders to be hanged, and confiscated their estates, out of which he sent a thousand talents to the king, with an account of what he had done. He treated the inhabitants of Scythopolis after the same manner: the rest being all over-awed, did willingly open their gates, and pay their taxes; and Joseph, at the same time that he remitted them into Egypt, did from time to time send some presents to his friends there, to keep up his interest at court. As for the king, he was so pleased with such a considerable augmentation of his revenue, that he continued him in his office two-and-twenty years, during which time he gained an immense treasure, under the reigns of three Ptolemies, namely, Euergetes, Philopator, and Epiphanes, the son of Philometor, which last

was disposed of those provinces by Antiochus the Great, as will appear in its proper place. Epiphanes having recovered them in the sequel, by a marriage with Antiochus's daughter, Joseph was also restored to his farms, and enjoyed them many years after, even, as our Jewish historian tells us, to the day of his death.

Joseph by this time had seven sons by one of his wives, and an eighth named Hyrcan, by the daughter of his brother Selinus, who artfully substituted her in the room of a beautiful Egyptian dancer, whom he had promised to procure for Joseph's pleasure. When the cheat was discovered, Selinus so well expostulated the matter with him, that he easily convinced him, he had acted a friendly part in preventing his exposing himself to the contempt of the Egyptians, by cohabiting with such a public actress. Joseph, satisfied with his reasons, took his new wife home, and had this Hyrcan by her, who proved such a promising youth, that he soon ingrossed his affection from all his other brethren; and the sequel will shew, that he really deserved it (1).

(1) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 4.

suspicion of his having dispatched him by poison, as he was indeed profligate enough for such a deed; and Simon II. had succeeded his father Onias soon after in the priesthood at Jerusalem. This pontiff was of a quite different spirit from his father; he was a man of great piety and zeal, of singular conduct and courage; all which were put to a severe proof, before he had passed the first year of his pontificate. He was moreover free from that sordid avarice which had proved so detrimental to the Jewish state during his father's office; for, besides those dangers which his wife nephew had the address to avoid, they suffered a constant series of evils from the Samaritans, ever since these last came to be aware of the baseness of the Jewish pontiff. Nothing less indeed could be expected from that exasperated nation, who watched all opportunities to vent their malice, than that they should take the advantage of their weak government to ensnare and oppress them. Accordingly Josephus tells us, there was scarce a year in which they did not make some incursion, ravage the country, and carry away captives, during the whole time of that cowardly priest². But, to return to Philopator: he had like to have lost Palestine by the treachery of Theodore, governor of Phœnicia, who had rebelled against him, and engaged to put that province, together with those of Judæa and Cœlesyria, into Antiochus's hands, who had always looked upon them as dismembered from his own kingdom. The plot having been timely discovered, Antiochus openly invaded Galilee, took a great many cities on both sides Jordan, particularly Philoteria, on the north side of the sea of Tiberias, Bethshan, or Scythopolis, on the south, and Ittabyrum, strongly situated on Mount Tabor. From thence he subdued all the land that had formerly belonged to the two tribes and half, on the other side Jordan; but winter drawing near, he left five thousand men there under the command of Hippolochus and Keræas, two other revolters from Ptolemy, to keep the country in awe till next spring. By that time Ptolemy came with such a powerful army against him, that he defeated him in a set battle, and forced him out of those provinces; after which all the cities readily opened their gates, and sent their ambassadors to make their submission and presents to the conqueror³.

The Jews, always attached to the Egyptians, were some of the forwardest to come and congratulate him upon his

Yr. of Fl.
2111.
Ante Chr.
237.

*Simon II.
high-priest*

His character.

Jews harassed by the Samaritans.

Judæa saved by Ptolemy Philopator.

Galilee invaded by Antiochus.

Antiochus defeated by Ptolemy.

² Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 4.

³ Id. ibid. cap. 4. 3 Macc. i. 1, & c late

late success. They were kindly received by him, and, among other marks of his favour, he told them, that he designed to go to Jerusalem, and offer sacrifices to their God. He went thither accordingly; and, besides a great number of victims which he there offered, he made some considerable presents to the temple; this munificence, however, afforded them but a short-lived joy, which was soon after turned into the deepest mourning. The beauty

The temple profaned by him.

of the temple, and the splendid order and decency of its worship, unhappily raised in the king a curiosity of seeing the inside. Simon II. who then officiated as high-priest, failed not to represent to him the sacred nature of the place; the entrance of which was by their law forbid not only to strangers, but even to the Jews themselves, who were not of the sacerdotal order: he even ventured to denounce some heavy punishment from God, in case he presumed to profane the temple; whilst the priests were humbly surrounding him to obstruct his passage, and the people, in the utmost consternation, sending up their cries to heaven to avert his design. All this opposition served only to inflame his curiosity. He forced his way through

His miraculous punishment,

the outward courts, and was going on to enter into the holy place itself, when God smote him with such a dread and terror of mind, as put a full stop to his farther progress. He was carried out half dead by his attendants.

and resentment against the Jews.

But as soon as he retrieved the use of his senses, instead of adoring the powerful hand that had smitten him, he breathed out the most dreadful threats, not only against those who had dared to oppose his will, but against the whole nation. He soon after departed from Jerusalem, full of the deepest resentment, the sad effects of which he was not long before he made them feel, by one of the most dreadful persecutions that unhappy nation had ever suffered.

The persecution stopped.

But it was happily stopped by the singular interposition of Providence. We shall give an account of this wonderful change in the history of Ptolemy; and all that we shall observe here is, that as their constancy to their religion had obtained this miraculous deliverance, it drew as heavy a punishment on those who through fear had apostatized from it. Ptolemy, now more than ever convinced, that the Jews were protected by a divine power; and that men, who could be thus faithful to their God, could never turn rebels to their prince; among other marks of his favour and high esteem, did, at their earnest request, grant them full power to inflict what punishment they thought fit on those few apostates, who were soon after put

put to death, to the number of three hundred, as a warning to future ages (H).

Ptolemy Philopator died some time after, and left the kingdom to his son, surnamed Epiphanes; who, being then but between four and five years old, gave a handle to his two competitors, Antiochus the Great, and Philip of Macedon, to join their forces to divest the young monarch of his whole kingdom: the former was to invade the provinces of Palestine and Phœnicia, and the latter attack Egypt; and each was to keep all he conquered. On this occasion the wonted loyalty of the Jews failed them, so that they took part with Antiochus, who made a quick progress in that province; but was again as quickly deprived of it by Scopas the Egyptian general, who reduced the Jews to their former obedience. This advantage, however, proved but short-lived, and the Syrian king soon recovered it all from him; and in this second expedition the Jews did him such signal services, that he resolved to spare no favour to fix them to his interest; for when Scopas had only the citadel of Jerusalem left, into which he had thrown a strong garrison, they received the Syrian troops and elephants into that city, and assisted them with all their power to drive the Egyptians out of it; a task which was soon accomplished by their united strength.

Antiochus, therefore, willing to gratify the Jewish nation for their so freely engaging in his interest against the Egyptians, sent a letter to Ptolemy, his then general, which has been preserved at large by Josephus². In this, having related the great services which that people had done him, he acquaints Ptolemy, that he designed to restore their metropolis to its ancient splendor, liberty, and privileges, and to recall all those Jews who had been driven out of it:

Yr. of Fl.
2144.
Ante Chr.
204.

*Ptolemy
Epiphanes.*

*Antiochus's
generosity
to the
Jews.*

*Grants to
the city
and temple.*

² Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 3.

(H) The account of this persecution and deliverance, which are not mentioned by Josephus, is taken from a performance of doubtful credit, called "the third Book of the Maccabees." The author is supposed to have been an Alexandrian Jew, who studied embellishment more than truth. It was written in Greek, and is quoted by some ancient fa-

thers as canonical, though disputed by others. There is also a fourth book of the Maccabees, which we have sometimes quoted, though it in several places contradicts Josephus and other historians. The author is not certainly known; for farther particulars the reader may consult Calmet's Preface to it.

that,

that, out of his singular respect to the temple of their God, he granted unto them twenty thousand pieces of silver, towards the charges of victims, frankincense, wine, and oil; one thousand four hundred measures of fine wheat, and three hundred seventy-five measures of salt, towards their usual oblations. He declared that the temple should be thoroughly repaired at his own cost; that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion; that he would restore the public service of the temple, and the priests, Levites, singers, &c. to their usual functions; that no stranger, or Jew, that was unpurified, should enter within the sept (I) of that sacred place: and that no flesh of unclean beasts should be brought into Jerusalem, not even their skins; under the penalty of paying three thousand pieces of silver into the treasury of the temple. He farther granted an exemption from all taxes for three years to all the dispersed Jews that should come within a limited time to re-people that metropolis: and decreed that all who had been sold for slaves, within his dominion, should be immediately set free. By all these extraordinary favours, Antiochus so attached the Jews to his interest, that not only Judæa, but all the other neighbouring provinces, readily submitted to him; and that monarch, having in the space of one campaign subdued and quieted them, returned to his capital, where he passed the winter.

*and other
privileges.*

Yr. of Fl.
2140.
Ante Chr.
208.

Onias III.

*Seleucus
succeeds
Antiochus.*

*His kind-
ness to the
Jews.*

About three years after this event died the high-priest Simon II. and was succeeded by his son Onias III. a person of great piety, clemency^a, and worthy to have lived in better times than those of his pontificate proved, and deserving of a better end than he met with, as the sequel will shew. In the eighth year of Onias III. the Jews lost their great friend and protector Antiochus, who was murdered by the people of Elymais, but found as kind a patron in his son Seleucus for some time. The Jews were then in such high esteem, that sovereign princes courted their friendship, and made magnificent presents to the temple; and Seleucus furnished out of his own treasury all the expences of the sacrifice. Judæa enjoyed profound peace, and their laws were observed with great strictness under

^a Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 4, & 5. Euseb. Chron. & Chron. Alexand.

(I) This inclosure, which from the uncircumcised, within the Hebrew calls chel, was that which therefore it was unlawful which separated the circumcised for the latter to enter (2).

(2) Vide int. al. Lightfoote's Prospect of the Temple, cap. 17. their

their worthy high-priest ^b, until a misunderstanding which happened between him and Simon a Benjamite, brought a series of evils on the Jewish state.

Onias had then enjoyed the sacerdotal dignity about sixteen years; and Simon had been made governor of the temple. Perhaps that place was devolved to him from Joseph, the generous son of Tobias, lately mentioned, whose son he is supposed to have been; when an uproar happening in the city, caused this fatal breach betwixt those two great persons in the eleventh year of Seleucus. The author doth not tell us upon what account this tumult was raised, and the conjectures of modern authors about it are scarce worth mentioning. But this contest, whatever it was, grew to such a height, that Simon, finding he could not get the better of the strenuous pontiff, went away to Apollonius the son of Thraseas, who was then governor of Coelestria and Palestine, the only two provinces the Romans had left untaken from Seleucus ^c, and acquainted him, that there were immense treasures laid up in the temple of Jerusalem, which might at his pleasure be seized upon for the king's use. The governor sent to inform Seleucus of this particular (K), who dispatched immediately Heliodorus to fetch them away to Antioch.

Heliodorus, the better to conceal the purport of his commission, pretended that he was ordered to go and view all the cities of Coelestria and Phœnicia, and only to take Jerusalem in his way; but when he arrived in that city, where he was received by the Jews with singular honours, he acquainted Onias with the orders he had received from the king, and made a more particular enquiry after those treasures. The high-priest told him, that there was indeed such a treasure in the temple, though nothing so large as he had been informed; that, besides those things that had been consecrated to God, the rest had been deposited there by, or for the widows and orphans, for their

*A fatal
breach be-
tween O-
nias and
Simon.*

Yr. of Fl.
2172.
Ante Chr.
176.

*Simon's
treachery.*

*Heliodorus
sent to Je-
rusalem.*

^b 2 Maccab. iii. 1, & seq. ^c Liv. lib. xxxv. & seq. Appian. in Syriac. & al. 2 Maccab. iii. per tot.

(K) It is plain from this whole story, which is taken from the second book of the Maccabees, and confirmed by Josephus, that Seleucus had enjoyed Palestine, Coelestria, and Phœnicia, some time before his death. How his fa-

ther got these provinces from the king of Egypt, will be shewn in the History of the Seleucidæ in Syria; but how they reverted to that monarch, after they had been restored to Ptolemy upon his marriage with Cleopatra, we cannot find.

security,

*Endea-
vours to
force the
temple.*

*Is punished
by God.*

*Onias goes
to complain
to the king.*

security, whose property therefore they were; that a considerable sum had been likewise laid up there by Hyrcan the son of Joseph, a man of great dignity; and that he, being the guardian of this wealth, could never give his consent, that it should be alienated from the right owners, to the disgrace of his dignity, and of that sacred place, which was revered by all the world: but this remonstrance, not being sufficient to outweigh the positive orders which Heliodorus had received from the king, he marched directly towards the temple; the high-priest and the rest of the ministers of the place in vain endeavouring to obstruct his passage. Whilst the whole city was in the utmost confusion, the gates of the place were ordered to be broken down, and the Syrians were just going to enter, when God smote them with such a panic, that they fell down half-dead (L).

When the traitor Simon found, that he had missed his aim, he endeavoured to throw all the blame upon the good high-priest, pretending that he was the person who had called Heliodorus to Jerusalem; and raised such a party against him, that several persons were killed on both sides. At length Onias, fearing the consequences of such an intestine faction, especially seeing his rival in high favour with Apollonius the governor, went to complain to the king at Antioch. He was well received; and Simon was

(L) Heliodorus among the rest, who saw a vision of a man on horseback sumptuously dressed, who flew upon him with the utmost speed and fury, and crushed him under his horse's feet, was forthwith carried out almost dead by his men, and continued some days in that condition. At length Onias, fearing lest this wonderful accident should bring the Jews under the suspicion of having made some unlawful attempt against the Syrian minister, went to the temple, and offered some sacrifices for his recovery; which being obtained, he immediately left Jerusalem, and went to acquaint the king with what had happened to

him. Seleucus however, whether he suspected the truth of his relation, or was resolved at any price to get the Jewish treasure, asked him further, whether he knew any man that was fit to be sent upon that expedition? Heliodorus answered, that if the king had any enemy that he would be glad to get rid of, he need but send him to rifle that sacred place, and he would see him come back in such a condition, as would convince him, that it was under the protection of some divine and irresistible power. This whole story we must take on the authority of the book of Maccabees.

banished;

hamished⁴; but Seleucus, dying soon after, was succeeded by his son Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, who soon made his subjects repent of the joy they had expressed at his accession to the crown. The Jews were not long before they felt the dreadful effects of his fury, more through the ambition of some, and the factions and feuds which reigned then in that unhappy state, than the cruel temper of this new monarch.

Simon banished.

He was scarce settled on his throne, before Jason (M), the brother of Onias the high-priest, taking advantage of the king's penury, his treasury being quite exhausted by the large tribute his predecessors had paid to the Romans, went to Antioch, and procured from him the high-priesthood, at the price of three hundred and fifty talents; and obtained an order, that his brother should be sent to, and confined to dwell at that metropolis.

Yr. of Fl.
2173.
Ante Chr.
175.

Jason supplants his brother Onias.

Jason, finding how welcome this money was to the young monarch, and being desirous to lessen, as much as possible, the antipathy which other nations had against that of the Jews, offered him another sum of one hundred and fifty talents, for the liberty of erecting at Jerusalem a gymnasium or place of public exercises, such as were practised in Greece; an academy for training up the youth after the Grecian manner; and for the liberty of making such Jews as he thought fit, free of the city of Antioch: all which indulgences were readily granted. He then set out for Jerusalem, and with these powers formed so strong a party in Judæa, as he thought would easily overbear that of his rival Onias, which was still very strong, especially in Jerusalem. Among those that joined this intruder, were the malcontent sons of Joseph, lately mentioned, and a number of others, who, through a wanton inconstancy, were become excessively fond of the Grecian customs, and as weary of their own^e. The freedom of the city of Antioch, a very valuable privilege, was another bait, which drew still greater numbers over to him.

Builds a gymnasium at Jerusalem.

Gains a strong party there.

⁴ Euseb. in Chronic. Joseph. Ant. lib. xii. cap. 6.

^e Vide 1 Maccab. i. 12, & seq.

(M) This wretch was called Josua or Jesus; but as he was going to purchase the favour of the king and court at the expence of every thing that ought to have been valuable to an honest Jew, he began with

changing his name into that of Jason, which he thought more conformable and pleasing to the Greeks, whose customs he was then going to introduce into his nation.

*Causes a
general a-
postasy.*

From this time a general apostasy from the Jewish religion overspread the greatest part of the nation: the academies were erected by the usurping high-priest; and as some of these exercises were to be performed naked, the performers found means to efface the scar of circumcision, to prevent their being distinguished from other people. The priests, as well as the laity, from thenceforward neglected the service of the temple, to assist at these new exercises; and the laws, which the Jewish nation had obtained for the free exercise of their religion and rights, became of none effect.

*Sends pre-
sents to Ja-
crifice to
Hercules.*

As Jason stuck at nothing that could ingratiate himself with Antiochus, he sent next year a number of his partizans, on whom he had bestowed the freedom of Antioch, to assist at the Olympic games, with a considerable sum to be spent in sacrifices to the Tyrian Hercules, in whose honour those games were celebrated; but these men, whether out of conscience, or fear, chose rather to make a present of it to the Tyrians towards the repairing of their fleet. Antiochus by this time understanding that the young king of Egypt, now of age, designed to attempt the recovery of Palestine, Phœnice, and Coelesyria, made a tour into these provinces, and took Jerusalem in his way, where Jason received him with a magnificence suitable to the value he put upon that monarch's favour and friendship.

*Supplant-
ed by his
brother.*

He did not however enjoy his ill-gotten dignity long, before he was thrust out of it by his brother Menelaus (N), whom he had sent to Antiochus with the usual tribute. Menelaus, instead of consulting the king about those matters which his brother had charged him with, took that opportunity to insinuate himself into his favour, by the most flagrant flatteries; to which having added the sum of three hundred talents more than Jason had paid for the high-priesthood, he easily obtained it, and returned with his new commission to Jerusalem, in the third year of Jason's pontificate. He soon raised a strong party, at the head of which were the sons of Tobias, then very powerful in Judæa; but Jason was not without his powerful friends, who, detesting Menelaus's treachery, soon forced him to retire, with the heads of his faction, into Antioch. Thither, the better to gain their point against Jason, they

*Menelaus
buys the
high-priest-
hood.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2176.
Ante Chr.
172.*

(N) This apostate's right name was Onias, which he changed for that of Menelaus,

went,

went, and acquainted Antiochus, that they were fully resolved to forsake their old religion, and wholly to conform to that of his country; a declaration which so pleased that proud monarch, that he sent them back with a force sufficient to drive Jason out of Judæa into the land of the Ammonites. Being thus rid of his rival, and seated in his new dignity, his next care was to perform his promise to the king, and to outdo his brother in his apostasy ^{*Apostatizes.*} ^{*f.*}

But whilst he was endeavouring, by all wicked means, to ingratiate himself with Antiochus and his court, he neglected one main article, the paying of the money he had promised to him, notwithstanding the pressing importunities of Softratus, then governor of the citadel of Jerusalem, and receiver of the king's customs in Palestine. At length Antiochus, suspecting some private intelligence between them, ordered them both to come to Antioch, commanding Menelaus to leave his brother Lyfimachus his vicegerent at Jerusalem. At their arrival, they found the king had been forced to go and quell a sedition in Cilicia; and had left the government of Antioch to Andronicus, one of the prime nobles of his court. Menelaus having exhausted his coffers, and finding that nothing but the payment of the king's money could recover his favour, sent private instructions to his brother at Jerusalem, to convey to him as many of the golden vessels as he could conveniently strip the temple of; which having received soon after, and caused to be sold at Tyre, and in the neighbouring cities, he raised a sufficient sum, not only to satisfy the king, but also to bribe his courtiers in his favour. ^{*Rifts the temple of Jerusalem.*} All this however could not be transacted so secretly, but his brother Onias, who had been, ever since his deposition, confined to that capital, had intelligence of his sacrilege. He made such bitter complaints against Menelaus, as were like to have raised all the Antiochian Jews against him. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to Andronicus, whom he had already bribed by his presents; and, for a fresh sum of money, engaged him to cut off the good old high-priest, who being by this time apprised of his intrigues, had taken sanctuary at Daphne, an asylum near the city of Antioch. Andronicus went thither, and, under some pretence or other, accompanied with the most solemn vows and protestations for his safety, had no sooner got him out of the place, than he put him to death, without regard either to his oaths, the sanctity of the place, or the laws of hospitality. ^{*Onias complains against him.*} ^{*Onias murdered.*}

^f Maccab. ubi supra, & Joseph. ubi supra.

*Andronicus
put to death.*

*Lyfimachus
massacred.*

*Deputies
sent from
the sanhe-
drim to An-
tiochus.*

*Yr. of Fl.
ante Chr.
178.
170.*

*The deputies
put to death.*

This treacherous murder of a person so venerable for his age and exemplary piety, and so respected in that metropolis, both by Jews and Gentiles, excited the bitterest complaints against the sacrilegious assassin, as soon as the king was returned to Antioch; and that prince, bad as he was, could not forbear shedding tears at the relation of the inhuman deed. As soon therefore as he had taken full cognizance of the fact, he caused the murderer to be stripped of his purple, to be conducted with infamy to the place where the crime had been committed, and there to be put to death. Menelaus, though the most guilty of the two, found means to avoid the present storm, and to maintain his credit some time longer; but he was obliged to draw large sums from Jerusalem, which Lyfimachus was forced to raise by the most unheard-of violences and sacrileges. These excited a tumult, in which the Jews fell upon him, and the three thousand men he had assembled to defend him, with such desperate fury, that they killed a great number of them, and put the rest to flight. Lyfimachus, no longer able to resist, was pursued to the treasury of the temple, and there massacred by the enraged multitude. Antiochus coming soon after to Tyre, the Jewish sanhedrim resolved to send a deputation to him, both to justify the death of Lyfimachus, and to accuse Menelaus as the author and cause of all the troubles that had happened both in Judæa and Antioch. The three deputies pleaded their cause so well before the king, that Menelaus, not knowing which way to clear himself, and avoid the impending punishment, had recourse to his old secret of bribery. He applied himself to a favourite of Antiochus, named Ptolemy Macron, the son of Dorymenes, and promised him so large a sum, that the courtier, who knew the inconstancy of that monarch's temper, easily prevailed upon him, not only to absolve the apostate high-priest, but also to condemn the three Jewish deputies to death. This sentence was forthwith put in execution, and those venerable men were hurried to death, who, as the author of the Maccabees expresses it, would have gained their cause, had they pleaded it before even the Scythians; and indeed this piece of cruelty and injustice was so shocking to the Tyrians, that though they dared not openly exclaim against it, yet they ventured to shew their respect to those deputies, by bestowing an honourable burial upon them.

This unjust sentence afforded the traitor Menelaus such a complete victory over all his opposers, that from thenceforth he gave himself up to all manner of tyranny and wickedness: Jerusalem became destitute of protectors; the sanhedrim were so terrified by this last cruelty exercised on their deputies, that they no longer dared to oppose him, though they saw, that every step he took was with design to enslave the nation still more, and to overturn the small remains of their religion and liberties.

*Menelaus's
tyranny and
impiety.*

This fatal change was occasioned by an accident, which seemed at first of no great consequence, but proved in a little time the cause of all their miseries. Antiochus was then engrossed by the conquest of Egypt, when a false rumour was spread, that he had been killed before Alexandria. Jason, who had been forced to retire into the land of Ammon after his deposition, hearing this rumour, thought it was a fit opportunity to attempt the recovery of his dignity; and that his nation, tired with the Syrian government, and especially with the tyranny of Menelaus, would readily receive him again with open arms. To this end he raised a band of about one thousand resolute men, at the head of whom he quickly appeared before the walls of Jerusalem, which, by the help of a party which he had within that metropolis, he easily entered, and forced his brother to retire into the citadel; after which success, minding nothing but his resentment, he committed the most horrid butcheries against such of the Jews as he suspected to have been of the contrary party. He was, however, soon after forced to leave both the city and country, at the news of Antiochus coming with a powerful army against him; for that prince, highly provoked at this rebellion, and especially at the news, that the Jewish nation had made some rejoicings, at the report of his death, was actually coming with a great army against Jerusalem. The Jews, apprised of his design against them, seem to have made a stout resistance, and to have given him no small trouble in making his way into their metropolis (O); but the gates being at length forced open,

*Jason
forces into
Jerusalem.*

*Commits
horrid
butcheries
there.*

*Antiochus
takes it by
storm.*

(O) So says the book of the Maccabees, with whom agree Diodorus Siculus, and even Josephus, in his Wars of the Jews, where he expressly says, that he laid siege to that city, and represents him as enraged at the trouble it gave him; but in his Antiquities he tells us, that he entered it without force; and that those of his party within opened the gates to him. The former is indeed the most probable, and Josephus

Yr. of Fl.
178.
Ante Chr.
170.

His cruelty.

*Profanes
and plun-
ders the
temple.*

*Leaves
Judæa un-
der brutish
governors.*

*The Jews
horridly
butchered.*

Yr. of Fl.
180.
Ante Chr.
168.

open, he spared no cruelty against its unhappy inhabitants, insomuch that within three days they reckoned no less than forty thousand killed, and as many taken captives, and sold for slaves to the neighbouring nations^h.

His fury did not stop here: he caused the traitor Menelaus, who, by this time, had by some means recovered his good graces, to lead him to the temple, which he entered, even to its most sacred recesses, laying his impious hands on all the vessels that were in it; and caused the golden altar of incense, the golden table of the shewbread, the golden candlestick, the censers, bowls, and other utensils belonging to that holy place, to be seized, together with the golden shields, crowns, and other ornaments, which had been dedicated to it. He caused also the gold plating that covered the gates, and other architecture of the temple, the veil that divided the holy from the most holy place, and, in a word, all that was valuable, either for its metal or workmanship, to be carried off, besides one thousand eight hundred talents of gold and silver, which he forced out of the treasury. Having thus glutted his revenge and avarice, he returned in triumph to Antiochⁱ. As a further mark of his spleen against that unhappy nation, he put it under the government of one Philip, a most barbarous Phrygian; and left the apostate Menelaus in possession of the high-priesthood^k.

What the Jewish nation suffered under those governors, is more easily imagined than described; but their miseries were not to end there. Some time after, Antiochus having received a mortifying letter from the Roman senate, he chose them above all other people to wreck his resentment against, and with as much cruelty, as if they had been the cause of his disgrace. To this end he dispatched from his army, as he was marching through Palestine, Apollonius, at the head of twenty-two thousand men, with orders to plunder all the cities of Judæa, to murder all the men, and to save only the women and children, for sale. Apollonius came accordingly with his army, and, to outward appearance, with a peaceable intention. He kept himself inactive till the next sabbath, when they were all

^h 2 Maccab. v. ver. 11, & 14.

ⁱ 2 Maccab. v. 21.

^k Josephus cont. Ap. lib. ii. & Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 16.

phus might easily forget himself through the distance of time in which he wrote those two books; and this may in

some measure atone for several inconsistencies of the same nature, which are to be met with in his works.

in profound quiet, when on a sudden he commanded his men to arms: some of them he sent to cut all in pieces that were gone to the temple, and to the other synagogues, whilst the rest, going through the streets of the city, massacred all that fell in their way, without the least resistance from those unhappy wretches, who suffered themselves to be butchered in that merciless manner, rather than break their sabbath, by standing on their defence. He next ordered the city to be plundered, and set on fire; pulled down all their stately fabrics; caused the walls to be demolished; and carried away captive about ten thousand of those that had been saved from the slaughter¹. From that time, the service of the temple was quite abandoned, that place having been every where polluted, both with the blood of the slain, and with many other defilements. From the ruins of the city, the officers of Antiochus built a large fortress, on an eminence in the city of David, fortified it with a strong wall, stately towers, and placed a garison in it to command the temple, over-against which it was built; so that the soldiers could easily see and fall upon all those that ventured to approach that sacred place, so many of whom were continually plundered and murdered by them, that the rest, not daring to stay longer in Jerusalem, went and dwelt in the neighbouring cities of the Gentiles. In this polluted and forsaken condition did this metropolis, and its temple, continue three full years and a half; that is, till Judas Maccabeus, having wrested both out of their hands, purified and restored them to their ancient splendor and use^m (P).

The

¹ 1 Maccab. i. 30, & seq. ² Maccab. v. 24, & seq. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 7. ^m 1 Maccab. iv. passim. ² Maccab. x. Joseph. ubi supra, & Præfat. in Bell. Judaic. & Histor. de Bell. lib. i. cap. 1. lib. vi. cap. 11.

(P) In the time of this persecution under Antiochus, is generally supposed to have lived Jesus the son of Sirach, author of the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus. Some place him indeed in the time of Onias II. but, by some passages scattered here and there in this work, he seems rather to have lived about the time of Onias III. and when his nation suffered some grievous persecution.

Who this author was, is neither agreed, nor easily guessed. It appears, that his great thirst after wisdom made him pray fervently, study hard, travel much, and undergo many great dangers for it; that he had been unjustly traduced to the king; whence he is supposed to have retired into Egypt, and there composed his book. Lastly, he tells us, that he was the last writer of

Jews persecuted every where.

The fury of this persecution was not confined to the Jews of Palestine. Antiochus, resolved either totally to abolish their religion, or to destroy their whole race, as far at least as he could reach them, caused a decree to be issued out the following year, that all nations within his dominions should forsake their old religion and gods, and worship those of the king, under the severest penalties. To make his orders more effectual, he sent overseers into every province to see them strictly put in execution; and as the Jews were the only people, who he knew would disobey them, especial directions were given to treat them with the utmost severity. Many, therefore, either to avoid the effects of his rage, or to ingratiate themselves with him, not only complied with great readiness, but, having once apostatized, became the bitterest enemies of those who had the courage to refuse^a. It fared far otherwise with the Samaritans, whose zeal, either for the Jewish nation, or the Mosaic law, a much less danger would have cooled (Q).

A cruel persecution in Judæa.

Jupiter's statue set up in the temple.

But whilst they were peacefully enjoying the fruits of their treacherous complaisance, Athenæas, an old minister, well versed in all the heathenish rites, as well as in cruelty, made those of Judæa undergo the most severe punishments for their zeal and firmness to their law. He began with dedicating the temple to Jupiter Olympius, and causing his statue to be erected on the altar of burnt-offerings (R), with

^a Joseph. ubi supra. x Maccab. vi. 21, & seq.

the Jewish nation who treated of moral subjects. This is all that we know of the author.

(Q) These, to convince the king that they did not design to die martyrs to either, sent a deputation to him, setting forth, that though they had hitherto conformed to many of the Jewish superstitions, in imitation of their forefathers, who had been persuaded to it for their own safety, yet they were now ready to forsake them, and to embrace the king's religion. They added, that they had a temple on Mount Garizzim, which was dedicated to a God without a name; but

begged it might thenceforth be dedicated to the Grecian Jupiter. They concluded with a petition, that as they were not of Jewish, but Sidonian race, and were ready to conform in every thing to the king's will, they might not be involved in the same calamities with their wicked rivals. Antiochus readily granted their request, and dispatched a letter to Nicanor, his subgovernor there, with orders, that they should be distinguished from the Jews, and that their temple should be dedicated according to their petition.

(R) This idol was set up in the

with another lesser altar before it, whereon they sacrificed to that false deity. All those, therefore, that refused to come and worship it, were either immediately massacred, or put to some lingering torments, till they either complied, or expired. At the same time, altars, groves, and statues, were set up in every city and town of Judæa, to which the inhabitants were compelled to come and sacrifice, under the same severe penalties. When the feast of Bacchus revolved, they were either forced to assist at it, and to go about the streets with their heads crowned with ivy, in honour of that beastly deity, or expose themselves to some cruel death; all this, while it was made immediate death to be caught observing either the sabbath, the rite of circumcision, or any other branch of the Mosaic law; insomuch that two women, having been found to have circumcised the children of which they had lately been delivered, were both led, with the infants hung about their necks, through several streets of Jerusalem, and cast headlong down from the highest walls of the city; and all that had assisted at the ceremony were put to death.

*Execrable
butcheries
committed
in the city
and coun-
try.*

These unheard-of barbarities obliged many of the Jews to leave their habitations, and hide themselves among the cragged rocks in holes and caverns, where they lived upon wild roots and herbs. Some of these ventured to assemble in a cavern near Jerusalem, to celebrate the sabbath; but Philip, their barbarous Phrygian governor, having been informed of their design, came against them with a sufficient force; and, after having in vain offered them a general amnesty, if they would forsake their religion, and conform to that of the king, he waited, without any other hostilities, till the next sabbath; on which, entering the cave without resistance, he caused them all, men, women, and children, to be massacred, to the number of a thousand.

*Jews re-
tire into
caverns;*

*Yr. of Fl.
2180.
Ante Chr.
168.*

*and mas-
sacred.*

As soon as Antiochus had heard that such numbers remained inflexible, he resolved to come in person to Jeru-

*Antiochus
comes to
Jerusalem.*

• Maccab. & Joseph. ubi supra.

• 2 Maccab. vi. 10, & seq.

the temple on the fifteenth of the month Cisleu, which answers to part of our November and December; but they did not begin to offer sacrifices to it till the twenty-fifth of that month, which was the king's

birth-day; so that from thenceforth they continued sacrificing to it every twenty-fifth day of the month, till the Jewish religion and state were restored by Judas Maccabeus.

salem,

*Eleazar
martyred.*

*His singular
intrepidity.*

*Seven brethren
and
their mother
martyred.*

salem, and to see either his orders more punctually obeyed, or the recusants punished with the most exquisite cruelties. One of the first that fell a victim to his fury was the venerable Eleazar, a man of ninety years of age, respected by all for his great learning, probity, and zeal for his religion, and whose example had preserved a great number of Jews from falling into apostasy. Him they brought upon the stage, and commanded to eat swine's flesh; and, when they could not prevail upon him by any means to comply, they desired him that at least he would, out of regard to his extreme old age, consent to eat some other unforbidden flesh, that they might make the king believe that he had obeyed. The good old man answered, with becoming courage, that the most dreadful death was preferable to such a base dissimulation, so unworthy his old age and character, and so dangerous in its consequence, since it might be the means of seducing many of his nation to follow his example. As soon as he had ended this speech, which was interpreted as the effect of his pride rather than of his zeal, he was dragged to execution. When he was ready to expire he cried out, with a loud voice, "O Lord, thou knowest what pains I suffer in my body, from which I might have freed myself; but my soul feels a real joy, because I suffer them for the sake of thy law:" and fetching a deep groan, gave up the ghost. After him, the seven brethren, whose martyrdom is related in the same book¹, suffered, one after another, the most exquisite torment, with invincible courage and constancy, whilst their mother stood by, encouraging and strengthening them, in the Hebrew tongue, with the assurance of a glorious recompence in the next life; for which she was, last of all, sacrificed to the tyrant's fury, and died with the same cheerfulness and intrepidity which she had inspired into her offspring (S).

¹ 2 Maccab. vi. 18, & seq.

² Chap. vii.

It

(S) Josephus has likewise given us the history at large of those martyrs, in a book by itself, intitled, Of the Empire of Reason. It is now better known to us by that of the book of the Maccabees; but, as neither he, nor the author of the second book of that name, do expressly mention

the place where this dreadful scene was acted, Rufinus has taken it into his head that it was done at Antioch, because they shewed their tomb in that city in St. Jerom's time, and had there built and dedicated a church to them. But as Josephus seems to believe that it was done at Jerusalem, and is followed

It was about this time that Mattathias, an eminent priest of the family of Joarib, began to signalize himself by his zeal for his religion. He had been, some time before, forced to retire to Modin, his native place, to shun the sight of those scenes of cruelty and profaneness, which were acted at Jerusalem by Apollonius, and the apostate Jews. During his recess, Apelles, one of the king's officers, came to oblige the inhabitants of the place to execute his commands*. Having got the people together, with Mattathias, and his five sons (T), he addressed himself to him on account of his dignity, and the great esteem he was in, hoping, that if he could persuade him to comply, his example would soon draw all the rest. He made him the amplest promises, that the king's favour and protection would be the immediate reward of his compliance. Mattathias answered him, with a voice loud enough to be heard by all the assembly, that though the whole Jewish nation, and the whole world, were to conform to the king's edict, yet both he and his sons would continue faithful to their God to the last minute of their lives; and that no consideration should prevail on them to forsake the religion of their forefathers. In the mean time the king's officers had prevailed on some cowardly Jews to take another way; and one of them was just then going to sacrifice to an idol, when the old priest, calling to mind what the law of Moses ordains against such transgressors, that they should be put to immediate death†, fell upon the man, and killed him upon the spot. His sons, at the same time, being fired with the same zeal, killed the king's officer and his men, overthrew the altar and idol, and, running about the city, cried out, that those who were zealous for the law of God, should fol-

Mattathias's eminent zeal and bravery.

Noble answer to Apelles.

Heads the Jews against the Syrians.

* Joseph. Ant. lib. x. cap. 8. † Maccab. ii. 1, & seq. ‡ Deut. xiii. 6, & seq.

followed by many learned men, such severe examples were and Rufinus gives no better thought most necessary by that reason than that of his tradition, we see no occasion for exasperated prince.

(T) These were Johanan, furnamed Kaddis; Simon, furnamed Thaffi; Judas, called Maccabeus, and the most famous of all the rest; Eleazar, furnamed Avarani; and Jonathan, furnamed Apphus (1).

(1) 1 Maccab. ii. 15, & 23.

low

*Leads them
into the des-
ert.*

low them : by which means they saw themselves at the head of a numerous troop, with whom they soon after withdrew into some of the deserts of Judæa. These were presently followed by great numbers, who, to avoid persecution, flocked to them from other parts of the country.

As soon as Mattathias and his men had reached a place of safety, they began to consult about the best means for standing on their own defence. Here the remembrance of those of their brethren, who had suffered themselves to be butchered by their enemies on the sabbath, soon made them sensible of their danger, unless they steered a different course ; for, as long as they continued in that scrupulous notion of non-resistance, for fear of breaking the sabbath, they would be still liable to the same stratagems, and by that means, in a little time, be totally extirpated. Having therefore maturely weighed the matter, and consulted other learned priests and rulers that were come over to them, it was resolved that, for the future, it should be lawful, nay, obligatory, to take up arms in their own defence, whenever they were attacked, on the sabbath as well as on any other day *. This decree having been privately communicated to the Jews, in and out of Palestine, together with their reasons for passing it, it was universally received by all ; and from that time they made no difficulty to defend their lives and properties at all times, and upon all occasions (U).

*Tr. of Fl.
218.
Ante Chr.
167.*

*Mattathias
restores the
worship of
God.
Marches
through the
cities.
Recovers
the sacred
books.*

Mattathias having strengthened his little army with these and other stout and religious men, who daily resorted to him, began to try his force, not only against their persecutors, but also against his apostate brethren. As many of these as he took he put to death ; the rest, in much greater numbers, he forced to fly into foreign countries, to secure themselves from his resentment. Having once struck terror into the hearts of his enemies, he marched from city to city, overturned the idolatrous altars, opened the Jewish synagogues, which had till then been either shut up or appropriated to other uses, made a diligent search after all the sacred books which had escaped the fury of their enemies, and ordered fresh copies of

* Joseph. 1 Maccab. ubi supra.

(U) Among those who resorted to, and did not a little strengthen, the inconsiderable flying army of Mattathias, were the Assideans, or rather Hassideans,

a brave and strenuous sect, formed among the Jews soon after their return from the captivity.

them

them to be written. He caused the reading and expounding of the Scriptures, prayers, and other parts of divine worship, to be resumed, and all the males born since the persecution to be circumcised*. In all these measures God blessed him with such success, that he had extended this reformation through a considerable part of Judæa, within the short space of one year; and, in all likelihood, would have gone through with it, even to Jerusalem, where the strongest Syrian garison was kept, had he not been prevented by death. But what he left unfinished, was soon after perfected by his worthy sons, especially by Judas Maccabeus, of whom we shall speak more fully in the next section.

In the mean time Mattathias, finding himself quite worn out with age and sickness, called his sons together, and spoke to them to this effect: "Hitherto pride and oppression have been suffered to prosper over us, for a punishment of our sins; but now be ye valiant and zealous for God's laws, and fear not to expose your lives in defence of God's covenant with your forefathers, if you expect the reward promised to it. Call to your remembrance the obedience of Abraham, the faithfulness of Joseph, the zeal of Phinehas, Caleb's courage, David's constancy, Elijah's zeal, and the intrepidity of Daniel and his faithful companions. Let their miraculous deliverance inspire you with a sure trust in the Almighty's protection. Be not discouraged by the threats and weak efforts of the greatest men, who, though they seem to triumph now, will shortly be cut off, and become the food of worms; but arm yourselves with courage, in defence of our laws, liberties, and religion, and you will not fail of success. Simon, your eldest brother, has always shewed himself a man of consummate wisdom; let him supply the office of a father and a counsellor, and do nothing without his advice. Judas is well known to you all for his valour and conduct; let him be your general, and lead you against your enemies. And may heaven crown his and your valour with glory and success!" Having thus said, he expired in a good old age, and was buried at Modin with his ancestors, greatly lamented by all the faithful in Israel†(X).

*His last
speech to
his sons.*

Yr. of Fl.
212a.
Ante Chr.
166.

He *His death.*

* 1 Maccab. ii. 43, & seq.

† Ibid. ii. 49. ad fin.

(X) The first book of Maccabees barely tells us, that he died in the one hundred and forty-sixth year, without mentioning whether of his life, or of the æra of the Seleucidæ. Some therefore have taken it in the former sense; but the far greater part in the latter; for the one hundred and forty-

The History of the Jews.

He was, according to his desire, succeeded by his son Judas in the command of the army; and by him the Jewish religion and state were soon after restored to their ancient splendor, as we shall see in the next section.

S E C T. III.

The Sequel of the Jewish History, from Judas Maccabeus to the Conquest of Judæa by the Romans.

*Judas
Maccabeus
succeeds his
father.*

JUDAS, surnamed Maccabeus, from whom the heroes of this epocha had the name of Maccabees (Y), did not suffer his troops to continue longer idle than till they had

forty-sixth year of the kingdom of the Greeks, falls exactly with the Julian year 166 before Christ, which is the year in which he died.

(Y) There are various conjectures concerning the etymology of the word, and not one of them to be depended upon; not only because nothing is more uncertain than etymologies, but because the book of the Maccabees being only extant in Greek, we have no certainty which were the original letters of the world.

The first book of the Maccabees was written originally, either in Hebrew or the Chaldee, which became the current language of the Jews, after the captivity. Its style and phrase come nearest that of the sacred historians of any of the Apocrypha, and its chronological computation is purely Hebrew, and begins always at the month Nisan, answering to our March and April; whereas the Syrians, &c. began their year six months later.

It contains a clear and succinct history of what happened to the Jews, from the reign of

Antiochus Epiphanes, to the death of the high-priest Simon, that is, of about forty years. It was partly compiled from the memoirs which Judas Maccabeus had caused to be collected, and partly from those of the high-priest Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, who began his government where the book ends, and who is therefore by some supposed to be the author of it, though he be barely quoted in it, as having furnished him the materials out of his chronicle.

The second book of the Maccabees is an epitome of a larger history written by one Jason, but long since lost. Both the author and the abridger seem to have been Hellenists, by their manner of computation and style; or rather it looks like a collection of some valuable pieces, relating to the Jewish history, from the attempt of Heliodorus upon the treasury of the temple, to the signal victory which Judas Maccabeus gained over Nicanor fifteen years after.

We have already spoken of the third book of the Maccabees,

had ended the days of his father's mourning. His little army amounted to no more than six thousand men^a; but what they wanted in number, they made up in zeal and bravery. God gave them such success, that they quickly reduced some of the strongest fortresses of Judæa, falling upon their enemies so suddenly, and with such courage, that they drove them out of their cities, villages, and advantageous posts; insomuch that Judas's name began to grow terrible to the Syrians, Samaritans, and apostate Jews; whilst those who had forsaken their country, to avoid persecution, were encouraged to resort daily to him from their retreats. His troops increased to such a degree as to make Apollonius, the then governor of Judæa and Samaria, think it high time to suppress their rising power, before it should be grown to a greater height. He hastened therefore to raise a considerable army, which chiefly consisted of Samaritans, Jewish renegadoes, and other neighbouring nations, with whom he marched against the Maccabean chief. Judas, on the other hand, no ways terrified with the superiority of the enemy, came out against him with his handful of men, and gave him a total defeat. Apollonius was killed on the spot, with a great number of his soldiers. The rest were put to the rout, leaving a rich plunder behind them. Among the rest of the spoil, Judas took the slain governor's sword, and used it ever after, in those wars which he waged against the enemies of the Jewish nation^a.

Yr. of Fl.
2182.
Ante Chr.
166.

His bravery and success.

Defeats the Syrians.

Apollonius slain.

Antiochus's rage against the Jews.

Seron defeated.

This defeat so enraged Antiochus, that he again denounced the total extirpation of the Jews; and happy was it for them that his treasury was then so exhausted by his extravagant largesses, that he was forced to suppress his resentment, till he could raise a sufficient supply of money to renew the war against them: but before he could accomplish this aim, another of his generals received likewise a signal overthrow. This was Seron, deputy-governor of Cœlesyria^b, under Ptolemy Macron, who took it into his head to march against Judas, in hopes, that if he could defeat that little army of his, before the king sent more forces thither, he should gain no

^a 2 Maccab. viii. 1.
lib. xii. cap. 10.

^a 1 Maccab. iii. 10, & seq. Joseph.
^b Maccab. iii. 13.

bees, as previous in the time to these two, and in authority to the latter of them. We shall likewise refer the reader to what we subjoined in that note concerning the fourth book of that name.

small

*and killed.**Nicanor
and Georgias
sent
against
Judas.**Judas's
speech to
his troops.*

small glory by the exploit. He advanced therefore as far as Bethoron, where Judas met him with a handful of troops. These, seeing the superiority of the enemy, expressed great reluctance to engage, fatigued as they were with marching and fasting (Z); but Judas soon dispelled their fears, by reminding them that they fought the cause of God, who was not wont to save by strength and number, and whose glory, now concerned in their success, would display itself the more, by the disproportion there was between their two armies. Thus encouraged, they fell upon the Syrians with such vigour, that Seron was overthrown and killed, with eight hundred of his men, on the spot. Some of the rest fled as far as Bethoron, and the greatest part saved themselves by taking refuge in the land of the Philistines^b. These continued successes of the new Jewish general made Philip, governor of Judæa, think it high time to acquaint Antiochus with the danger that province was in of being lost, if not speedily relieved. Antiochus had been obliged to leave the government to Lyfias, whilst he himself was gone beyond the Euphrates. Lyfias, who had orders to invade Judæa, and to destroy all the Jews, dispatched immediately to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Coele Syria and Phœnicia, and to Nicanor, and Georgias, two experienced officers, forty thousand foot, with orders to see the king's commands punctually obeyed against the Jewish nation. These came and encamped on the plains of Emmaus, not far from Jerusalem, about twenty miles from Lydda, where they were reinforced with seven thousand horse.

Judas immediately assembled his little army, consisting only of six thousand men, whom he encouraged by recapitulating his late victories, and reminding them that their religion, lives and liberties were at stake. Then he made proclamation, according to the Mosaic law, that all who had married wives, planted vineyards, or felt their hearts fail, should depart; and near one half of his army left him on this occasion. The rest, who remained in-

^b Maccab. iii. 14, & seq.

(Z) Bethoron was, according to St. Jerom and Eusebius, about twelve thousand paces from Jerusalem; but, according to Josephus, one hundred

stadia. It was situate northward of Jerusalem, and between that metropolis and Sechem.

trepid,

trepid, were scarcely furnished with weapons fit for so bold and unèqual an enterprize^c; nevertheless, he led his three thousand men to Mizpah, there to implore the divine assistance, by prayer, fasting, and sacrifices; in confidence of which, he marched with them against the enemy, and encamped as near them as he safely could, resolved to offer them battle early the next morning, of which intention he gave his troops notice that very night^d. In the mean time intelligence was brought him, by some of his scouts, that Georgias was coming at the head of five thousand of his choicest men, and one thousand horse, to surprize him in his camp; an information which gave him such an opportunity of countermining the enemy, as gained him a complete and easy victory; for, taking the advantage of Georgias's absence, he and his three thousand men fell on a sudden on the Syrian army, killed three thousand of their men, and put the rest into such confusion, that they could not be rallied again by any means, but left their camp and all their baggage and spoil behind them, and fled. Georgias, having in vain sought for his enemy, whom he supposed to have retired into the mountains, was returning back to his army, when he perceived his camp on fire; a circumstance which threw his men into such a panic, that, in spite of all he could do to prevent it, they threw down their arms, and ran after the rest. Judas did not leave off pursuing them till he had killed six thousand more of their men; after which slaughter, he led his victorious troops to plunder the enemy's camp, where, among other rich spoil, they found that money which the greedy merchants had brought to buy the Jewish captives. This signal victory was gained on the Friday; and next day being their sabbath, was celebrated with suitable returns to the Divine Providence for their miraculous deliverance^e.

Leads them to Mizpah.

Defeats Nicanor.

Burns Georgias's camp;

gets an immense spoil,

This action proved doubly advantageous to the conqueror. It furnished him with quantities of arms and ammunition for his men; and his fame drew daily fresh reinforcements from all parts of Judæa, whom his success encouraged to repair to him from all the places of their dispersion; so that he found himself soon in a condition to attempt another action, which proved no less glorious and successful than the last. Timotheus, governor of the country beyond Jordan, and Bacchides, an-

and good supply of arms, &c.

^c Vide Deut. xx. 5. ^d 1 Maccab. iii. 57, & seq. ^e Joseph. ubi supra. ^a Maccab. viii. 24, & seq.

*Defeats
Timotheus
and Bac-
chides.*

*Divides
the spoil.*

*Callisthenes
burnt.*

*Nicanor's
shameful
fight.*

other experienced officer of the Syrian army, had joined their forces, and were advancing against him, with a design to retrieve their late defeat; but Judas was, by this time, so well reinforced, that he met and overthrew them in a set battle, killed twenty thousand of their men, enriched himself with their spoil, got a new supply of provisions for his men, and took presently after several strong fortresses from the disheartened Syrians, which he garrisoned with some of his troops, and deposited in them the arms which they had taken from the enemy. In the distribution of all the spoil, Judas's generosity outwent what was even prescribed by the Mosaic law, which entitled none to share it with the combatants, but those who were left to take care of the baggage^f; but he caused a considerable part to be divided among his indigent brethren, so that the old, decrepit, the sick and lame, the widows and the fatherless, were made partakers of the fruits of his victories. In this battle was killed one of Timotheus's chief officers, named Philarchus, who had been a bitter enemy to the Jews. Whilst they were making their rejoicings for their success, news was brought that Callisthenes, the man who at first set fire to the gates of the temple, had concealed himself in a little house not far from them; upon which Judas dispatched a detachment, who went and set it on fire, and burnt him in it, as a just retaliation for his sacrilege^g. As for Nicanor, he saved indeed his life, but lost his honour, being forced to retreat to Antioch, in the disguise of a servant, and there excuse his late disgrace, by owning that the Jews, when under the protection of their God, were invincible^h.

When Lyfias heard the news of the total defeat of the army he had sent into Judæa, he made all the haste he could to put himself at the head of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all of the choicest troops he could assemble. Entering Judæa with them, through the territories of Idumæa, he was met at Bethsura (A) by the

^f Vide Numb. xxxi. 25, & seq. ¹ Sam. xxx. 24. ² 2 Maccab. viii. 30.

^h 1 Maccab. & Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 11.

(A) This was a very important fortress about that time. It was in the tribe of Judah, and had formerly been fortified by king Rehoboam, it being one of the keys of Judæa, on the south side of Idumæa. The second book of the Mac-

cabees places it five furlongs distance from Jerusalem; but this must be a mistake, either of the translator or transcriber, it being, according to Eusebius, full twenty miles from it, on the road to Hebron.

Macca-

Maccabite general, at the head of only ten thousand men. The two armies engaged; and Judas, though so much inferior to the Syrians, fell upon them with such courage, that he immediately killed five thousand of them on the spot, and routed the rest; and Lyfias, observing that the Jews fought like men determined either to conquer or die, would not venture a second engagement with the remainder of his army; but returned to Antioch, with a design to bring a much greater force against them in the course of the following year¹.

Yr. of Fl.
2183.
Ante Chr.
165.

*Lyfias de-
feated in
Judea.*

But all this while the sanctuary continued polluted with abominable idols, the temple garrisoned by idolaters, and the city a heap of ruins. As soon therefore as the enemy was gone out of the province, Judas marched with his army to the metropolis, fully purposed to recover and purify it. Upon their coming to Mount Sion, and seeing the desolation in which it lay, the houses, palaces, and gates of the temple burnt down, the courts of the sanctuary over-run with shrubs and briars, the priestly apartments demolished, the altar and holy places profaned, and stripped of all their ancient splendor, they rent their cloaths, covered their heads with dust, and filled the air with cries, and other tokens of unspeakable sorrow. As soon as Judas observed these first emotions a little assuaged, he posted some of his bravest troops to guard all the avenues of the city from surprize, and then appointed such of the priestly order as had best signalized themselves for their zeal and sanctity, to enter into the temple, and see it thoroughly cleansed of all its profane lumber, whilst the rest of the people were busy in clearing the streets and places of all their rubbish. Whatever old materials they found, that had undergone any defilement, they broke to pieces, carried them out of the city, and buried them in some common place, especially the altar of burnt-offerings, which had been so notoriously profaned, that no part of it was fit for use; it was therefore demolished, and another of unhewn stones² substituted in its place. There were still many things wanting before the divine service could be resumed; the altar of perfumes, the table of shewbread, the seven-branch candlestick, censers, and other sacred utensils, all of the purest gold, had been carried off, as well as the rich veil, which covered the holy of holies; all these therefore the Jewish chief caused to be made

*Judas pu-
rifies the
city and
temple.*

*Their
ruinous
condition.*

Yr. of Fl.
2183.
Ante Chr.
165.

*The al-
tars, holy
place, and
worship
restored.*

¹ 1 Maccab. iv. 30, & seq.

² Ibid. iv. 43, & seq.

anew, out of the spoils of their enemies. All these particulars being provided and set up in their respective places, and the holy and most holy place repaired, they began the divine worship with the dedication of the new altar, and other holy utensils, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Cisleu, it being the very same day on which it had ceased by the profanation of the temple three years before, and in the second year of Jadas's government.

The dedication performed,

and festival kept.

The feast of lights.

This ceremony was performed with all imaginable solemnity. The trumpets sounded at the earliest dawn; a fire being kindled by the collision of two flints, the lamps were lighted; the lamb for the daily sacrifice was offered; the usual portion of incense was burned; and all the other parts of the divine service were performed according to the law of Moses. This festival was kept eight days with great devotion and joy; after which it was ordered to be solemnized every year in the same manner by the whole nation, under the name of the feast of the dedication^l. During this time the front of the temple was adorned with crowns, garlands, escutcheons, and other ornaments of the best gold. Every house was likewise illuminated and adorned; and from thence it was also called the feast of lights^m. The author of the second book of Maccabees addsⁿ, that in memory of their having kept the feast of the tabernacles, whilst they lurked in their dens, and on the mountains, they repaired to the temple on this new festival, with palms and other curious branches in their hands, and celebrated their wonderful deliverance with psalms and hymns suitable to the occasion.

Judas fortifies the temple,

And now there remained but one obstacle more to be removed, namely, the garrison which Apollonius had placed in the fortrefs of Acra, on the eminence over-against the temple, to annoy those that went to and from it; for whilst that was still kept by heathens, and apostate Jews, it could not but obstruct their concourse to the place of worship. A siege would have taken up too much time, had Judas been furnished with men and warlike instruments for it, because the place was very strong, both by art and nature; and to have blockaded it, would have employed a greater number of men than he could spare. There was therefore but one way left, namely,

^l 1 Maccab. iv. 58, & seq.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 11.

ⁿ 2 Maccab. x. 6, & seq.

to fortify the mountain of the temple with a high wall, and strong towers round about, and to leave a stout garrison to defend it, and hinder that of Acra from disturbing those who resorted to Jerusalem. At the same time Judas caused some additional fortifications to be made to Bethsura. *and Bethsura.*

By this time all the neighbouring nations having heard what had been done at Jerusalem, were so exasperated against the Jews, that they resolved to join their forces, to extirpate the whole nation. They began with murdering all those that chanced to live among them, and waited only the coming of Antiochus into Judæa, to assist them in the utter destruction of the Jews; but, happily for these, Antiochus's death, which happened soon after, broke all their measures, and freed them from the bloody designs which that exasperated tyrant had formed against them.^o *Jews massacred.*

The minority of the young Antiochus caused some alterations in Palestine, and gave the Jews a kind of respite, which proved however but short-lived. Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlesyria, who had been an inveterate enemy to the Jews, and had made them suffer great hardships during the last reign, was now by some means become their friend; but he was soon after accused for it to the king, and deprived of his government by Lyfias, who succeeded him in it, and came presently after with a powerful army into Judæa. In the interim, Georgias, who commanded the Syrian forces there, having gathered a fresh body of strangers, was making continual incursions against the Jews, whilst the Idumæans, who had joined him, held the most advantageous posts, and received in them all the renegado Jews, in hopes to tire the rest by prolonging the war. But Judas, having gathered his army together, went and attacked them in that part of their territories, which was called Acrabatene, and killed no less than twenty thousand of them. From thence he marched against the children of Bean (B), who had proved a sharp thorn in his sides, and drove them into two of their strongest towers; and when he understood *Antiochus's death.*

Antiochus's death.
Yr. of Fl.
2184.
Ante Chr.
164.

Judas falls on the Idumæans.

^o 1 Maccab. v. 1, & seq. 2 Maccab. x. 1, & seq. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 14. Euseb. Chron.

(B) Whether Bean was the name of a man, city, or tribe, is not certain; but most probably they were a tribe of Idumæans, of whom the text says, that they were a snare and decoy to the Israelites, and lay in wait against them on the high-ways, as they passed to and from Jerusalem.

*Takes two
strong for-
tresses.
Marches
over Jor-
dan.*

that they were furnished with every necessary thing to hold out a siege, he left his three brethren, Simon, Joseph, and Zaccheus, with a sufficient force to reduce them, whilst he led the rest upon a more important expedition. During the siege, some of Simon's head officers suffered themselves to be bribed with a sum of seventy thousand drachms, to let some of the besieged escape. Judas, being informed of this connivance, ordered those traitors to be tried by the heads of the army, and to be put to death; after which execution, he took the two fortresses by assault, put both garrisons, which consisted of about twenty thousand, to death, burnt the towers to the ground, and passed over Jordan into the land of the Ammonites^p. There he found likewise in a good posture of defence, having Timotheus the Syrian general at their head, who had assembled a great number of forces out of Asia, and was coming to invade Judæa. He had several skirmishes with the Ammonites, before he could come at the Syrian commander, and defeated and killed great numbers. After these exploits, he took the city of Jazar, put a garrison into it, and marched back into Judæa.

*Defeats Ti-
motheus.*

*Takes Ga-
zara.*

*Jews out
of Judæa
massacred.*

In the mean time, Timotheus had gathered together an army from among all the heathen nations, who were now more than ever exasperated against the Jews, resolved, if possible, to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat, with the extirpation of that people. To this end, he entered Judæa with his new forces. Judas did not let him penetrate far, before he met, and totally defeated him, killed twenty thousand five hundred of his foot, and six hundred horse, and forced him to retreat into the city of Gazara, which was commanded by his brother Chereas. Hither Judas pursued and invested him, and, having carried the place in five days, slew him with his brother, and another Syrian general, named Apollophanes^q. This defeat, though very advantageous to the Jews, proved fatal to great numbers of their nation, who were murdered by the heathens, because they could not brook the continual success of the Maccabite general. A thousand of them were sacrificed to their fury in the land of Tob, and their wives and children carried into captivity: the rest of their brethren must have undergone the same fate, had they not wisely prevented it, by flying into Dathema, a fortress in the land of Gilead, and there timely provided for their own defence. From thence they sent letters to

^p 1 Maccab. v. 1, & seq.

^q 3 Maccab. x. 31, & ad fin.

Judas,

Judas, informing him of their condition; and that they were besieged by Timotheus, perhaps the son of him that was lately killed at Gazara, at the head of the Tyrians, Sidonians, Ptolemaidans, and others. Judas had scarce done reading these letters, when he received others from other brethren in Galilee, who were also in the same distress. The general immediately convened a sanhedrim, in which it was resolved, that Judas and his brother Jonathan should go and join the Gileadites, with part of his troops, making in all about eight thousand; that Simon, another of his brothers, should march with another part, to succour those of Galilee; and that Joseph and Azarias, his other brothers, should stay to defend Jerusalem with the residue of their troops. To these latter, Judas gave strict charge, in no case to act offensively, but to stand in their own defence, till his or his brother Simon's return.

*Gileadites
and Galileans
distressed.*

Upon Judas's passing the Jordan, he was informed by the Nabatheans, with whom he was then at peace, that not only the Jews of Dathema, but likewise those of Bosora, Casphor, Maked, Alema, Carnaim, and other considerable cities of the land of Gilead, were likewise closely shut up by their enemies, and, if not timely relieved, were doomed to be all destroyed in one day. As there was no time then to be lost, Judas immediately fell on Bosora, took it, and destroyed all the males; and, having freed his brethren, set fire to the city, and marched directly to Dathema. Upon his arrival, he found Timotheus ready to storm the place; and fell upon him so unexpectedly, and with such force, that he put all to the rout; for they no sooner heard the sound of the trumpets, and understood that Judas was at the head of their enemy, than they threw down their arms in the utmost confusion, and betook themselves to flight. Judas pursued them some time, and killed about eight thousand of them; but, remembering the condition of his other brethren in the Gileaditish cities, he marched against, and took them one after another, subjected them to the same fate which had befallen Bosora, loaded himself with the richest plunder, and returned with his victorious army, and delivered brethren, to Jerusalem.

*Judas
marches to
their relief.*

*Takes Bo-
sora.*

*Defeats
Timotheus;*

*and rescues
the Jews
in Gilead.*

On the other hand, Simon, his brother, though inferior in strength, having but three thousand men, was no less successful in Galilee. He defeated his enemies in several rencounters, killed about three thousand of them,

*Simon's
success in
Galilee.*

* 1 Maccab. v. 1, & seq.

*Joseph's
unlucky at-
tempt on
Jamnia.*

*Judas's
success
against the
Idumæans.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2185.
Ante Chr.
163.*

*Lyfias in-
vades Ju-
dea.*

and pursued them as far as Ptolemais, enriched himself with their plunder, and delivered his brethren from their cruel thralldom; but finding it impossible with his handful of men to secure them in that residence, by the total reduction of their oppressors, he chose rather to bring them with their families and valuable effects to Jerusalem; whence Judas soon after sent them to new-people the desolate cities of Judæa, where they might dwell in more safety. Whilst things went on thus successfully in Gilead and Galilee, the two brothers, that were left at Jerusalem, unluckily took it into their heads to signalize themselves also by some brave exploit, though contrary to Judas's express commands. Jamnia appeared to them a fair sea-port town (C), worth their conquering, before the return of their victorious brethren. Thither therefore they led their little army; but were unhappily defeated by Georgias, who commanded the place. He sallied out against them, killed about two thousand of their men, and forced the rest to return with shame and loss to Jerusalem^s. Judas in the mean time had fallen again upon the Idumæans, who, as we have seen, had joined with the Syrians. He led his forces into the south parts of Idumæa, laid siege to Hebron, their famous metropolis, took and demolished it, with all the neighbouring towns, and carried off considerable plunder^t. From thence he entered the territories of the Philistines and Samaritans, diffusing terror wherever he passed, and discouraging those nations at least from acting offensively against him; and returned not into Judæa till he had taken a tour through the land of the Philistines, and destroyed, with their fortresses, all their altars, groves, and other instruments of idolatry^u.

All these repeated successes raised such a jealousy and shame in the lately defeated Syrian governor, that he assembled an army of eighty thousand foot, together with all the horse and elephants he could procure, and marched with them into Judæa, not doubting speedily to reduce that unhappy kingdom. His design was to extirpate the whole Jewish nation, to repeople their land with heathens, and to glut his master and himself, both with the richest plunder of the land, and with the sale of the high-priest-

^s 1 Maccab. v. 55, & seq.
^{v.} 67, 68.

^t Ver. 64, & seq.

^u 1 Maccab.

(C) It was situate on the two hundred and forty furlongs
Mediterranean, between Joppa distant from Jerusalem.
and Azotus, or Ashdod, about

hood, and other dignities. Animated with these great hopes, he marched through the southern territories of Judah, probably because the other was too mountainous and craggy for his elephants and cavalry; and laid siege to the fortrefs of Bethfura. Judas, who was then at Jerusalem, having first implored the divine blessing on his arms, set out with his little army to its relief. On the road there appeared to them a man on horseback in rich shining armour, and seemingly brandishing his spear against their enemies. This sight, whatever it was, gave his men such a flush of courage, that they fell like lions on the Syrian camp, killed eleven thousand foot, and put the rest to flight.

Is defeated.

Lyfias, now more than ever convinced, how impossible it would be to carry on the war against such an enemy, with either honour or advantage, sent Judas some overtures of peace*, with a promise, that it should be ratified by the king his master, and that the young prince should make him all the concessions he should with justice demand. Judas accepted the proposal, and sent soon after John and Abfalom, two of his captains, with the conditions upon which he would agree to a peace, to Lyfias, who caused them to be forthwith conveyed to Antiochus. They contained upon the whole a general amnesty for whatever had been done before; a total revocation of the late edict against the Jews; and safe passports for commissioners to pass from Jerusalem to Lyfias, or, if need required, to Antioch. These conditions were readily granted by the king; and two letters were sent, one to the governor, and the other to the Jewish senate. Lyfias likewise wrote to them, as did also Q. Memmius, and T. Manlius, two Roman ambassadors to the Syrian court. From these it appears, how ready both the governor and his master were to agree to a peace with the victorious Jews, and how friendly those two Romans had interposed their good offices on their behalf (D). It appears also by the king's letter, that Menelaus, the apostate high-priest, who in all likelihood was then at the Syrian court, had also laboured to promote this peace, and was desirous

Sues for peace.

Judas's conditions.

Agreed to by the Syrians.

The apostate Menelaus promotes the peace.

* 2 Maccab. xi. 1-13.

(D) Lyfias's letter being dated from the month Dioscorinthius, or, as the Latin version abridges it, Dioscorus, has very much puzzled the chronologists, because there is no such month to be found in the Syro-Macedonian calendar, or indeed in any other of those times.

to

to be included in it; since he was sent back to Jerusalem by Antiochus, as his letter terms it, to comfort or confirm the Jews ¹.

Syrian generals dislike the peace.

This peace, however, which seems to have been obtained from the young king by the sole interest of Lyfias, was not agreeable to the other Syrian generals; so that, as soon as Lyfias had retired to Antioch, Timotheus, Apollonius, another of that name, and son of Genneus, Hieronymus, Demophon, and Nicanor, governor of Cyprus, began to renew their hostilities against the Jews. The neighbouring nations ² were equally forward to infest them. But Judas could stay no longer to revenge himself on those perfidious wretches, because Timotheus, by this time at the head of a fresh army, had entered the land of Gilead. He therefore marched directly to their assistance; but had scarce gone nine furlongs, before he was attacked by a band of Arabian Nomades, in number about five thousand foot, and five hundred horse. A fierce engagement immediately ensued, in which Judas having got the better, forced those free-booters to sue for peace; and granted it to them the more readily, that his march into Gilead might not be stopt ³.

Judas defeats the Arabians.

However, he obliged them to furnish him with a certain number of cattle and provisions, and extorted a promise, that they should assist him in any thing he should require of them; after which agreement, he marched in all haste to the other side Jordan, to attack the Syrian general. Here he met with several other obstacles, and was forced to take some places in his way. The first of them was Caspis, or Casphin, a city well fenced with high walls, and so well provided within, that the inhabitants, trusting to their own strength, threw many scornful sarcasms at the Jewish army; but Judas assaulted it with such unexpected bravery, that he made himself master of it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, inso-much that a neighbouring lake, about two furlongs broad, was seen running with blood ⁴.

Takes several towns. The people of Caspis put to the sword.

From thence he marched into the land of Tob, where the Jews, called from thence Tubieni, had shut themselves up in the fortress of Characa; and whence Timotheus having in vain tried to dislodge them, was gone, after having left a good garrison in a place strongly situate within its neighbourhood to keep them in awe. Judas sent two of his generals with a detachment to take that garison, whilst

Characa taken;

¹ 2 Maccab. xi. 32.

² 2 Maccab. xii. 9—12

³ 2 Maccab. xii. 1, & seq. ad 9.

⁴ Ibid. 14—16.

he, with the rest of his army, marched in search of the Syrian chief. Dositheus and Sosipater, the two Hebrew generals, soon after forced the garison, and put it to the sword, to the number of ten thousand. By this time Timotheus had assembled an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. When he heard that Judas was in full march against him, he sent all the women, children, and other luggage, into Carnion, a strong city of Gilead, and very difficult of access, whilst he himself encamped in the neighbourhood of Raphon, upon the borders of the river Jabbok. As soon as Judas was come near enough for his vanguard to be seen by the enemy, they seem to have been seized with a panic; for, they made such haste to fly from him, that they wounded one another with their own weapons in the flight. In this retreat Timotheus lost thirty thousand of his men; and, unable to rally the rest, betook himself to flight also. Those who escaped the slaughter, finding themselves closely pursued, fled into Carnion, and a great number of them went and took refuge in the temple of Atargatis. Judas, who came close after them, burnt the temple, and them in it; then setting fire to the rest of the city, they all perished likewise, either by the flames, or by his sword, to the number of twenty-five thousand (E).

and Timotheus defeated.

Carnion taken and burnt.

In his way to Judæa, he was of necessity to pass through Ephron, that city being so advantageously situate, that he could neither turn to the right nor the left. It was moreover well fortified, and peopled by strangers of all nations. He therefore sent, in a peaceable manner, to demand a passage through it; but the inhabitants, instead of opening their gates to him, shut, and even walled them up, and prepared themselves for sustaining a siege. Judas therefore caused it to be proclaimed through his camp, that every man should scale the walls in the place that chanced to be over-against him. On the other hand, the city, which had been well garrisoned by Lyfias, had

Ephron taken, burnt, and raised.

(E) As for Timotheus, he fell in his flight into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater, who were hastening from the land of Tob to join their commander. These two captains, however, were persuaded by him to give him his liberty, upon promise that he would shew the same favour to a great number of Jews, whom he held prisoners; many of whom were nearly related, either to some of those officers, or to some of their troops there present.

placed

*Judas's
friendship
to the Scy-
thopolitans.*

*Returns to
Jerusalem.*

*Marches
against
Georgias.*

placed their choicest men on the battlements. The assault was fierce, and lasted the whole day; at length Judas carried it, put all the males, about twenty-five thousand, to the sword, took their wives and daughters captive, seized all the richest plunder, and burnt and quite razed the place. From Ephron, crossing the Jordan, he spread his army along the plains of Bethshan, then called Scythopolis, a considerable city, about a hundred furlongs from Jerusalem. Here he enquired of the Jews, how they had been treated by the Scythians; and, they answering much to the commendation of that people, Judas returned them thanks for their kindness to his brethren, exhorted them to live in friendship with them, and assured them of his own, and then continued his journey towards Jerusalem. During their march, Judas kept still in the rear of his army, encouraging those that lagged behind, and brought them at length to that metropolis about the time of Pentecost. Here they went to the temple to return thanks to God for their quick and wonderful success^b (F).

Judas had still a powerful enemy left: Georgias, governor of Idumæa, was at the head of that nation, and had harassed the Jews for some time. He therefore made no longer stay at Jerusalem than the continuance of that festival, immediately after which he marched at the head of only three thousand foot, and four hundred horse. The two armies met, and the onset was so fierce on both sides, that Judas, till then so victorious, had the mortification to see some of his men killed on the spot. Dosithus likewise, a brave captain of his, having seized the Idu-

^b 1 Maccab. v. 46, & seq. 2 Maccab. xii, 30, & seq.

(F) Quick and wonderful indeed! if we consider, that the peace could not be broken as soon as made, and that it was concluded on the fifteenth of Xanthicus, answering to the beginning of our April; and that the feast of Pentecost fell either on the latter end of May, or beginning of June; so that in less than two months time they burnt the two havens and fleets of Joppa and Jamnia, beat the Arabian Nomades, took the city of Caspis, de-

feated Timotheus and his numerous army, burnt and destroyed Carnion and Ephron, besides several other strong fortresses, released a vast number of their brethren, and were returned to Jerusalem laden with spoils, and a vast multitude of female captives; and all this without any loss on their side. For all these exploits, however, we have no authority but the apocryphal book of the Maccabees.

mean general, had his arm cut off close to the shoulder by a Thracian horseman, and was forced to quit his prisoner, who took that opportunity to fly into Maresa, a fortress near Eleutheropolis. Another part of his troops, commanded by Esdrin, had sustained the shock so long, that they were quite exhausted. At length Judas having again revived his men by fresh prayers, the enemy took fright and fled; a circumstance which gave him an opportunity of rallying his scattered forces, and retiring to Odollam, a town near the field of battle, where they purified themselves for the sabbath then ensuing. From thence Judas falling upon the southern parts of Idumæa, took Hebron, and other fortresses; after which he wrested Azotus from the Philistines, pulled down all their images and altars wherever he passed, and returned to Jerusalem, laden with fresh laurels and plunder^c.

Defeats him.

Takes Hebron, and other towns.

All this while the fortress of Acra remained in the hand of the enemy, and not only hindered many of the Jews from resorting to the temple, but annoyed those that did, especially in Judas's absence. Upon his return from Odollam, he resolved to form the siege of it; and to that end gathered together his whole army, furnishing himself with engines for throwing large stones, and other instruments for the siege. The place was very strong, and the garrison numerous, and well furnished with arms and provisions. But the renegado Jews, a great number of whom were then in the place, and knew the valour of Judas and his troops, finding that they should be forced at length to surrender, and knowing how little mercy they had to hope for from the conqueror, advised the commanders to make a vigorous sally, in order to give an opportunity to some of their brethren to go to Antioch, and inform the young king of their distress. Their advice was taken, and the sally so well managed, that a number of those renegadoes, with some officers, found an opportunity to divide from the rest, and to take the way to the court unperceived. Upon their arrival, they informed the king of all that Judas had done. They added, that he persecuted with the most merciless hatred all that dared shew any fidelity to the Syrians; that he plundered, sacked, and put to the sword all that came in his way; that, in order to shake wholly off the Syrian yoke, he had besieged the garrison of Acra, which had been placed there to keep their metropolis in awe; and that it must

Besieges Acra.

Some renegado Jews carry the news to Antioch;

^c 2 Macc. xii. ver. 39, ad fin.

undergo

*who sends
a vast ar-
my against
him.*

*Defeated
by Judas.*

undergo the fate of Bethsura, and other of his cities and fortresses, if not speedily relieved. This information failed not to alarm the Syrian monarch, who ordered immediately all his generals to assemble his troops; and if they were not thought sufficient, to hire a number of auxiliaries, and to march with the utmost dispatch into Judæa. His orders were punctually obeyed, and a vast army was drawn together, consisting of a hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, thirty-two elephants, and three hundred armed chariots. These, having the young king, and his uncle Lyfias, at their head, marched to the borders of Idumæa, where they laid siege to the fortrefs of Bethsura^d, a strong place, situate between Jerusalem and Idumæa. Here Judas, with a small number of resolute men, fell on the king's army in the night; and, having killed four thousand of them, and thrown the whole camp into the utmost confusion, retired by break of day without the loss of one single man in so hazardous an attempt^e.

*Retires to
Jerusalem.*

*Bethsura
surrenders
to Antio-
chus.*

Though the Syrians were well apprised of the extraordinary valour of the Jews, yet they did not doubt but they should overpower them with the great number of their forces and elephants; and therefore, leaving Bethsura, they resolved to venture a general engagement, which Judas did not decline; nay, he at the head of his small army began the onset, and killed about six hundred Syrians. But finding that, notwithstanding all his efforts, he must at length be borne down, and perhaps hemmed in, by so numerous an army, he chose to withdraw in time, and retire in good order to Jerusalem. Upon his retreat the king returned to the siege of Bethsura, which, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged to surrender for want of provisions. The inhabitants, however, yielded not, till they had obtained very honourable conditions from the besiegers; but that treacherous monarch^f kept his word no farther with them, than the bare saving of their lives; he turned them all naked out of the town, and secured it with a garrison of Syrians.

From thence he marched to Jerusalem; laid close siege to the temple, and met with a long and stout defence from the Jewish garrison and general, who eluded all his machines and attempts by his counterworks. Their only misfortune was, the want of provisions; for having already

^d 1 Macc. vi. 18, & seq. 2 Macc. xiii. 1, & seq.

v. 68, &c. 2 Macc. xiii. 15—17, &c.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 14.

spent the last year's store; and this happening to be the seventh year, when by the Mosaic law they could neither plough nor sow, great numbers of the Jews found themselves obliged to quit the town for want of food, inasmuch that there were hardly hands enough to defend the place. They were in this desperate state, and just ready to surrender, when Providence was pleased to relieve them by an unforeseen accident; for word was brought to Antiochus and Lyfias, that Philip, who had usurped the government, was marching full speed against them, at the head of an army out of Persia; so that they were forced to abandon the siege in order to give him battle. Their resolution was kept secret, both from the Jews and Syrians, till they had made a peace with the former; in which the king offered them such honourable and advantageous terms as were readily accepted. As soon as they were agreed and sworn to by both sides, Antiochus was admitted within the fortifications of the temple; and finding them, as he pretended, too strong to intrust the Jews with, he immediately ordered them to be pulled down, and demolished, contrary to the articles he had solemnly sworn to^s.

Menelaus, the apostate high-priest, who had accompanied the king in this expedition, in hopes of being restored to his dignity, and perhaps of obtaining the government of Judæa, left no stone unturned to ingratiate himself with the young monarch, though at the expence of his nation and religion; but his wicked policy failed him. Lyfias, tired with so dear and dishonourable a war, and fearful lest, if that priest was left at Jerusalem, and invested with any power, he should stir up a new revolt, either to recommend himself to the Jews, or to maintain his own authority against a people who he foresaw would never brook it, thought it more adviseable to find out some expedient to rid himself of so dangerous a wretch. He easily compassed his end; and his great credit with the young monarch, to whom he accused him as the author and cause of all the late mischiefs, soon prevailed upon him to condemn Menelaus to such a death as his treason, if not to Antiochus, yet to his God and nation, had deserved. He was accordingly sent, under a strong guard, to Berœa, where he was smothered with hot ashes.

*Menelaus
put to
death.*

The Jews, though glad at the death of that monster, did not, however, gain much by the change. Lyfias found means to persuade the young monarch, that there

^s Joseph. ubi supra. 1 Maccab. vi. 48, & seq. 2 Maccab. xiii. 23.

*Onias de-
prived of
the high-
priesthood.*

*Gets a new
one in E-
gypt.*

*Demetrius
recovers
Syria.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2185.
Ante Chr.
163.*

*Alcimus
goes to ac-
cuse Judas.*

*Returns
with full
power a-
gainst him.*

was a necessity for bestowing the high-priesthood on one that was not of the pontifical family; so that this dignity, which of right belonged to Onias, the son of that worthy high-priest who had been murdered at Antioch, was bestowed on Alcimus, or Jacimus, as he is called by Josephus, who was of another family, though of the Aaronic race, and a person no less wicked than his predecessor. As for Onias, when he found his right given to one who had neither title nor merit, he resented the wrong to such a degree, that he retired into Egypt, in hopes by some other way to recompense himself for his loss. Accordingly he found means to ingratiate himself so well with Ptolemy Philometor, and his queen Cleopatra, that they granted him the liberty of building a temple at Alexandria like that of Jerusalem, of which he secured the priesthood to himself and descendants ^b.

Demetrius, the lawful heir of the Syrian crown, had found means to escape from Rome, where he had long been kept a hostage; and, arriving at Antioch, had put to death both Antiochus Eupator, and Lyfias, after having made himself master of that capital. In the mean time Alcimus, whom the Jews had refused to admit into the high-priesthood, because he had obtained and sullied that dignity by open apostasy, and conforming to the religion and customs of the Greeks, came to complain to the new monarch: he brought with him a number of other Jewish renegadoes, whom Judas had caused to be banished Judæa for the same crime. At the head of these miscreants he applied himself to the king, accused Judas, and the rest of the Maccabæan or Asmonean race, of having destroyed those that stood firm to their allegiance, of banishing others for not joining with his revolted party, and of other such crimes as they thought would render them odious to the court. They added, that their present distress was owing to their readiness in obeying the edicts of the late king his uncle; and, in the end, Alcimus forgot not to beg the high-priesthood to be confirmed to him by Demetrius. This accusation, carried on with such seeming zeal for the king, so exasperated him against the Jews, that he sent back the apostate, and with him Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, at the head of a considerable army, with orders to reinstate Alcimus in his dignity, and to carry on the war against the Maccabees. These two were joined in the same commission, and Al-

^b 2 Maccab. xiv. 9, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 15. lib. xx. cap. 8.

Alcimus,

simus, impatient to see himself restored to his dignity, hastened the Syrian general, who was wholly devoted to him, to march forthwith into Judæa¹.

Upon their arrival, the two colleagues, who knew what an enemy they had to deal with, endeavoured at first to decoy him by some treacherous stratagem; and to this end sent deputies to the Jewish chief, to invite him to a conference, in order to end their dispute in an amicable way. They spared neither promises nor vows, that he should come and go with the utmost safety. Judas suspected their design, and rightly judged, that such a powerful army was intended rather to surprise him, than to decide the title of an intruding priest, hated and rejected by the whole nation. Instead, therefore, of accepting this invitation, he began to prepare for a vigorous defence. Some few indeed of his men, being terrified either at the news of Alcimus's perfidy, or at the sight of so great an army, left Jerusalem, and retired into the country; but there stayed with him a sufficient number to suppress the power of the treacherous pontiff, in spite of his daily reinforcements from the renegado Jews, who resorted to him, especially after Bacchides's departure. For that general, whether stung with the reproaches which his perfidious action, lately mentioned, had brought upon him, or with shame for not having been able to subdue an enemy by treachery whom he dared not attack openly, left Judæa, and returned to Antioch, leaving Alcimus what he thought a sufficient number of troops to maintain himself in his new dignity. However, whilst he was on his way to the Syrian court, he could not forbear committing some cruelties against those Jews that fell in his way: particularly at Beseth, or Bethsatha, he caused a considerable number of them to be seized and killed, and their bodies to be flung into a well².

Alcimus, on the other hand, spared neither pains nor cost, flatteries nor cruelties, to strengthen himself. Those that were of greatest service to him were the Jewish renegadoes and malecontents, whom his caresses and generosity drew daily to his side. For with these, supported by the Syrian troops, he was making continual excursions into some part or other of the country, plundering, burning, and destroying all that refused to acknowledge him. Judas, on his side, was no less watchful of all opportunities to oppose and suppress him; he defeated him in se-

His stratagems defeated.

Bacchides leaves him.

Commits several cruelties in his return.

Renegadoes flee to Alcimus.

Severely punished by Judas.

¹ 1 Maccab. vii. 3, & seq.

² 1 Maccab. vii. 19.

*Alcimus
returns to
Antioch.*

Yr. of Fl.
2186.
Ante Chr.
162.

*Nicanor
sent against
the Jews.*

*His army
increased.*

*Makes
overtures
of peace to
Judas.*

veral rencounters, and took such a severe vengeance on as many of the revolted Jews as fell into his hands, that the rest dared no longer act against him. Alcimus being by this time convinced of the impossibility of mastering his enemy, and of ever being admitted to approach the sacred altar, unless he procured a much greater army to force the Jews into a compliance, returned to the Syrian court. There he renewed his former accusations and complaints, which failed not to be backed by all the enemies of the Jews that were then at Antioch. Having presented Demetrius with a rich crown of gold, and other valuable presents, he obtained of that incensed monarch a fresh army, the command of which was given to Nicanor, one of the bitterest enemies the Jewish nation had, with express orders to cut off Judas and his party, disperse his army, and settle Alcimus in his power and dignity beyond the possibility of any future opposition. But Nicanor, who had lately been so feelingly convinced of the strength and bravery of the Jewish chief, and justly reckoned, that one defeat more would complete his disgrace, entered Judæa with a numerous army indeed, but fully resolved, if possible, to bring Judas to accept of a peace, rather than hazard any more battles with him.

However, upon his first arrival in that province, all the apostate Jews, and the heathen, whom Judas had driven out of Judæa, came in shoals to list under him, in hopes to be soon resettled in their former habitations; so that his army was increased exceedingly before he reached the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. On the other hand, the Jews being informed of his approach, went to the temple to implore the divine assistance by fasting and prayer, and then prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. Nicanor advanced as far as the fortress of Dessau, where Simon, Judas's brother, having come forth against him, was so terrified at the sight of his numerous army, that he was glad to retire to Jerusalem^m. All this success, however, could not induce the Syrian general to begin any hostilities against the valiant Judas; on the contrary, he sent three of his head officers, Posidonius, Theodosius, and Matthias, to make overtures of peace. Judas, who had so lately observed the propensity of his men to peace, acquainted them with the proposals made by Nicanor; which were so well approved by them, that a day, and a place, for an interview, was agreed on by those two gene-

^l 1 Maccab. vii. 21, & seq.

^m 2 Maccab. xiv. 22, & seq.

als, to give it the finishing stroke. Judas, however, justly suspecting the sincerity of the Syrians, caused a certain number of his stoutest men to be so advantageously posted, that they might come to his relief, in case any violence were offered. But his precaution at this time was needless, and Nicanor was so bent upon concluding a peace with them, that their conference was carried on to the satisfaction of both parties: the articles being agreed on, Nicanor went and stayed some time in Jerusalem, without giving the Jews the least cause of complaint; so far from it, that, to avoid giving them any umbrage, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and lived in perfect friendship with the Jewish nation^a (G).

Accepted by him.

Nicanor disbands his army.

This harmony was however soon interrupted by the perfidious high-priest, who, thinking the peace not sufficiently advantageous to him, went a third time to Antioch, to complain against Nicanor, as a betrayer of his master's interest, who had concluded a disadvantageous peace with the enemies of his sovereign. Demetrius, though justly surprised that his general should venture to

Yr. of Fl.
2187.
Ante Chr.
161.

Alcimus accuses him to the king.

^a 2 Maccab. xiv. 16, & seq. Vide & Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 14.

(G) In this year some chronologers place the introduction of the cycle, or rather period of eighty-four years, in order to settle the return of their new-moons, and festivals depending on them. We have shewn, in a former volume, what a wretched method they had used before the captivity for discovering those new appearances without the help of astronomical tables. The inconveniency they found in it, after their dispersion, obliged them to fall upon some surer method, that the whole nation might, in every place, observe them, and the other festivals, on the same day.

This method was the period of eighty-four years, which, in all probability, was only the period of Calippus, which that learned astronomer had publish-

ed about a hundred and seventy years before, and consisted of seventy-six Julian years, and to which they added the octoeteris, either thinking it answered their purpose better, or, which is more likely, as dean Prideaux conjectures, to make it look like a discovery of their own.

One thing is certain, and worth observing, that this period of eighty-four years was peculiar to the Jews, and has been used from thence downward to the time of the famous Hillel, who corrected their calendar about the year of Christ 260. It was afterwards followed by the primitive fathers in the Christian church, in the settling of their Easter, till new disputes arose, and new corrections were introduced, which are foreign to our present subject.

He is ordered to renew the war.

take such a step, not only without his leave, but without informing him of it, would not, however, recall him; but contented himself with refusing to ratify the articles, and sending him fresh orders to renew the war against the Jewish chief, and not to sheath the sword till he had killed him, and wholly suppressed his party. Upon receiving this unexpected order, Nicanor was extremely displeased; on the one hand, he was loth to violate the peace which had been so faithfully kept by the Jews; on the other, he feared the resentment of the king, if he disobeyed such an express command. This last motive having at length determined him, his main study was now to find out some plausible pretence for laying hold on the Jewish chief. To this end he began to alter his behaviour towards him, and, instead of their former intimacy, to treat him with coldness, and an air of superiority. This soon gave Judas to understand that it was high time to look to himself: he took his measures accordingly, with such speed and secrecy, that he quite disappeared before they had the least suspicion of his design. Nicanor, surprised at his escape, endeavoured to conceal his resentment: he found himself now obliged to raise a new army, and to act against him as an open enemy, and yet was both afraid and unwilling to prosecute the war. At length, having assembled a sufficient number of forces, and approached Jerusalem, he resolved once more to try to surprise him by some stratagem, before he ventured upon an open rupture. To this end he sent some deputies to acquaint him, that he was not come to make war against him, but to treat of peace, and invited him to a new interview. Judas came accordingly to the place agreed on, where their first greeting was in all appearance very friendly and peaceable; but the Jew having discovered his treacherous intent, withdrew, and from that time refused to meet him any more. Nicanor then ordered his troops to advance towards Capharsalama, not far from Jerusalem, where being met by the Jewish army, a battle was fought, in which he lost five thousand men. But the Jews, finding themselves unable to make head against the enemy's superior forces, retired, some to the city of David, and some into the temple°. Nicanor then led his army strait to Jerusalem, and occupied the eminence of Mount Sion. There he was addressed by some of the priests and heads of the people, who came in

Attempts to surprise Judas.

° 1 Maccab. vii. 27, & seq.

a submissive manner, and shewed him from that place the sacrifices which were then offered up in the temple for the prosperity of king Demetrius. But the exasperated general having cast many insolent reflections on what he called their base superstition, swore the utter destruction of them and their temple, unless Judas was immediately delivered up to him. But Judas had happily withdrawn himself into the land of Samaria with some of his faithful troops. However, it was in vain for the priests to urge this escape, or any thing else, in their own defence, to a man who was now determined to make them feel the effects of his resentment, for having missed his blow. The poor priests, seeing an exasperated enemy with a powerful army at the very gates of the temple, and their valiant protector forced to abandon them to his mercy, had no other resource but prayers and tears; whilst Nicanor endeavoured by cruelty to oblige the Jews to apostatize both from their God and their brave deliverer P. Being informed that Razis, a member of the sanhedrim, and a leading man in the community, had by his example and influence prevented a great number of his countrymen from renouncing their religion, he sent a detachment to apprehend him, determined that he should either apostatize or suffer death. Razis seeing his house surrounded, so that it was impossible to escape, fell upon his own sword; but the wound proving ineffectual, he afterwards threw himself headlong from one of the turrets of his house. The fall was not more decisive than the wound. He started up, and running to the summit of a neighbouring rock, tore out his own bowels, and expired. This old man the Jews have canonized as a martyr.

*Threatens
Jerusalem.*

*Judas
withdraws
into Sama-
ria.*

*Nicanor's
hellish stra-
tagem.*

During these transactions, Nicanor, having heard that Judas was in the land of Samaria, marched against him with an army of thirty-five thousand men; and as he still trusted more to his political stratagems than to his strength, he resolved to attack him on the sabbath, not doubting but the Jews would, as formerly, choose to be all murdered, rather than fight on that day. His impious design did not long pass unpunished; for whilst he was encamped in the neighbourhood of Bethoron, Judas marched immediately against him with his three thousand men, and encamped near Adafa, a place about thirty furlongs di-

*Nicanor
marches to
attack the
Jews.*

*Judas
marches
against
him.*

P 1 Maccab. vii. 32, & seq. 2 Maccab. xiv. 37, & seq. See also Joseph. Ant. lib. xii. cap. 14. 1 2 Maccab. xiv. 37—46.

stant from the enemy. The first thing he did was to encourage his little army with proper texts out of the sacred books. To assure them farther of the divine assistance, he acquainted them with a vision he had lately had, in which he saw Onias, the worthy high-priest, and after him the prophet Jeremiah, interceding for the Jewish people. He moreover declared, that the latter had presented him with a splendid sword, and given him at the same time an assurance of a complete victory. This speech had the desired effect, and his men were on a sudden fired with such courage, that they routed the enemy at the very first onset. Nicanor being killed one of the first, his men were seized with a panic, threw down their arms, and sought in vain for shelter: Judas pursued them; and the Jews of the neighbouring cities stopping their flight, killed them all to a man, insomuch that there was not a single person left to carry the news to Antioch (H).

*Defeats
and kills
him.*

This victory afforded the Jewish nation some peaceful intermission. Their enemies being terrified at the continual successes of their leader, suffered him to return, and take quiet possession of the city; which his successors were however forced to quit soon after to the then superior power of the Syrian general, and apostate Alcimus, who held it but a short while, and for the last time, as the sequel will presently shew. During this peaceful interval, Judas, always intent on the interest of his religion and nation, observing how powerful the Romans were now grown, and how faithfully they then protected and assisted their friends, resolved to procure an alliance with them, which might prove a bulwark against the oppressive power

*The Jews
make alli-
ance with
Rome.*

(H) This battle was won on the thirteenth day of the month Adar, answering to our February; and on the next day, the body of Nicanor being found among the slain, Judas ordered his head, and right hand, which he had so lately lifted up with threatening oaths against the temple, to be cut off, and carried in triumph to Jerusalem; where, being arrived with his army, he caused them to be exposed to the view of Jews and Gentiles, reminding them at the same time, that those were

the head and hand of the profane Nicanor, who had sworn the total destruction of their sacred temple. His tongue he likewise ordered to be cut out, and minced, and to be thrown to the birds, and his head and hand to be hung up on some of the highest towers of that city. After the usual rejoicings for the late success, a public anniversary was instituted by the sanhedrim, to be kept by future generations on the thirteenth day of Adar, by the name of the day of Nicanor,

of the Syrians. Eupolemus, the son of John, and Jason, the son of Eleasar, who had been already sent with success to Seleucus Philopator, were likewise chosen for this embassy. Their proposals were readily accepted by the Roman senate, and a decree was accordingly made, and engraven on copper, in order to be sent to Jerusalem, importing, that the Jews were thenceforth acknowledged as the friends and allies of the Romans; that both nations should be ready to succour each other, and the allies of either, with all their power, and in no case should assist their enemies: and forasmuch as Demetrius Soter had been complained against to the senate, as an oppressor of the Jewish nation, they sent a letter to him, enjoining him for the future to forbear all hostilities against them, and threatening him with an invasion of his country by sea and land, in case he did not comply with the purport of their decree. This alliance was made in a lucky time; for whilst it was transacting at Rome, Demetrius, having received the news of Nicanor's defeat and death, was sending the right wing, that is to say, the flower of his army, into Judæa, with Bacchides and Alcimus at their head. It consisted of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. With these Bacchides entered Galilee, and took the city of Maseloth or Massadoth, in the territories of Arbela, where he killed a great number of Jews. From thence they marched towards Jerusalem; but being told that Judas was retired into the neighbourhood of Eleasa, they went to attack him there. Judas had then but three thousand men; and when these beheld the superiority of the enemy's army, their hearts failed them so far, that only eight hundred of them staid with him, and the rest conveyed themselves away, to the great regret of their valiant chief, who was now so sorely pressed, that he had no time to get a new reinforcement, but must either fight, or be cut in pieces. However, trusting in that superior assistance which had accompanied him hitherto, he encouraged his men to behave gallantly; and a fight ensued, which lasted from morning till evening. Judas observing that the enemy's right wing, commanded by Bacchides, was the strongest, made a resolute attack, broke and pursued it as far as Mount Azotus; but, in the mean time, the left having quite surrounded him and his men, he was at length overborne by their numbers, and slain, after a long and vigorous defence; and slain.

*Alcimus
and Bac-
chides sent
against
Judas.*

*Judas
abandoned
by his men,*

so that he fell down on a heap of his enemies, whom he had killed (I).

*The Jews
greatly
distressed,*

*and perse-
cuted.*

*Jonathan
succeeds
his brother
Judas.*

*Forced to
retire to
Tekoah.*

The report of his death was no sooner spread through Judæa, than it gave new life to all the enemies of the Jews; so that the greatest part of these found themselves obliged, partly for want of a chief of known valour and conduct, and partly through a grievous famine, which then raged in the land, to acknowledge Bacchides for their governor. Whilst, therefore, this general was employed in taking all proper measures to secure his own government, some of the principal officers, that served under him, were ordered to make a diligent search after the principal friends and adherents of the Maccabees, and to put them to the most torturing deaths; insomuch that this persecution seemed to exceed all that they had suffered since their return from Babylon, and caused as general a defection. Under these dismal circumstances, those few, who still retained a love for their religion and country, had recourse to Jonathan, surnamed Apphus, and desired him to take upon him the command of the Jewish forces, and to endeavour to stop the cruel progress of the Syrian general. Jonathan was easily prevailed upon, and began to raise forces; but Bacchides, apprized of his design, and advancing, forced him and his followers to retire into the deserts of Tekoah, where they encamped near the lake Asphar, secured by a large morass on one side, by woods on the other, and the Jordan in his front*. This situation, which he thought very advantageous to his handful of men, because there was but one narrow way to come at them, proved the very reverse, when they came to engage the enemy.

* 1 Maccab. ix. 23, ad 35. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 1.

(I) When the news of his death reached Jerusalem, the whole city was filled with inexpressible sorrow. An universal mourning was made for him; and, in imitation of that which David made for Saul and Jonathan, they sung these lines of his, "How is the mighty fallen! How is the preserver of Israel slain!" However, his

body did not fall into the hands of the enemy; it was carried off by his two brothers. Jonathan and Simon, and buried in the sepulchre of his father at Modin. Thus died the brave Jewish general, six years after his father Mattathias, and was succeeded by his brother Jonathan (1).

(1) 1 Maccab. ix. 1, & seq. ad 22.

In

In the mean time, hearing that Bacchides was in full march against him, his first care was to secure the effects and equipage of his followers. The Nabathæans were then at peace with them. John therefore, the brother of Jonathan, was sent at the head of a convoy, to depōsite those moveables. But in his way he was surprised by the Jambrians (K), who, issuing out of their city, fell upon him, slew him and his men, and carried away all their baggage. This injury did not pass long unrevenged. Jonathan being informed that a great wedding was to be celebrated at Medaba, between one of the Jambrian chiefs, and a daughter of a Canaanitish prince, laid an ambush behind a hill, on the road by which the bride was to be conducted; and as soon as the company, which was very numerous, and of both sexes, was come nigh enough, fell upon them, killed to the number of four hundred, and carried away the plunder.

*John killed
by the
Jambri-
ans.
Jonathan's
revenge on
them.*

As soon as Bacchides heard of this retaliation upon the Jambrians, he advanced with his army, resolved to attack the Jewish general on the sabbath; and Jonathan found himself in no small distress. He was hemmed in on all sides; and his men were with difficulty prevailed upon to stand in their own defence; for they were disheartened at seeing the superior number of the enemy; and, at the same time, very unwilling to profane the sabbath. At length, Jonathan finding himself pressed by the enemy on one side, and on the other by the reluctance of his men to engage them, he addressed himself to the latter in the following short, but pathetic speech: "Come on, and let us fight for our lives; for it is not now with us, as it was in time past: you see plainly that the battle is both before and behind us, and the Jordan on this, and the morass and the wood on that side. Neither is there a place left for us to turn aside to. Wherefore now cry ye unto heaven, that ye may be delivered out of the hand of your enemies." As soon as he had done speaking, his men, partly through his encouragement, partly through despair, made a bold push at the enemy, and killed a good number of them on the first onset. But, finding themselves at last unable to cope with such an army, the whole body plunged into the river, and swam to the other side, after

*Bacchides
comes a-
gainst the
Jews.*

*Jonathan
put to
flight.*

(K) These were a tribe of ly one of the cities which the the plundering Arabs, who Moabites took from the tribe lived then at Medaba, former- of Reuben.

having

having killed about a thousand, or, according to Josephus, two thousand of the enemy^t.

*Bacchides
returns to
Jerusalem.*

Bacchides, now convinced that they would fight on the sabbath, as well as on other days, did not think fit to pursue them any farther, but returned with his army to Jerusalem, and there gave orders for fortifying and garrisoning such places as were most likely to keep the Jews in awe, and to oblige the Maccabite party to submit. Among those were Bethoron, Jericho, Emmaus, Beth-el, Thimnatha, Bethsura, and some others, especially the fortress of Aera, into which, besides a new supply of men, arms, and provisions, he sent the children of some of the principal Jews to be kept as hostages, to prevent their parents and relations from going over to Jonathan and his party.

*Yr. of Fl.
2188.
Ante Chr.
160.*

*Alcimus
dies.*

At the same time, the apostate Alcimus, finding himself master of Jerusalem, gave orders for demolishing the wall of the temple, which inclosed the court of the priests from that of the people, which had been formerly built by the direction of the prophets Haggai and Zachary. But he had scarce begun the work before he was struck with a dead palsy, so that he died without being able to utter a word, or to take any care of his house. After his death, Bacchides, having by this time brought all Judæa into subjection, thought he had no farther business there, but returned to Antioch, and left the Jews and heathens to live in peace^u.

*Yr. of Fl.
2190.
Ante Chr.
158.*

*Bacchides
sent afresh
against the
Jews.
His plot
against
Jonathan,*

Jonathan, and his party, made the best of this short interval to secure themselves; so that they lived quietly, and without mistrust, for the space of two years. This security gave his enemies an opportunity to make a fresh attempt upon him, by inviting Bacchides to surprise and destroy the whole party, which they sent him word might be done in one night. Demetrius, who had been by this time acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans, and had made a new alliance with them, having now nothing to fear from that side, was easily persuaded to send Bacchides with a powerful army into Judæa. As soon therefore as this general arrived in that country, he sent letters to those of his party, with orders to seize Jonathan and his men, and to bring them to him, according to agreement. This plot, however, had not been carried on with such secrecy, but that vigilant chief had notice of it time enough, both to defeat it, and to punish those traitors by

^t i Maccab. ubi supra. Joseph. ubi supra.
Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 2.

^u i Maccab. ibid.

whom it had been hatched; for he came suddenly upon them, took fifty of the chief conspirators, and put them all to death; after which execution, the rest were soon dispersed*.

defeated.

Nevertheless, Jonathan understanding that Bacchides was coming against him, and finding himself by far too weak to withstand so great a force, retired to Bethbasi, or, as Josephus calls it, Bethlagan, a place strongly situate in the desert of Jericho, which he and his brother Simon fortified, and filled with all necessary provisions for a siege. Bacchides came according to his expectation, and laid close siege to the place with his numerous army, which he had increased with all his adherents in Judæa. As the siege was like to last long, Jonathan, after a vigorous defence, left the place under the care of his brother, and with a small brigade went out to make excursions. Crossing the country he defeated Odonarches, and his brethren, and the sons of Phasiron in their tents. These, we suppose, were part of the besieging host. From thence he went on, attacked and annoyed other parts of their camp, and forced Bacchides to advance to their assistance; which motion being perceived by Simon from within, he made a vigorous sally, burnt their engines; then, falling upon his army, discomfited it on one side, whilst his brother charged it on the other. Bacchides, vexed to meet

*Jonathan
besieged by
Bacchides.*

*Defeats
him.*

with such a defeat, where he expected an easy victory, vented his rage on those who had invited him out of Syria, and put many of them to death, resolving to raise the siege, and to return to Antioch, as soon as he should find the least plausible pretence for relinquishing the enterprise. Jonathan, guessing the situation of his mind, sent him some messengers with proposals for a peace; which were gladly accepted, and soon after ratified by both parties. By these articles, all persons were released on both sides; and Bacchides, having sworn never more to act offensively against Jonathan, departed into Syria, and punctually kept his oath to him as long as he lived. It seems likewise by these articles, that Jonathan was left, if not governor, at least deputy-governor, of Judæa; for, as soon as Bacchides was gone, he went and settled in Michmash, where he judged Israel, pretty near like the ancient judges. He began with making a severe example of the apostate Jews, who were the cause of all the wars and persecutions that fell upon their nation, from

*Makes
peace with
him.*

*Judges the
Jews:*

* 1 Maccab. ix. 57, ad 61. Joseph. Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 1.

the

*reforms
and
strengthens
the church
and state.*

the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, downwards to that time. Then he set about reforming the Jewish church and state. So that from this time Judæa began to enjoy a perfect peace, and free exercise of their religion, the happy effects of their general's valour and piety^r.

Yr. of Fl.
2195.
Ante Chr.
153.

*Demetrius's letter
to Jonathan.*

Soon after this pacification, the troubles that happened in Syria, gave the Jews a fair opportunity of wholly recovering their liberty, and raising themselves to such a degree of importance, that their friendship was courted alike by the sovereigns of Syria and Egypt. Demetrius, who so feelingly knew their strength and bravery, had most cause to prevent their declaring for his competitor Alexander Balas. With this view, he wrote a letter to Jonathan, full of expressions of the sincerest friendship and confidence, in which he gave him full power to levy what forces he should think fit, and to cause new arms to be fabricated; and declared him his new friend and ally. In the end, he added an order for setting at liberty all the hostages which had been sent by Bacchides into the fortrefs of Acra, and had been detained there ever since, notwithstanding the late peace. As soon as Jonathan had received the letter, he brought it to Jerusalem, caused it to be read before that garrison, and demanded that the hostages should be delivered. The people, seeing how great a power he was now invested with, dared not hesitate about the matter; but immediately complied with his demand; after which transaction, Jonathan found his army increase exceedingly. On the other hand, those garrisons which Bacchides had left in several strong places of Judæa above mentioned, finding themselves too weak to withstand him, forsook them, and fled (L).

*Alexander's letter
to him.*

When Alexander understood what a powerful friend Jonathan was like to prove to the side he should declare himself for, and the favours which Demetrius had lately bribed him with, he resolved to outbid him, and to draw him to his interest. He sent him a most obliging letter, in which he bestowed the high-priesthood on him, and accompanied it with rich presents, and among them a purple robe, and a golden crown. Jonathan readily accepted of

^r 1 Macc. ubi supra, vers. 62, ad fin. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 2.

(L) Those only of Bethsura and Acra, which were mostly filled with apostate Jews, not daring to follow their example, lest they should be pursued, and

meet with their just deserts, resolved to stand it out to the last, and either surrender upon safe terms, or to die sword in hand,

them,

them, putting on the priestly vestments, on the feast of Tabernacles ², in the ninth year of his government, and in the seventh month of that year. However, as he would not seem wholly to receive that dignity from a prince, whose right to the Syrian crown was so justly suspected, he reinforced his appointment, by the suffrages of the Jewish nation.

Being thus invested with the dignity of high-priest, his first care was to raise new forces, and to cause a great number of arms to be made, resolving to side with Alexander. When Demetrius found, that his competitor was likely to deprive him of so important an ally, he spared neither favour nor promises to attach him to his interest: he sent him a long letter, couched in the most obliging terms, wherein he artfully disguised his resentment for his defection, under the greatest professions of confidence in his friendship and loyalty; in acknowledgement of which, and to bind him still faster to his interest, he promised him a general relaxation of all arrears, an exemption from future tribute, imposts, or taxes, a free exercise of the Jewish religion, with many other concessions and privileges, vastly exceeding those which Alexander had made to him, and too great indeed to be really designed by that monarch. The memory of the many mischiefs and persecutions which they had so lately suffered under him, made Jonathan suspect the sincerity of them; and indeed such was the character of that prince, and the present situation of his affairs, that they might well extort those exorbitant promises from him, without any real intention of performance. However, whether through resentment or diffidence, Jonathan chose rather to enter into an alliance with his competitor, and disclaimed all future friendship with a man who had given them so many feeling proofs of his hatred to their nation: so that from this time they stuck close to Alexander's interest ³; and it was lucky for them that they chose this side; since Demetrius was soon after defeated and killed by his competitor.

The new monarch having, by that decisive battle, made himself master of the Syrian crown, forgot not to express his gratitude to the Jewish chief; he invited him to his nuptials, to which Jonathan went with a numerous retinue, and was received with great marks of friendship and esteem. During his stay at Ptolemais, where they were celebrated, some disaffected Jews came to exhibit accu-

Yr. of Fl.
2196.
Ante Chr.
152.

*Jonathan
made high-
priest.
His title to
it.*

*Demetrius's se-
cond letter
to him.*

*Suspected
of insincer-
ity.*

Yr. of Fl.
2198.
Ante Chr.
150.

² 1 Maccab. x. 17, & seq. Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 5.

³ Ibid. ib.
sations

*Jonathan's
reception at
Ptolemais.*

*Jerus in
Egypt
highly es-
teemed.*

Yr. of Fl.
2500.
Ante Chr.
148.

sations against him; but the king, resolving not to hear any thing against his friend, caused a proclamation to be made through the city, expressly forbidding any such complaint to be brought before him. To mortify his enemies the more, he caused him to sit by him, clothed in purple, confirmed all his former grants to him, made him generalissimo of Judæa, and gave him some other titles and governments in his kingdom; all which favours cast such a damp upon his accusers, that they secretly departed for fear of farther mischief. Jonathan, on the other hand, having made some considerable presents to the king and queen, returned into Judæa^b; highly satisfied with his reception, and much more with his choice of such an ally. From this time the Jewish nation became more and more considerable, not only in Judæa, where they enjoyed every branch of liberty, whether religious or civil, but in other countries also, and particularly in Egypt; where Ptolemy Philometor, and his sister and wife Cleopatra, raised many of them to considerable posts, both at court and in the army, intrusted them with the keeping of their principal fortresses, and even the command of their army they bestowed upon Onias and Dositheus. These two, if we may believe Josephus, seem to have wholly ingrossed the king's favour during his whole reign (M).

By this time Alexander having, partly by his negligence and debaucheries, and partly by the tyranny and cruelties of his favourite Ammonius, alienated the affection of his subjects, young Demetrius was encouraged to leave his retirement in Cnidos, and make an effort to recover the

^b 1 Maccab. *ibid.* ver. 59, ad 66. *Antiq. ubi supra.*

(M) The misfortune was, easily procured him the liberty of doing it.

that Onias could not be satisfied with it, whilst he saw himself deprived of the dignity of the Jewish high-priesthood, and of the pleasure of performing the functions of that supreme dignity, which his birth entitled him to. Since, therefore, there were no hopes, that Jonathan would ever yield to him that of Jerusalem, he had no other way to make himself amends for it, but by setting up a new one in Egypt; and his great credit with the king and queen

This edifice, which was built after the model of that of Jerusalem, but neither so large, nor so sumptuous, the reader may see described in Josephus. It was surrounded with a very strong stone wall, and had the altar of incense and burnt-offerings, &c. like that in Judæa; only, instead of the seven-branch candlestick, Onias contented himself with a stately golden lamp, which hung from the roof by a chain of the same metal.

crown.

crown. Apollonius, then governor of Cœleſyria and Pa-leſtine, revolted to him, whiſt Jonathan, remembering his alliance and obligations, ſtuck cloſe to Alexander's in-tereſt. Apollonius, therefore, having aſſembled a conſiderable army, marched againſt him as far as Jamnia ; but not daring to advance farther into the mountainous parts of Judæa, for fear of loſing the benefit of his cavalry, he ſent him a daring meſſage to come and fight him in the plain country. Jonathan readily accepted the challenge, and marched from Jeruſalem to Joppa, at the head of ten thouſand men, and in his way was met by his brother Simon, with a reinforcement. The town, being gariſoned by the troops of Apollonius, ſhut their gates againſt the Jewiſh general, and obliged him to take it by ſiege, an achievement which he quickly finiſhed almoſt in ſight of the enemy's army. Apollonius advanced againſt him with eight thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, leaving a thouſand behind to ſurpriſe the Jews in the rear, whiſt he attacked them in front, and made a feint, as if he was marching with the former ſouthward towards Azotus. Jonathan came out as he expected, and Apollonius facing about, fell upon him, not doubting but his ſtrata-gem would gain him a complete victory. But he ſoon found his project fruſtrated by the experienced Jewiſh general, who, having drawn up his army in the figure of an oblong ſquare, not unlike the Macedonian phalanx, his troops bore the ſhock of the battle on both ſides with un-uſual firmneſs till the evening, when Jonathan, obſerving the enemy's horſe to be quite ſpent, ruſhed on a ſudden upon the foot, which was now deſtitute of the cavalry, and totally routed them. The greateſt part fled to Azotus, and took ſhelter in the temple of Dagon, whither the Jewiſh army purſued them ; and, having made themſelves maſters of the town, ſet it on fire, not ſparing the temple. The number of the ſlain amounted to eight thouſand. From Azotus Jonathan went and plun-dered ſome other neighbouring towns ; only that of Aſca-lon, which met him with preſents, and compliments of ſubmiſſion, was ſpared ; after which exploits, they return-ed to Jeruſalem, loaden with rich plunder. Alexander, hearing of Jonathan's fidelity and victory, ſent him a preſent of a rich buckle or clasp, ſuch as thoſe only of the royal family uſed for faſtening their purple mantle to the ſhoulder : he gave him alſo the city and territory of Ekron, and ſome other marks of his eſteem.

*Jonathan
challenged
by Apol-
lonius.*

*Defeats
him.*

*Alexan-
der's gra-
titude to
him.*

*Jews
highly fa-
voured.*

On Philometor's coming with his army into Palestine, on pretence to succour his son-in-law, some of the enemies of the Maccabees tried to render them odious to him, by shewing him the devastations they had lately made, particularly the ruins of Azotus, and of the temple of Dagon, and the carcases of those they had slain, which were still above-ground. But that prince, whatever his reasons were, could not be induced to shew any resentment against them. On the contrary, he laid all the blame upon Apollonius; and when Jonathan came to pay him a visit at Joppa, with a numerous retinue, he favoured him with the most gracious reception ^d.

*Jonathan
besieges
Acra.*

This prince, having given the kingdom of Syria, and his daughter Cleopatra, from Alexander to young Demetrius, surnamed Nicanor, died of the wounds he received in the last battle, before he could well settle him on his throne. Jonathan therefore took this opportunity, Egypt being then embroiled in a civil war about the succession, and neither able nor inclined to assist the new Syrian king, to begin the siege of Acra, which was still garrisoned by Syrian troops, and always ready to annoy the Jews going to and from Jerusalem. He wanted neither forces nor engines to form it in the best manner; but in the height of the siege, complaint having been made of it to the young king, he was forced to leave it, and appear before him at Ptolemais. However, he gave orders that it should be carried on with the same vigour as if he himself had been present; then, taking with him some of the most considerable priests and elders of his nation, he repaired to court, where he pleaded his cause so well before that prince, and supported it with such presents, that he was received into his favour and friendship, and quite discomfited his accusers, who were sent away with disgrace. Nicanor confirmed him in his pontifical dignity, inrolled him in the highest place among his friends; and, for the annual tribute of three hundred talents, released, not only Judæa, but also the three toparchies of Lydda, Apharema, and Ramatha (N), from all future taxes whatsoever ^e.

*Summoned
by Deme-
trius,*

*and highly
honoured by
him.*

^d 1 Maccab. xi. 4, & seq.

^e Joseph. Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 8.

(N) These three, with their territories, had been dismembered from Samaria some time before, and joined to Judæa; and the late Demetrius, in his courting letter to Jonathan, confirmed to him the possession

and immunities of them; and now the present king renews the same grant, and allots the revenues of it towards the maintenance of the service of the temple, and of the priests on duty.

Jonathan

Jonathan, upon his return to Jerusalem, redoubled his attacks against the fortrefs; but finding that it was like to hold out long, and cost him dear, he bethought himself of procuring an order from the king, for the evacuation both of that and some other places, from which he complained to him the garrisons were still annoying the Jews. He chose a lucky juncture for sending this request: for Demetrius, having a little before disbanded his troops, had given occasion to that revolt which Tryphon raised at Antioch. He was therefore glad to grant it to him, upon condition he should assist with some of his forces to quell the rebels; and it appears in the history of the Seleucidæ, how effectually the three thousand men, which he sent him, answered his purpose, at the same time retaliating on the Antiochians the many cruelties which those of their own nation had formerly suffered from the Syrians, both in Judæa and elsewhere^f. Demetrius, however, instead of performing his promise to Jonathan, broke even those which he had made to him at Ptolemais, and began to insist on his paying all the taxes and customs which he had remitted to him at that interview. But it was not long before a new insurrection, in which he was driven out of his kingdom by Antiochus, the son of Alexander, made him repent of his perfidy to the Jews, and of his tyranny to his own subjects.

The new king did not forget to secure the Jewish general to his interest; he confirmed all the former grants, and added some others to them: he made his brother Simon general of all his forces, and governor of all the sea-coasts, from the Ladder of Tyre to the frontiers of Egypt, upon condition that those two brothers should declare for him. Jonathan was easily prevailed upon to forsake his old treacherous ally, and to accept the offers of the new sovereign. He sent immediately an embassy of thanks, to assure him of his best services. The two Jewish generals, having obtained their commission, assembled a good army, crossed the Jordan, and defeated Demetrius's troops that were sent to make a diversion in Galilee. In this expedition Jonathan was in imminent danger of being cut in pieces by the enemy: he had encamped near the lake of Genezareth, and was advancing early one morning towards Azor; in his march he fell unexpectedly into an ambush, which had been placed among the defiles of the mountains to surprise him. As soon as he perceived his

Yr. of Fl.
2203.
Ante Chr.
145.

Demetrius's treachery to the Jews punished.

Yr. of Fl.
2204.
Ante Chr.
144.

Antiochus mounts the Syrian throne.

Jonathan falls into an ambush.

^f 1 Macc. xi. 41, & seq.

His brave defence and victory.

danger, he disposed his men for a brave defence; but the greatest part of them, being seized with a panic, forsook him, and fled; so that he was left with only fifty resolute adherents, and two of his commanding officers, Mattathias and Judas. With these he faced about, and fought so desperately, that the enemy began to give way; which being perceived at a distance by his runaways, they rallied, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that they gained a complete victory, and pursued the Demetrians to their very camp at Cadesh^s; after this incident Jonathan sent his brother to besiege Bethsura, which had till then been garrisoned by heathens and renegado Jews; whilst he himself went and secured some of the principal cities of that province; particularly Ascalon, which opened its gates to him; Gaza, which he forced to surrender; and, in a word, all the towns from thence to Damascus. Simon, on his side, having made himself master of Bethsura, freed the neighbourhood from the continual insults of that garrison, and returned to Jerusalem, whither he was soon followed by Jonathan.

Gains several towns.

Alliance with Rome renewed,

and with Sparta.

These successes of the two brothers abroad, had struck such a damp into their enemies at home, that they found all things in quietness at their return. However, Jonathan did not think fit to trust to the gratitude of the new king, to whom he had done such signal services; but set about means of preserving the peace and liberty of his nation on a more permanent footing. To this end he sent a new embassy to Rome to renew his alliance with the senate, which was executed with great readiness on their part. In their return, his ambassadors were ordered to act the same part with the Lacedæmonians, and other Grecian states, with whom they were in friendship; there too they executed their commission with all imaginable success. In their address to the Lacedæmonians, the substance of which the reader will find in the note (O), they reminded

^s 1 Macc. xi. 67, & seq.

(O) "Jonathan, high-priest, with the elders and priests of the Jewish nation, unto the ephori, senate, and people of Lacedæmon, their brethren, greeting:

"Whereas we have found, among our records, a letter long since written by Arius,

one of your kings, to Onias, formerly high-priest of the Jews, wherein he expressed your friendship and affinity to our nation, which affinity we acknowledge with greater honour, because we find it confirmed by our sacred books: we have sent these our deputies

ties

reminded them of a letter formerly sent to their high-priest (Onias III.) by the Spartan king Arius, and inclosed a copy of it with their own. But whilst these alliances were transacting, news was brought to Jonathan, that the Demetrian generals, whom he had lately defeated, were advancing towards him with a more numerous army. To prevent, therefore, their entering Judæa, he marched out with the utmost expedition at the head of his forces, resolving, if possible, to attack them in their own territories. He made such good speed, that he reached Amathis, a place on the frontiers of Syria, and encamped over-against them. Their design, it seems, was to surprise his camp on the following night; but Jonathan, having timely notice of it, kept his men under arms all that night, ready to receive them; which vigilance being perceived by the enemy, they retired immediately into their camp; where having lighted a good number of fires to conceal their flight, they forsook it, and marched off unperceived. When the morning gave the Jews notice of their flight, Jonathan strove in vain to pursue them; they were already far beyond the Eleutherus before he could reach that river. To make himself therefore some amends for his disappointment, he fell upon some Demetrian Arabs, whom he defeated, and carried off a considerable booty; and from thence passing through Damascus, making excursions all the way, he arrived at Jerusalemb.

Invasion by the Syrians.

They leave their camp.

Jonathan plunders the Arabs.

^b 1 Macc. xi. 62, ad fin. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 9.

ties to you, to renew the said alliance and brotherly union with you, lest we should be thought unmindful of it, by reason of the long interval which has elapsed since the receipt of it.

“Be it therefore known unto you, that we have had you always in our minds, both in our solemn festivals, and in our prayers and sacrifices, as our brethren and allies, rejoicing at your successes, and beholding with pleasure the prosperity and splendor of your republic. As for us, though we thought ourselves honoured by

your friendship and alliance, yet we have hitherto forbore to be chargeable or troublesome to you, during all the grievous wars and persecutions which we have been exposed to from our tyrannous neighbours; but now since Heaven has blest us with better times, we have thought fit to send to you Numenius and Antipater, our late deputies to the Roman senate, with fresh offers of our best services to you, not doubting but they will be as heartily accepted by you as they are tendered by us (2).”

(2) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 9.

*Simon's
care of his
garrisons.*

*Judæa and
Jerusalem
new-forti-
fied.*

*Jonathan
treacher-
ously mur-
dered by
Tryphon.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2308.
Ante Chr.
144.*

*Tryphon
prepares
to invade
Judæa.*

In the midst of these transactions, Simon, who had been left to take care of Judæa and Galilee, kept a watchful eye over those places he had lately secured to Antiochus in the last of those provinces. He reviewed the garrisons of Ascalon, and other fortresses in that neighbourhood; and being told that the citizens of Joppa were inclined to receive a Demetrian governor, he reduced, and secured it with a strong garrison, and returned to join his brother at Jerusalem. Here they called a council, wherein it was resolved, that all the forts and sconces of Judæa should be forthwith repaired; that others should be erected where they were wanted; that the wall of the city should be rebuilt; and a new wall be raised between Mount Zion and the rest of the city, of such a height, as might effectually cut off all communication between them; to the end that the garrison of Acra, being thereby deprived of all future supply, might be the sooner either forced to surrender or starve. All these resolutions were executed without loss of time; so that the garrison of Acra was soon obliged to surrender.

By this time Jonathan had governed the Jewish state near seventeen years, with great wisdom and success, when he was unhappily decoyed into the perfidious Tryphon's power, and soon after murdered. That traitor knew but too well how vain it would be to attempt to wrest the crown from the young monarch, whilst he had so faithful and powerful an ally; and therefore spared neither promises, oaths, nor any other treacherous means, to persuade him to disband his numerous army, now become, as he pretended, useless and burdensome. Jonathan, too easily prevailed upon to take that destructive step, was soon after as unhappily decoyed into the city of Ptolemais, attended only by one thousand of his men, who were all treacherously murdered by his order, and their chief only spared, till the villain had obtained a large sum from Judæa under the name of a ransom, which was no sooner paid, than Jonathan suffered death. When the news of his being seized, and kept prisoner, and of the slaughter of his men, reached Jerusalem, the whole city was in the utmost consternation. They doubted not but the perfidious murderer would soon be at their gates, and be joined by all the heathens and apostate Jews, whom the bravery of their late leader had hitherto suppressed: and indeed their fears were but too well grounded; for Tryphon was making great preparations to march into Judæa, with full resolution to extirpate, if possible, the whole

whole nation. All their enemies, who had been till now kept in awe, exulted at Jonathan's fate. They began to express an impatient desire to see the land once more invaded, and to threaten the Jews with a severe retaliation. Simon was now the only surviving son of Mattathias; and the courage and conduct which he had shewed hitherto, evinced him the only fit person to succeed his brother. An assembly was therefore called in the outer court of the temple, in which he was, by their unanimous consent, desired to take the command upon him; a task which he readily undertook, not only as he was the next in succession, but that he might find some means, either of releasing, or, at the worst, of revenging, his worthy brother. He was not only appointed commander in chief of their forces, but even promoted to the dignity of high-priest, in which office he was solemnly installed (P).

Simon succeeds his brother.

His first care was to finish the fortifications of the city with all speed, and to get together an army sufficient to cope with Tryphon, who was in full march against him. That traitor perceiving the Jews had taken such spirited measures for their defence, thought proper to temporize, and soon returned to Syria. As soon as he was gone, Simon ordered the bodies of Antiochus and Jonathan, with his two sons, whom Tryphon had murdered, to be fetched from the places where they died, and deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin, where a stately monument was reared over them¹ (Q).

Jonathan buried at Modin.
Yr. of Fl.
2205.
Ante Chr.
143.

His

¹ 1 Macc. xiii. 20, & seq. Antiq. ubi supra.

(P) How highly soever those Asmonean heroes may be admired on other accounts, yet there can be nothing said in their excuse, except the necessity and iniquity of the times they lived in, for acting in a two-fold opposition to their law; to wit, stripping the house of Judah of the royal power, by which that family became reduced to the lowest degree of poverty; and transferring the high-priesthood from that of Eleazar, the elder branch of the family of Aaron, into their own. So that, upon the whole, those great men, though

extolled by their own writers to the degree of saints and martyrs, must, to an impartial reader, appear to have been more solicitous to satisfy their own ambition, than to reform their church, according to the model of their lawgiver.

(Q) This noble piece of architecture stood on an eminence, which commanded the whole country round about; and, being itself raised to a vast height, was seen at a great distance at sea, and served for a land-mark. It was made of white marble, curiously carved and polished. Simon caused

*Alliance
with Rome
and Sparta
renewed.*

*Embassy to
Demetrius.*

*Demetri-
us's an-
swer, and
large
grants.*

His next care was to send an embassy to the Roman senate, to notify to them the treacherous murder of his brother, with his succession to his office, and to renew his alliance with them. They were to execute the same commission at Lacedæmon; and in both places they were received with great honour. Both nations expressed uncommon resentment at Tryphon's treachery, and cheerfully renewed their friendship with Simon; to whom they sent letters of congratulation on his accession to the Jewish high-priesthood and government, together with the ratification of their alliance engraved on copper. All which being received, Simon caused them to be read before their great assembly; and then set about fortifying afresh both Jerusalem and other places of Judæa, and raising new forces against any future invasion. Having thus far strengthened himself by alliances, and the land with men, arms, and other necessary stores, he sent an embassy to Demetrius, whom Tryphon had, by this time, stripped of almost his whole kingdom. He offered to acknowledge him king of Syria, and to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom from the usurper, upon condition that he would confirm him in all his dignities, and his country in all their privileges and immunities. He reinforced his offers with a rich crown of gold, and some other presents. Demetrius, glad to accept the conditions, sent him a letter under the royal signature, by which he granted all his demands, together with a general amnesty and oblivion for all past hostilities; constituted Simon sovereign prince of the Jewish nation, and freed his land from all foreign yoke. From this time Simon took upon him the name and authority of prince and high-priest of the Jews; which dignities having been confirmed to him, and to his descendants, the next year, by an act of the sanhedrim, all public acts were ordered from thenceforward to be made in his name (R).

Simon's

also seven pyramids to be built round it; to wit, two for his father and mother, and four for his four brethren, and the last for himself. The whole was surrounded with a stately portico, whose arches were supported by marble pillars, each of a whole piece. The

top of it was adorned with shields, armour, ships, and other such embellishments, curiously carved. All which were still to be seen, not only in Josephus, but in Eusebius and St. Jerom's time (3).

(R) In pursuance and by virtue of this grant, the Jews

(3) Euseb. & Hier. loc. Hebr.

from

Simon's main business now was to strengthen himself in his new dignity; to which end he set about repairing and fortifying all his garrisons afresh; especially that of Bethsura, which, being on the confines of Judæa, had been formerly made the chief magazine of the enemy, and was like to be one of the first places they would attempt. He therefore took care to secure it with good walls, towers, and ammunition, and with a garrison of the stoutest Jews. About the same time he sent Jonathan, the son of Abfalom, with a good army, to besiege Joppa; which being taken, he drove out all its inhabitants, filled it with men of his own nation, repaired its fortifications, and, liking the situation of it, built himself a house, and settled there (S). About the same time Simon went with another army to reduce the city of Gaza, or, as some more probably guess, that of Gazara^k, which had revolted ever since Jonathan's death. He battered it some considerable time with his engines, and was just on the point of storming it, when the inhabitants appeared on the walls, men, women, and children, with their cloaths rent, and implored his mercy with such doleful cries, as prevailed upon him to spare their lives, and to send them away to shift for themselves where they could. He entered the town, and purified it of all its idolatrous monuments, put a strong garrison of Jews into it, and caused a house to be built for himself, to which he often retired, either for relaxation, or to keep the neighbourhood in order^l.

Simon fortifies Judæa.

Takes Joppa.

and Gaza.

In the course of the next year, the fortress of Acra, which had been invested near two years, being now reduced by famine, began to capitulate, after it had been held by the Syrians about twenty-five years, to the great nuisance of the Jewish nation. Simon, who wanted to be rid of them at any rate, gave them leave to march out peaceably, whilst he and his troops entered it with palms in their hands, to the sound of trumpets and other instruments, accompanied with songs, and other demonstra-

Yr. of Fl. 2206. Ante Chr. 142.

Acra surrendered;

^k See Prid. Connect. sub. an. 43. Joseph. Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 9, & seq.

^l 1 Macc. xiii. & xv. pass.

from that time ceased to date their contracts, and other instruments, as formerly, by the reigns of the Syrian kings, and dated them by the year of Simon and his successors.

(S) The place from this time became the chief sea-port to all Judæa, being distant about forty miles from Jerusalem, and opening a trade to the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean.

and demolished.

tions of joy. At first he ordered it to be lustrated and cleansed, intending probably to put a Jewish garrison in it; but, upon more mature deliberation, he called a grand council, and proposed to demolish both it, and the hill on which it stood^m. This proposal met with a general approbation; the work was immediately set about, and carried on with indefatigable assiduity, during the space of three years; every man taking his turn in it, till the mountain was brought down to the level of that of the temple, that it might never more be in a condition to annoy the house of God (T). It was in this year that the great sanhedrim, and the whole assembly of the Jews, confirmed to him all his dignities, and entailed them on his posterity, in consideration of the eminent services he had done to his country; which are therefore recapitulated in the preamble to their decree.

Fr. of Fl.
2208.
Ante Chr.
140.

Simon allowed the privilege of coining.

Demetrius, driven from his dominions, had been taken, and kept prisoner, by the Parthians, whilst Trypton's tyranny caused a general defection from him to Cleopatra. This princess, despairing ever to recover her captive husband, sent to invite his brother Antiochus out of his retirement, to make a push for the Syrian crown. Upon his coming therefore to her, he sent a very obliging letter to the Jewish high-priest, in which he confirmed to him all his dignities, revenues, and authority; and to his nation all the freedom and immunities, which had been formerly granted to them by his brother, or which they were now in actual possession of. To this he added, besides many great promises, a power of coining their own money in Judæa, which that pontiff immediately made use of (U). But when that prince had established himself on

^m *Ibid. ad fin.*

(T) This circumstance of demolishing the fortress, and the hill, which we have mentioned out of Josephus, and those who have followed him, is not only omitted, but seems even contradicted by the first book of Maccabees, which affirms that Simon fortified and garrisoned it with Jews.

(U) Several pieces of this Jewish coin are still preserved by the curious; the inscription

of some of them is, "The Shekel, or Half Shekel of Israel;" in others, "The first or second, &c. year of the deliverance of Israel, of Sion, of Jerusalem, &c." Others again are inscribed, "Simon prince of Israel." What is remarkable in these inscriptions is, that they are not in the new Assyrian character, adopted by Ezra, but in the old Samaritan; for which no other reason

on his throne by the marriage of Cleopatra, and the death of Tryphon, Simon, whether he suspected the sincerity of his late promises, or was willing to make his friendship to him appear more considerable, sent a fresh embassy to Rome, to renew and strengthen his alliance with that nation

Alliance renewed with Rome, &c.

The senate's letter to the king of Syria was indeed directed to Demetrius, for it was written before that prince fell into the hands of the Parthians; but had it been directed to Antiochus, it is likely, he would have had as little regard to it, as he had to that, which he had sent to the Jewish chief. For even whilst he was besieging Tryphon in Dora, whither Simon sent him two thousand chosen men with warlike stores, engines, and other ammunition; instead of accepting them, he sent them all back, together with a threatening message to Simon, insisting upon his surrendering Joppa, Gazara, and the citadel of Jerusalem; which, he said, belonged to the crown of Syria; or else upon paying him five hundred talents for each, and five hundred more for the ravages which the Jews had committed in his dominion. Athenobius, one of that monarch's favourites, was dispatched upon that errand: he came accordingly to Jerusalem, and beheld with wonder the richness and splendor of the high-priest's court, at the same time that he informed him of his master's demandsⁿ. Simon, not terrified at this message, answered coolly, that he was in possession of nothing but what was the inheritance of his ancestors; except indeed the fortresses of Joppa and Gazara, which he had been forced to seize, to suppress the continual ravages

Antiochus's ill returns to Simon.

Athenobius sent to Jerusalem.

Simon's answer to the Syrian king.

ⁿ Conf. 1 Macc. xv. 28, & seq. & Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 12, & 13.

son can be assigned, if they be authentic, except that Simon was willing to preserve the ancient form of those that had been coined before the captivity, as well in the character, as the metal, figure, and weight.

Accordingly, these, like the old ones, have on the one side a cup, or pitcher, supposed to have been the pot of manna, and on the other a branch or budding rod of Aaron, or a

palm-branch; some a vine, others a bunch of grapes, or a wheat-sheaf; some have two doves, others two towers, or the front of an edifice, supposed to be that of the temple.

Those we have left of him are all of silver: whether he coined any in gold, is not certain; the king's letter mentions neither metal, but permits him in general to coin his own money.

and

*Athenobius
exasperates
him a-
gainst that
pontiff.*

and devastations they made in Judæa : that for these therefore he was willing to pay the king a hundred talents ; but, as to the fortrefs of Acra, he could by no means think the king had any right to demand it. Athenobius did not stay to make any reply, but went off abruptly, and returned to Antiochus, who was still employed in the siege of Dora, where he communicated the answer of the Jewish pontiff. He likewise described the pomp and grandeur of his household ; the great quantity of silver and gold vessels used at his table ; and other such marks of the Jewish wealth, which he knew would not fail to inflame the avarice of that monarch. Accordingly, Antiochus, forgetting at once his former letter, and Simon's services, ordered Cendebeus, one of his nobles, to invade Judæa with a powerful army, whilst he himself went with another in pursuit of the traitor Tryphon *.

*Yr. of Fl.
2809.
Ante Chr.
139.*

*Judæa in-
vaded by
Cendebeus.*

*Simon
sends his
two sons
against
him.*

Cendebeus, having received the government of all the coasts of Phœnicia and Palestine, and being at the head of a powerful army of horse and foot, began his expedition with fortifying the town of Cedron, or, as the Vulgate perhaps more properly calls it, Gedor^p, a place advantageously situated, in which he put a strong garrison. In the mean time he himself marched towards Jamnia and Joppa ; from whence he made many inroads into Judæa, took a great number of prisoners, and laid waste all that part of the country. The news of this invasion soon reached John, who, as we hinted above, was made general of the Jewish forces, and kept his residence at Gazara ; and he went immediately to Jerusalem, to give notice of it to his father. Simon, being by this time too old to head the Jewish troops in person, called his two brave sons, John and his brother Judas, to whom he committed the command of them ; charging them, on his blessing, to imitate the valour of their brave uncles, and to venture their lives in defence of their religion and liberties. These two setting out at the head of twenty thousand choice foot, besides some horse, encamped the first night at Modin ; and on the morrow, as they advanced towards the plain, they came in sight of the enemy, and drew so near, that only a brook parted the two armies. That of John at first expressed some reluctance to cross it ; but he, ashamed of their backwardness, flung himself first into it, and moved forward ; an example which so ani-

* 1 Maccab. xv. 38, & seq. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 12, & 13.
p. Josh. xv. 38.

mated his men, that they followed him without further hesitation. As soon as they had passed, he ranged them in order of battle, with his cavalry in the centre. An obstinate attack immediately ensued, in which the enemy being seized with a sudden fright at the sound of the sacred trumpets, immediately gave way. Many of them were killed and wounded, and the rest fled; some to the sconces, which they had in the plains of Azotus, where about two thousand of them perished in the flames; John, now surnamed Hyrcan, having caused them to be set on fire. The rest, with Cendebeus, fled as far as Cedron, the place lately fortified by him, and John pursued him all the way thither: he afterwards faced about, and rejoined his brother Judas; who, having received some wounds in the action, had been forced to stay behind. The two brothers, having by this defeat cleared those parts from the Syrian troops, led their victorious army back to Jerusalem, without any considerable loss. After this transaction, Judæa continued quiet and free from invasion, till the murder of their worthy high-priest, which happened about three years after, and brought Antiochus again with an army against that metropolis.

who engage and defeat him;

and return victorious.

Simon had then a son-in-law named Ptolemy, the son of Abadus, whom he had made governor of Jericho, and its territories, and who was grown exceeding rich in that government; but such was his ambition, that nothing less could satisfy him than his being master of all Judæa. This wretch took the opportunity of Simon's making a progress about the country with his two sons Judas and Matthias, to invite them to his castle of Dog, where he had prepared a sumptuous entertainment. The old pontiff, who suspected nothing less than such a horrid design, was easily persuaded to accept of the invitation; but, after they had feasted and drank pretty freely, some ruffians, whom he had privately posted, rushed in and murdered the three guests. His design was to have cut off Hyrcan also, who was then at Gazara; to which end he had dispatched some messengers to invite or bring him to him: but, happily for him, one of his father's retinue, who had escaped the slaughter, brought notice of what had passed; so that Hyrcan avoided the snare, and caused the messengers to be taken, and put to death (X).

Yr. of Fl.
2213.
Ante Chr.
135.

Simon treacherously murdered by Ptolemy.

Hyrcan,

1 Maccab. xvi. 1, & seq.

(X) Thus far goes the first book of the Maccabees, which concludes its epocha of forty years with this escape of Hyrcan,

*Hyrcau
succeeds
Simon.*

*Ptolemy
is repulsed.*

*His letter
to Antio-
chus.*

*He leaves
the coun-
try, and
disappears.*

*Yr. of Fl.
213.
Ante Chr.
135.*

*Judæa in-
vaded.
Jerusalem
besieged.*

Hyrcau, thinking himself now no longer safe in that place, made the best of his way to Jerusalem, where Ptolemy arrived as soon as he. Both offered themselves at different gates, and demanded admittance; but Hyrcan was received out of respect to his worthy father, whilst his murderer, and the men that came with him, had the mortification to be repulsed. Hyrcan being immediately declared prince and high-priest in his father's stead, fortified himself in the mountain of the temple, and provided every way for his own safety, and for that of the city and country. On the other hand, Ptolemy, seeing himself disappointed in his designs on Hyrcan and Jerusalem, and having in vain endeavoured to bribe some of the heads of the Jews over to his interest by sumptuous promises, was at length reduced to the necessity of writing to Antiochus, to acquaint him with what he had done, and to beg of him to come to his assistance; promising at the same time to reduce all Judæa under him, provided he was made governor of that country. Antiochus, whom the late defeat of Cendebeus had still more exasperated against the Jews, easily embraced his offer, and was actually coming with a powerful army to his assistance; but whether through fear, or for whatever other reason, the rebel did not think fit to stay till his arrival, but fled to Zeno, tyrant of the city of Philadelphia. What became of the wretch afterwards, we cannot find. The author of the fourth book of Maccabees says, that, after he had killed the mother and two brothers of Hyrcan, he fled, and retired into some place where he could not be attacked, whilst Hyrcan was detained at Jerusalem to perform the priestly function, it being then the feast of tabernacles. All we know is, that no further mention is made of him, either by Josephus, or the first book of the Maccabees, since his flight into Philadelphia.

Antiochus, allured partly by the news of Simon's death, and of the riches of his successor, and partly by the fair offers which the traitor Ptolemy had made to him, entered Judæa in the same year with a powerful army, and went directly to besiege Jerusalem, driving Hyrcan all the way before him, till he was shut up in that metropolis.

As therefore no relief could be expected from without, either of men or provisions, Hyrcan formed a design

can, and refers us for the remainder of his life and actions to a book of Chronicles long since lost; so that we must now fill up the sequel of the Jewish history for the most part out of Josephus.

of ridding himself of all useless mouths, by putting them out of the city; not considering that those unhappy wretches, being pent up between the wall and the enemies ditch, must infallibly have been starved in a little time, had they not been taken in again. What raised the compassion of those within the walls, was the approaching feast of tabernacles, which was usually solemnized with great joy and feasting, and could not but have been very much disturbed by the cries of their perishing brethren without. Hyrcan then sent to Antiochus to desire a truce of seven days, that they might quietly celebrate that festival: this was not only readily granted, but that prince being thereby stirred up to some sense of religion, sent them a considerable number of victims, with their horns gilt, together with several rich vessels of gold and silver * filled with precious perfumes, and some money, and other necessities; which were, by Hyrcan's orders, thankfully received by the priests at one of the gates of the city, and thence conveyed into the temple. This unexpected instance of the king's piety and liberality gave some hopes, that a peace might probably be obtained with the same ease. He was not mistaken; for Antiochus, whether tired with the brave and constant defence of the besieged, or moved by some other reason, granted it to him, upon the conditions which the reader may see in the note (Y).

Antiochus's piety.

Antiochus concludes a peace with the Jews.

However that was, the peace was signed on both sides, and the proper hostages were sent to Antiochus, among whom was Hyrcan's brother; the city was dismantled; the money paid; and the siege raised: but Hyrcan was forced to make use of a strange expedient to procure the three hundred talents for the first payment. It seems their treasury was then at so low an ebb, that it could not furnish him with that sum; so that John was forced to open a hidden treasure, which had been laid up by some of the kings of Judah †, Josephus says the tomb of David †, from which he took out three thousand talents; a thing which had never been attempted before by any of his pre-

* Ant. xiii. cap. 16. Vide & Plut. in Apophtheg. • Lib. 4. Maccab. † Joseph. Bell. Judaic. lib. iv. cap. 2, & alib.

(Y) That the Jews should deliver up their arms; that the city-wall should be demolished; and that John should pay a certain tribute for Joppa, and other towns he held out of Judæa; and they paid five hundred talents to be excused receiving a Syrian garrison in the metropolis.

deceffors,

Yr. of Fl.
2217.
Ante Chr.
131.

Yr. of Fl.
2218.
Ante Chr.
130.

*Antiochus's
death.*

*Hyrca
shakes off
the Syrian
yoke.*

*His con-
quest.*

decessors, nor was after him by any, except by Herod (Z). With this fresh supply he paid Antiochus, and ventured to take a number of foreign troops into his service. This peace was followed by an alliance with Antiochus, after the ratification of which, that monarch was invited into Jerusalem with his chief officers, where he was received and feasted in a sumptuous manner. Then the king set out for Syria, and Hyrcan began to repair the breaches and damages which had been made during the siege. This peace was signed on the ninth month after Simon's death. Hyrcan was punctual in his promises to that prince for some years; and he did him several signal services in his war against Phraartes (A).

Antiochus was soon after defeated and killed, and Hyrcan, in his return to Jerusalem, took Aleppo, and laid it under a tribute^u. After this period, finding that the kingdom of Syria was rent with intestine disturbances, and their cities naked and defenceless, he marched thither with a good army, resolved to seize upon such of them as lay most convenient for his occasions. The first he took was Madeba, which cost him a six months siege. From thence he marched to Samaga, which he subdued, with several others both in Arabia and Phœnicia^x. From this time we may date the total deliverance of the Jews from the Syrian yoke; for neither he, nor any of his descendants, paid either homage or obedience to those monarchs ever afterwards, but lived free, and independent^y. He now turned his arms against the Samaritans, and took Sechem and Garizzim, and the temple formerly built by Sanbal-

^u 4 Maccab.
Geogr. lib. xvi.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 17. Strab.
^y Justin. ex Trog. lib. xxxvi. cap. 1.

(Z) The story of a hidden treasure, whether laid up by David, or by any of his successors, is justly suspected by the judicious, as a fable invented by those two authors, without any foundation: only that of the Maccabees delivers it as a common report; whereas Josephus affirms it both of Hyrcan and Herod, without hesitation.

(A) Some authors think, it was in this war that John got

the name of Hyrcan, on account of some signal victory he gained over the Hyrcanians. However that be, Josephus tells us, on the authority of N. Damascus, that Antiochus shewed him so much regard, as to halt two days on account of the feast of Pentecost, because it beginning that year on the day immediately following the sabbath, it was not lawful for the Jews to march on those two days (1).

(1) Jos. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 16.

lat,

lat, and demolished it, after it had stood two hundred years, together with all the edifices, altars, and monuments, which had been built there by Jezebel; and put several of the Samaritan priests to death (B). The following year Idumæa was likewise conquered by him, where he caused proclamation to be made throughout that province, obliging all those that would not be circumcised to depart out of the land; but the Idumæans, choosing rather to forsake their old idolatry than their country, submitted to his conditions, and were from that time incorporated into the Jewish commonwealth (C).

In the year following Hyrcan sent Simon the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius the son of Alexander, on an embassy to the Roman senate, to renew the alliance they had lately made with Simon his father; and this embassy was accompanied by some valuable presents. They met an honourable reception at Rome, and a ready compliance with all their demands. The senate, besides the renewing of the alliance, granted the Jews the possession of Joppa, Gazara, and some other places, which Antiochus had taken from them; and ordered the ambassadors a sum out of the public treasury, to defray their charges home.

This embassy having so well succeeded, Hyrcan, next year, sent a second, with fresh presents, to thank the senate for their last favour, and to obtain a ratification of their former decrees in their behalf; all which requests were readily granted; and the ambassadors returning, brought this new act, which the reader may see at full length in Josephus (D). By these alliances he saw himself more and more strengthened in his dominions, whilst

Yr. of Fl.
2219.
Ante Chr.
129.

Hyrcan renews his alliance with Rome.

Yr. of Fl.
2221.
Ante Chr.
127.

A second embassy sent to Rome.

(B) These two last particulars, which we have out of the fourth book of the Maccabees, Josephus says nothing of; but only mentions the demolishing of their temple, which was from that time never attempted to be rebuilt: however, the Schemites built themselves an altar there, on which they offered their sacrifices, according to the Mosaic law, and have continued to do so ever since.

(C) From that time downwards to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, they continued in the Jewish reli-

gion; so that the word Idumæans signified no more than incorporated Jews, in contradistinction to those that were so by natural descent; and from their total dispersion, the former name has been entirely absorbed in the latter.

(D) Here Josephus has committed a manifest blunder, by inserting this decree in the wrong place, and instead of another then granted by the senate upon another occasion, and at the recommendation of Julius Cæsar, to Hyrcanus the second.

the

Yr. of Fl.
322.
Ante Chr.
126.

*Hyrcau
marches
against the
Samaritans;
besieges
their capital;*

the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt were troubled with continual wars. Alexander Zebina, having by this time mounted the Syrian throne, was glad to make him his friend; but that prince being soon after killed, and succeeded by Antiochus Gryphus, this last so repented Hyrcan's attachment to his rival, that he was preparing to invade Judæa; but was happily prevented by his brother, who was then levying an army at Cyzicum, and coming against him. Hyrcan left them to adjust their differences, without concerning himself on either side, choosing rather to enjoy his sovereign authority peacefully, which gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense treasures, by the tributes which he received both from his own now flourishing land, and from those countries which he had lately subjected to his dominions. At length some hostilities, which the Samaritans committed against the city of Maresfa, then in friendship with him, gave him a fair opportunity of renewing the war against those of the city of Sechem. He went therefore with his two sons Aristobulus and Antigonus, at the head of a powerful army, and with all the proper engines for the siege of Samaria, which had been since rebuilt and fortified (E). These encompassed the city with a wall, and a deep ditch, of about eighty furlongs, or four thousand paces circuit; by which they soon reduced it to such scarcity of provisions, that the inhabitants began to eat all manner of unclean beasts, such as cats, dogs, and other carrion. In this extremity they found means to send and implore the assistance of Antiochus Cyzicenus, who was now on the Syrian throne, and who came accordingly with a great army to their relief *.

In the mean time the grand expiation-day being at hand, Hyrcan was obliged to go up to Jerusalem to perform the

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 18.

(E) It will be proper here to remind our readers, that these Samaritans were not of the old race so much hated by the Jews; for these had been either destroyed, or driven out of that metropolis, by Alexander the Great, for the murder of his favourite Andronicus; immediately after which he repeopled the place with Syro-Macedonians, or a mixture of Syrians, Macedonians, and Greeks.

These, being settled there, encompassed the town with a double high wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications: those therefore are mistaken, who think, that the Jewish hatred against the former sort of Samaritans was the occasion of this war; for these were all heathens, and consequently strangers to the disputes and intailed enmity between those two.

ceremony,

ceremony, leaving his two sons to carry on the siege. Upon their hearing, that Antiochus was coming against them, Aristobulus was dispatched with part of the army to meet him. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the Syrians were totally routed, and pursued as far as Scythopolis; and Antiochus escaped with great difficulty. After this defeat, the siege was renewed with such vigour, that Antiochus was again applied to; but he not caring to hazard a second battle, contented himself with sending six thousand men to make a diversion in Judæa, in hopes of obliging the Jews to raise the siege; neither were these his own troops, but such as he had with some difficulty obtained from the king of Egypt. But the domestic troubles which at this time employed Antiochus, rendered even this assistance abortive; and Samaria was taken and raised by Hyrcan; who also found means to bribe the governor of Scythopolis to betray that city into his hands. From this time Hyrcan became more and more powerful, and made himself master not only of all Palestine, but added also unto it the provinces of Samaria and Galilee; all which he enjoyed to the end of his life. His reign was no less remarkable on account of his great wisdom and piety at home, than his conquests abroad. Never did the Jewish religion or commonwealth appear in greater lustre since the return from captivity; but that which raised his glory above any of his predecessors or successors, was, if we may believe Joseph*, and the fourth book of Maccabees, his enjoying three dignities, which never all met in any but him; namely, the royal dignity, the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. The second, or high-priesthood, however, though he had exercised it in such a manner as ought to have rendered him doubly venerable, yet in the end proved the source of such persecutions from the proud and hot-headed Pharisees, as quite imbibbed the latter end of his reign, if not shortened his days (F).

Yr. of Fl.
2228.
Ante Chr.
120.

*routs the
Syrians;*

*takes and
raises Sa-
maria;*

*conquers se-
veral pro-
vinces.*

*His great
zeal for re-
ligion.*

Hyrcan had always shewed himself a zealous friend of the Pharisees: they had hitherto monopolized his favours, and enjoyed the most considerable posts under him, whilst the other two sects were despised and kept under. But an untimely piece of condescension towards them, or perhaps rather of vanity, from which the best of men are not always exempt, gave one of the heads of that imperious

Yr. of Fl.
2240.
Ante Chr.
108.

*Hyrcan a
friend to
the Phari-
sees.*

* Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 3.

(F) It is under his reign that Sadducees and Essenians, are this sect, as well as those of the supposed to have started up.

*Eleazar
calls his le-
gitimacy
in question.*

sect, named Eleazar, an opportunity to cast a reflection against him, which touched him in the most sensible part. It was no less than calling in question his legitimacy, at least insinuating that his birth was less pure and undefiled than the Mosaic law requires in a high-priest. He pretended, that his mother had been formerly a slave, intimating thereby, that either she was not of Jewish extraction; or else, that, being so, she had been taken captive by the enemy, and forced to prostitute herself for a maintenance. The story being, as Josephus assures us, absolutely false, and merely trumped up by that proud Pharisee to mortify the good old prelate, we refer our readers to that author; and only add, that Eleazar's base suggestion, and the partiality of his brotherhood in not inflicting upon him condign punishment, so exasperated the high-priest against the whole sect, that from that time he gave himself up wholly to that of the Sadducees, who were not a little glad to aggravate the affront, as having been hatched against him by the whole Pharisaic body. From thenceforth, therefore, arose the bitterest enmity between him and that revengeful sect, who ceased not to raise troubles and seditions against him during the short time he lived, and against his sons after his decease. Hyrcan was in the twenty-eighth year of his pontificate when this quarrel happened, and he died the very next year, greatly lamented by all but the Pharisaic faction, who left no stone unturned to blacken his memory^b (G).

*Hyrcan be-
comes an
enemy to
the whole
sect,*

*and they to
him.*

Hyrcan left three sons, according to the fourth book of Maccabees, or five, according to Josephus^c, who gives us, however, the names but of four of them; namely, Aristobulus, who was also called Judas, and surnamed Philellen, on account of his fondness for the Greeks; 2. Antigonus; 3. Alexander; and 4. Absalom, who was the youngest. What was the name of the fifth, he nowhere tells us. Aristobulus succeeded his father in all his dignities in right of primogeniture, according to the Mosaic law; and, having a great affection for his brother Antigonus, admitted him to share the government with him

*Aristobulus
succeeds
Hyrcan.*

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 18.
^c & lib. xiv. cap. 8. Bell. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 3.

^c Antiq. lib. xiii. cap.

(G) Hyrcan is affirmed by Josephus to have built the stately tower, or rather castle of Asmonean princes, and was some time after rebuilt, enlarged, and fortified, by Herod, and called by him Antonia, in honour of Marc Antony.

for

for some short space; after which, upon some suspicion or dislike, he caused him to be put to death. The other three he kept close prisoners during his short and infamous reign, which he yet stained with his own mother's blood; for that princess having claimed a right to the sovereignty, by virtue of Hyrcan's will, her unnatural son not only shut her up in prison, but there barbarously starved her to death. He soon after assumed the title of king, and began to wear the royal diadem, which, if we may believe Josephus, had never been worn by any of his predecessors^d, who had till then contented themselves with the title of governors, or at most with that of prince. As soon as he had settled his affairs at home, he marched at the head of his army to invade Iturea; but, being taken ill in the midst of his successes, he was forced to be brought back to Jerusalem, and to leave his brother to complete the conquest of that province (H); an achievement which he soon accomplished, causing all the Itureans, either to be circumcised, and incorporated with the Jews, or else to depart into some other country^e.

Yr. of Pl.
2241.
Ante Chr.
107.

*His cruel
reign.*

*Invades
Iturea.*

Whilst he was employed in carrying on this successful war, there wanted not those at court, who, envying his happiness, endeavoured to prepossess the sick king with strange suspicions against him. The queen more particularly seemed to have conceived some irreconcilable hatred against that prince, and to have been the chief engine of his ruin; which happened soon after, when Antigonus innocently furnished her with the means of working it more effectually. As soon as he had finished the conquest of Iturea, he marched directly to Jerusalem, it being then the feast of tabernacles; and, being in haste to repair to the temple, to offer up his thanks for his success, and his vows for his brother's recovery, he went directly thither in his armour, accompanied with a number of his men. This step was immediately interpreted to the timorous king, as a manifest attempt upon his life, to

*Antigonus
hated and
undermined
by the
queen.*

*Her vile
stratagem
to have
him mur-
dered.*

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 19, & Bell. Judaic. ubi supra.
^e Id. ibid. cap. 20.

(H) This province was so called from Itur the son of Ishmael, whom our English and some other versions wrongly call Jetur. It was situate on the other side Jordan, on the north side of the half-tribe of Manaf-

feh, between that and the territories of Damascus; so that it made one part of Cœlesyria, and lay on the side of Judæa, as Idumæa, formerly conquered in the same manner, lay on the other.

*The king's
remorse
and grief,*

*despair,
and death.*

*Alexander
Jannæus
crowned,*

Yr. of Fl.
2243.
Ante Chr.
105.

*His unsuc-
cessful ex-
pedition a-
gainst Pto-
lemais.*

which he gave but too easy credit. However, to satisfy himself more fully about it, he sent Antigonus orders to put off his armour, and to come immediately to him at the castle of Baris. There he ordered some of his guards to be privately posted in the subterranean gallery, through which Antigonus was to pass, with orders to murder him, if he presumed to come in armour. But the mischievous queen corrupted the messenger, and made him tell the young prince, that his brother, having heard his armour highly commended, desired to see him in it immediately; so that, when Antigonus came to pass through the gallery, the guards fell immediately upon him, and deprived him of life. The king, however, was soon undeceived, and could not think upon his brother's death without reflecting on the more cruel parricide which he had lately committed on his own mother; the remorse of which increasing his disease, he fell into a violent vomiting of blood. A servant happening soon after to spill some of that blood, which he was carrying away in a basin, upon the very spot where that of his brother Antigonus was still to be seen; some of the by-standers, thinking he had done it wilfully, uttered a loud cry, which was heard by the king. He sent to ask the meaning of it, and found them unwilling to acquaint him with it; a circumstance which inflamed his curiosity. At length he forced the fatal secret from them, which threw him into an excess of grief and despair. He gave up the ghost soon after, having reigned but one year; and was succeeded by his brother Jannæus, or Alexander, whom the queen Salome, called by the Greeks Alexandra, released out of prison with his other two brethren, and caused him to be proclaimed king, as being the eldest of the three, and of a milder disposition than either.

He was, however, forced to begin his reign with the death of his fourth brother, who had made some treasonable attempt against him; but was much kinder to Absalom the youngest of all, whom he took under his protection as long as he lived; and so privately did this prince live, that we hear no more of him, till above forty-two years after, when having engaged in the war against the Romans, he was taken by Pompey, and sent prisoner to Rome. Alexander being a subtle and warlike prince, and Syria being then torn by civil wars between the contending brothers, Antiochus Cyzicus and Antiochus Gryphus, therefore, in no capacity to oppose him, he led an army in the very first year of his reign against the city of Ptolemais; but met with

with bad success: he was fain to raise the siege, to succour his own territories, which were invaded by Ptolemy Lathyrus, who took from him the city of Azochis in Galilee, carried off ten thousand captives, and gave him soon after a dreadful overthrow near the banks of the Jordan. This defeat, in which he lost thirty thousand men, besides those that were taken prisoners, would infallibly have opened a way for the latter into Judæa, Alexander being now in no condition to stop his progress, had not Cleopatra come to his assistance (I), and forced Lathyrus to set aside the invasion of Palestine for some time.

Cleopatra being arrived at Ptolemais, which had surrendered to her, the Jewish monarch came to acknowledge her favour to him by presents suitable to her dignity. He was received outwardly like a prince in distress, who had no other refuge than her friendship: but that which ingratiated him most with that politic princess was, his being an enemy to her son Lathyrus, who had by that time returned into Palestine, and taken up his winter-quarters at Gaza (K).

Alexander soon after returned to Jerusalem, where being now pretty secure of any danger from Lathyrus, he re-

(I) It was indeed that princess's interest not to let Lathyrus grow too powerful, and be thereby enabled to come and wrest the crown from her; but there was another spring that moved her to what she did. The Jews of Alexandria were highly in her favour, and Chelkias and Ananias, two of the most considerable, being the sons of Onias the high-priest, who built the Jewish temple at Alexandria, were at the head of affairs: and these could not behold Judæa in such imminent danger from an exasperated enemy, without using all their interest with that queen to prevent its ruin.

(K) During Alexander's stay with Cleopatra, some of her friends advised her to take so favourable an opportunity to make herself mistress of Judæa;

which would at once increase her dominions and strength, and give her a superiority over her competitor. But Ananias the Jew, lately mentioned, who was one of her principal generals, dissuaded her from such an attempt, alleging, that it would be very ungenerous and unjust to dispossess of his dominions an ally, who was come to implore her friendship and assistance; that it would lessen her character in the eyes of the world; and, above all, make her detested by the Jews. These reasons, joined to the influence which that general, who was Alexander's kinsman, had over her, did not only divert her from the design, but procured an alliance between them, which was concluded in the city of Seythopolis.

Yr. of Fl.
2244.
Ante Chr.
104.

*Assisted by
Cleopatra.*

Yr. of Fl.
2246.
Ante Chr.
102.

*Goes to
meet her
at Ptole-
mais.*

Takes Gadara, and Amathus.

Yr. of Fl.
2248.
Ante Chr.
100.

Defeated by Theodotus.

cruited his broken army, and, crossing the Jordan, went to besiege Gadara, which he took at the end of ten months. From thence he marched to Amathus, another strong fortress on that side the river, in which Theodotus the son of Zeno, tyrant of Philadelphia, had laid up an immense treasure, and reduced it after a very short siege. But he did not keep it long; that prince, having got together a numerous army, fell suddenly upon him, as he was returning from the siege, killed ten thousand of his army, routed the rest, recovered all his wealth, seized on Alexander's baggage, and carried off a considerable booty^f. This defeat, however, did not discourage Alexander from pursuing his warlike views; only it afforded great matter of triumph to the Pharisees, his implacable enemies, who took occasion from thence to vilify him to the people, and to use all possible means to make his crown sit uneasy on his head.

Yr. of Fl.
2250.
Ante Chr.
98.

Marches against Gaza.

As soon as Alexander had recruited his army, he stayed not in Jerusalem to quell the Pharisaic faction, but left them to make the most of his late disgrace, whilst he went to vent his resentment on the treacherous Gazæans, who, by inviting Lathyrus against him, and furnishing him with auxiliaries, had been the cause of his late overthrow. He immediately besieged the towns of Raphia and Anthedon, since called Agrippias, by Herod: these two places stood at a few miles distance from Gaza; by which means having in some measure blocked up this last, he, the next year, set about besieging it with a powerful army. The city being then under the command of Apollodotus, a man of great valour and conduct, made a stout defence against him one whole year, and in one sally were like to have routed him and his army; and much longer it might have held out in all likelihood, had not the brave governor been treacherously murdered by his own brother Lyfismachus, and the place betrayed by him to the besiegers. Alexander, upon his entering it, made a great shew of clemency to the Gazæans; but soon betrayed his rancour and cruelty against them, by abandoning them to the fury of his men; who made such a horrid slaughter, as had like to have proved a dear revenge to him; for the Gazæans, standing desperately on their own defence, killed almost as many of his men as he did of theirs. Having at last glutted himself with the blood of those unfortunate wretches, he vented the rest of his resentment on that

The town betrayed to him.

His cruelty to the Gazæans.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 21.

great and ancient city, by reducing it to a heap of ruins; *Razes the city.* after which exploit, he returned with his army to Jerusalem. The fourth book of Maccabees adds, that he took afterwards the cities of Emath and Tyre, but Josephus says nothing of these achievements.

During his absence on this expedition, the Pharisees had taken such measures to exasperate the people against him, by surmises and slanders, which they privately instilled into them, that it broke out at last into an open outrage, which came little short of a rebellion. They chose the feast of tabernacles, on which solemnity they went to the temple with palm and other branches in their hands, especially a kind of citron, which they call attrog, with the fruit upon it; and when he was performing the priestly office at the great altar, probably on the last day of that solemnity, they pelted him, not only with those attrogs, but with the most injurious reflections, and opprobrious language, crying aloud, that such a slave as he was unworthy of either the pontifical or regal dignity. *The Pharisees cabal against him.*

This insolence, which seemed the forerunner of something worse, so exasperated the pontiff, that, suspending his office for a while, he ordered his soldiers to fall upon the mutinous mob; which they did with such speed and fury, that they killed six thousand of them, and dispersed the rest. *Alexander pelted by the people.* As soon as the tumult was quelled, he caused the court of the priests to be inclosed with a wooden wall, to prevent such insults being offered to him for the future.

At the same time he provided for his farther safety, by taking into his pay six thousand auxiliaries out of Pisidia and Cilicia, being afraid to trust his person any longer to the guard of those of his exasperated nation, who, as he found now to his great grief, were not to be quelled by the greatest severities, nor mollified by the greatest lenities.

Being quite wearied out with their continual clamours, he marched out of Jerusalem at the head of his army, crossed the Jordan, and went and destroyed the city of Amathus, without meeting with any opposition from Theodotus, who contented himself with carrying off his treasure and garrison, leaving the city to his mercy; so dreadful was become the name of Alexander by this time to all the nations round about. From thence he marched against the Arabians, whom he subdued; after which conquests he laid the Moabites, and the mountaineers of the land of Gilead, under tribute. *Yr. of Fl. 2253. Ante Chr. 95.* *His severe revenge on them.* *Yr. of Fl. 2254. Ante Chr. 94.* *Leaves Jerusalem, and makes war a-broad.* *His rapid conquests.* Soon after this transaction, as he

2 Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 21. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 3.

Yr. of Fl. was carrying on the war against Obodas king of the Ara-
2256. bians, he fell into an ambush near Gadara, where he was
Ante Chr. forced by a large drove of camels into a streight so narrow
92. and craggy, that it was with the greatest difficulty that he
 escaped, and regained his own metropolis. Here he found,
 to his great mortification, that the news of this last defeat
 had not only reached the place, but had given new life to
 his enemies, who began to exclaim louder than ever against
 him. His endeavours to quell them did now but increase
 the tumult, till it broke out into an open insurrection.
 He was, however, too wise and brave to be either sur-
 prised or terrified by it; but quickly assembled a number
 of forces to make head against them. A civil war imme-
 diately ensued, which lasted six whole years, during which
 above fifty thousand of the rebels were slain, besides those
 he lost on his own side, and the innumerable calamities it
 brought on the Jewish nation (L).

*The Phari-
 sees cause a
 rebellion.*

Yr. of Fl. Demetrius came accordingly into Judæa, with an army
2259. of three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, partly
Ante Chr. Jews, and partly Syrians; and Alexander advanced against
89. him with six thousand Greek auxiliaries, and twenty
 thousand Jews: each tried for some time to gain over the
 troops of his competitor; Demetrius to corrupt the Greek
 auxiliaries to forsake the Jewish king; and this latter to
 bring over those Jews that were in the Syrian army. But
 all their efforts proving vain, they came at length to a de-
 cisive battle, in which Alexander was defeated, and forced
 to flee to the mountains for shelter. This is the account

*Alexander
 defeated by
 Demetrius.*

(L) Alexander, however, though he still got the better of them, was so weary with destroying both his people and country, that he spared no means, no offers or promises, to bring matters to a pacification. But as he had to do with a crew of rebels, and those of the Pharisaic leaven, every advance he made did but harden them the more. At length, being resolved, if possible, to bring them to a better mind, he sent some of his friends to know what would satisfy them, promising to grant them whatever they should in reason and justice

demand. They unanimously cried out, that he must cut his own throat, telling him at the same time, that he ought to think highly of them, if they thought his death a sufficient recompence for the blood he had shed, and the mischiefs he had brought upon the nation. This answer made him lose all hopes of an accommodation, and look out for some more effectual means to suppress their horrid insolence; whilst they, on the other hand, sent to Damascus, to beg of Demetrius, surnamed Eucharus, to come to their assistance.

which

which Josephus gives us of this action, wherein he again clashes with the fourth book of Maccabees, which makes the advantage to have been vastly on Alexander's side ^b. Be that as it will, the former tells us that he was reduced by this defeat to such a low ebb, that he seemed irrecoverably lost, when an unexpected accident turned again the balance in his favour. Those Jewish troops, whom he could not, with all his art, withdraw from the enemy's army before the battle, were now, upon his losing it, waked to such a sense of compassion and compunction, that they came all over to him; so that Demetrius, fearing the defection would still increase, left Judæa, and marched against his brother Philip. This retreat gave Alexander an opportunity of getting his army together, with which he marched against the rebellious Jews, and defeated them in every engagement, though without being able to bring them to submission, or in the least abate the fury of their resentment, till a decisive battle put an end to the war. In this last action Alexander cut off the greater part of their army, and drove the rest into Bethome, where he closely besieged them, and next year made himself master of the place: here it was that he began to let loose the reins of his fury against them, in such a barbarous manner, as can hardly be read without horror, if our historian, who was a zealous Pharisee, has not exaggerated the matter (M).

Relieved.

Yr. of Fl.
2262.
Ante Chr.
86.

*His cruelty
to the re-
bels.*

^b Chap. xxix.

(M) He caused eight hundred of the principal of them to be carried to Jerusalem, and there to be all crucified in one day, and at one place; and, as if this had not been punishment sufficient to appease his resentment, he caused their wives and children to be brought and butchered before their faces, whilst they were hanging each upon their crosses. But what swells the account of his barbarity almost beyond all credibility, is, that he caused a banquet to be prepared for himself and his concubines, near enough to this scene of horror, from whence he might glut his eyes with their sufferings. Hence the historian

adds, that he had the name of Tracidus, or Thracian, given him, that nation being infamous, above all others, for their horrid barbarities; and it was, indeed, a name too good for him, if he was really guilty of these cruelties. But here it must be remembered, that Josephus was a zealous Pharisee, and Alexander an inveterate enemy to that sect; but how far this consideration may have soured the Pharisaic leaven in that historian, and have made him represent that prince as less successful than he really was, and guilty of such cruelties as he was a stranger to, may be easily guessed.

After

*Quells the
Pharisaic
faction.*

*Opposes
Antiochus
in vain.*

*His vast
conquests.*

*Pella taken
and de-
stroyed.*

*Demetrius
stript of his
principa-
lity.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2269.
Ante Chr.
79.*

*Alexan-
der's death.*

After this dreadful havock, the rebels dispersed. Eight thousand of them disappeared on the very night following, and never more molested him during the remainder of his reign; so that, from that time forth, the Pharisaic faction never dared lift up their heads as long as he lived. Soon after this period the king of Syria, intending to invade the territories of Arabia Petræa, marched through part of Judæa, the only route which he could take. Alexander endeavoured in vain to obstruct him, by drawing a deep trench, twenty miles long, from the town of Caphersabâ, since Antipatris, quite to the sea of Joppa, and fortifying it with wooden towers at convenient distances. Antiochus forced his way through them, and penetrated into Arabia, where he he lost his life. Alexander being rid of that fear, marched over Jordan; to recover some of those places in Arabia, and the lands of Moab and Gilead, which he had formerly taken, but had been forced to surrender during the civil wars, to prevent the Arabian king's supporting his rebellious subjects. This invasion brought Aretas, now king both of Arabia and Cœlesyria, into Judæa, where he defeated Alexander; but, having soon after made a treaty with him, he retired with his forces, and left him to pursue his other conquests. Alexander accordingly marched against the city of Dion, and took it by assault¹. Pella was taken next^{*}: then he besieged Essa, otherwise Gerasa, in which Theodotus had secured all his treasure; and having built a triple wall about it, took it by storm, and carried off all the rich plunder he found in that place. The inhabitants of Pella having refused to be circumcised, he forced them, according to the custom of the Asmonean princes, to leave the country, and their city was demolished. Alexander marching from thence took Gualana, Seleucia, the Valley of Antiochus, and Gamala; and stripped Demetrius, who commanded in those places, of his principality, because he had been guilty of some foul crimes and malversations. This expedition employed him three whole years, after which he returned triumphant to Jerusalem, and brought Demetrius prisoner with him to that metropolis, where his late conquests gained him the loud acclamations of his subjects¹. But, giving himself up from thenceforward to drinking, and other debaucheries, he was seized with an obstinate quartan ague, that prevailed till the day of his death, which happened about three years after his re-

¹ Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 23.

^{*} Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 4.

¹ Antiq. ubi supra.

turn. All this while, neither his distemper nor his pleasures, which he still pursued, could alleviate his invincible thirst after conquests. Perhaps he was also in hopes to overcome the one by the other; but it happened quite otherwise; and his strength being quite exhausted by fatigues and debauch, he died in his camp before Regaba, a fortress in the territories of the Gerasens beyond Jordan, which he was then besieging, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign ^m.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to his wife Alexandra, during her life, and then to which of her two sons she should think fit to succeed her. The queen, who was then with him at the siege, foreseeing that, on his death, she and her family should be exposed to the revenge of the Pharisees, whose influence was very great among the people, consulted her dying husband on this subject; and he advised her to pacify that violent faction by acts of submission. He even exhorted her to leave it at their option, whether or not his dead body should have burial; and to assure them that, for the future, they should have a principal share in the administration. At her return to Jerusalem, she followed this salutary counsel, which had the desired effect. The Pharisees, glad to see themselves again at the head of affairs, were beyond measure lavish in their praises and honours to the deceased king. They extolled him for a great conqueror and patriot, they bestowed a magnificent funeral on him, and applauded above all his wisdom in bequeathing the government to his queen. This was certainly a right step; for his eldest son Hyrcanus, then about thirty years of age, was a prince of a sluggish disposition, without ambition or spirit. Him, therefore, the queen thought a fit successor to his father in the pontifical function, not so much out of respect to his primogeniture, as because he was less likely to interfere with the affairs of state than the younger brother, who, being of a more enterprising genius, was, for that very reason, secluded, and confined to a private life. But though she had so carefully secured her prerogative from any attempts of her two sons, yet she was far enough from enjoying it so absolutely and quietly as she expected. For the Pharisees, as they grew more and more powerful, grew also more and more insolent and untractable; inasmuch, that her fear of their

Leaves the crown to his wife.

Her just dread of the Pharisees.

His last advice.

Alexandra follows his advice with success.

Yr. of Fl. 2270. Ante Chr. 78.

Gives the high-priesthood to her son Hyrcanus.

The Pharisees grow insolent.

^m Antiq. & Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

raising a new rebellion forced her to consent to many of their demands, much against her will, as well as her interest.

Their exorbitant demands granted.

Yr. of Fl.
2271.
Ante-Chr.
77.

Sadducees persecuted.

Petition the queen.

The first concession they obtained of her, was a total revocation of all the edicts which Hyrcan the first, and the late king, had made against their constitutions and traditional doctrines: the next was an amnesty for all their faction, together with the release of such of their brethren as had been confined since the late civil war: and the third was the recalling of all those who had been either banished, or forced to fly the country, since the conclusion of it, and their being re-admitted into the possession of all their forfeited estates. She retained indeed six thousand auxiliary troops in her pay, by which she kept at least her neighbours and conquered provinces in awe, and received from time to time fresh hostages from them^a. But as the Pharisaic crew looked upon this success as the effects of their friendship to her, they claimed all the merit of her peaceful reign to themselves, and soon gave her to understand, that nothing less than the total extirpation of the Sadducees should purchase the continuance of their friendship and assistance. They began with insisting upon her punishing with immediate death all those who had counselled her husband to crucify the eight hundred rebels lately mentioned. Accordingly Diogenes, one of the chiefs of the Sadducees, and a confident of Alexander, was presently dispatched; and after him a great many others, against whom they had laid the same accusation^o.

At length, some of the most considerable persons of that persecuted party, with young Aristobulus at their head, came to the royal palace, to beseech the queen that she would put an end to their misery. They reminded her of their great services, and invincible loyalty to her late husband; and that it was in consideration of it, that he had bestowed on them those marks of his favour and esteem, which exposed them now to the fury of their enemies. They conjured her not to suffer the late king's best and most loyal friends to be thus daily sacrificed to the rancour of his ambitious and bitterest enemies, at a time of profound peace, and under her government, who had been a witness of all the difficulties and hardships they had suffered. They concluded with their earnest prayer, that if she could not suppress the Pharisaic rage against them, she would at least give them the liberty of sheltering them-

^a Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 23. comp. with lib. xx. cap. 8. & Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 4. ^o Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 4.

selves from it, either by retiring into some foreign countries, or by placing them in some of her garrisons, where they might be out of the reach of their enemies. The queen, though doubtless deeply affected with their distress, dared not grant the first part of their petition, for fear of exasperating the Pharisees. To grant them the second, that is, to permit them to depart the kingdom, was in fact depriving herself of so many faithful subjects, whose friendship might one time or other be of service to suppress the arrogance of that tyrannic sect. Upon mature deliberation, therefore, she agreed to the last expedient proposed, of placing them in the several garrisons of the kingdom, whence she might at any time fetch them when occasion served; and where they might be either safe from their enemies, or, at least, in a condition to stand in their own defence. She excepted, however, those of Hyrcania, Alexandria, and Machæron, in which she had deposited her most valuable treasure, lest, by shewing too great confidence in them, she should give umbrage to their enemies the Pharisees. How she received the intercession of her son Aristobulus, who had applied to her on their behalf, our historian doth not tell us; but intimates, that she sent him soon after with an army into Syria, against Ptolemy Mennæus, who infested all the neighbouring countries, and that he returned without having effected any thing worth notice.

About the same time news came that Tigranes, king of Armenia, had entered Syria, with an army of fifty thousand men, and besieged Ptolemais, and that his design was to march from thence into Judæa. These tidings threw the whole kingdom into the greatest consternation, it not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an invader. She therefore sent ambassadors, laden with the richest presents, to beseech him to spare her dominions, and to grant her his friendship. Both presents and embassy were received with marks of the sincerest kindness and affection, not so much out of regard to that princess, as to his own affairs, which had by this time taken a different turn; his territories being now threatened with an invasion from the Romans, who had already penetrated into Pontus and Cappadocia, where Lucullus was then ravaging all that country; so that he was forced to retire and defend his own territories, instead of invading those of his neighbours.

The queen grants them the latter part of it.

Yr. of Fl.
2276.
Ante Chr.
72.

Yr. of Fl.
2278.
Ante Chr.
70.

Her embassy to Tigranes.

*The queen's
sickness.*

*Her young-
est son tries
to secure
crown.*

*Gabestus
joins with
him in it.
Other go-
vernors
follow him.*

*Hyrca-
n brought to
the queen.*

The queen was scarce delivered from this danger, when she fell into new perils. A fit of sickness, which seized her about this time, dangerous in its nature, and much more so on account of her age, induced her youngest son to believe that his mother's death was near at hand, and that it was, therefore, time for him to think of securing the crown. To this end he went out of Jerusalem one night, accompanied by one single confidant, with a design to bring over to his interest those friends of his father, who had the custody of the several fortifications of which we have lately spoken. This secret he entrusted with none but his own wife, whom he left behind with her children, till he came to the castle of Agaba, commanded by Gabestus, one of his father's chief confidants, who received him with no small joy. He immediately declared to him the design of his coming, and the reasons he had to fear, that, if his mother died before he had made sure of the crown, not only he, and his whole family, but all their friends in general, would again fall under the tyranny of the Pharisaic sect, through the indolence and stupidity of his elder brother. As his fears were but too well grounded, he easily gained Gabestus, whose example was soon followed by the governors of the other fortresses, who all declared in his favour. The queen missed her son from the first night; but did not suspect him of any design, till the alarmed Pharisees brought her word, that those fortresses were gone over to his interest; by which means he had got, in some measure, the whole strength of the kingdom into his hands. As to the army, and even the people, they were sensible they had used them of late with such severity and insolence, that, instead of expecting any support from them, they had great reason to fear they would, upon the very first occasion, go over to Aristobulus, and embrace the milder government of the Sadducees^r.

They had brought Hyrcan with them to the queen, when they came to acquaint her with the dismal situation of their affairs; and both he and they were very pressing with her, to advise them what to do in such a dangerous case. The queen, who found herself dying, had just strength enough to tell them, that her condition would not now permit her to think of their safety; and that she left it wholly to them to provide for themselves. She added, that they wanted neither soldiers, arms, nor mo-

^r Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. ult. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 4.

ney, to make head against her other son; and that she appointed Hyrcan her successor. She expired immediately after, in the seventy-third year of her age, and the ninth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the Pharisaic faction, who now could expect nothing else but a severe retaliation of all their cruelties to the late king's friends; but to the great joy of all the rest of the kingdom, who now hoped to see an effectual end put to the Pharisaic tyranny, by her brave son Aristobulus.

*Appoints
Hyrcan
her suc-
cessor.
Her death.*

Whilst, therefore, the hopes of such a happy change brought daily both army and people over to him, the Pharisees found no other expedient to provide for their own safety, than that of seizing on his wife and children, and confining them in the castle of Baris, to be kept there as hostages. When they found that this precaution did not stop his progress, but that he took the royal title and state upon him, and daily gained strength, they raised an army. Aristobulus, who desired nothing more than a decisive battle, well knowing that he had little to fear, his brother soon gave him an opportunity of deciding the contest. A battle was accordingly fought near Jericho, in which most of Hyrcan's forces went over to his brother; so that he had no way left but to retire to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the same castle, where they had confined Aristobulus's wife and children. The forces that adhered to him followed his example, and took sanctuary within the verge of the temple; where they had not been long before they went over to his victorious brother. Things being brought to this desperate state, Hyrcan was glad to accept of a peace upon any terms; and Aristobulus granted it to him, upon condition that he divested himself of his regal and pontifical dignity, and wholly resigned them to him, and contented himself with a private life, with the enjoyment of his peculiar patrimony. Hyrcan, who was a man without ambition or spirit, made no difficulty to yield to these conditions, and to divest himself of a government he could keep no longer, after having been in possession of it about three months¹.

*Pharisees
raise an
army a-
gainst A-
ristobulus;
which goes
mostly over
to him.*

*Hyrcan re-
duced to a
private
life.*

This deposition did not however hinder Hyrcan's retaining still a powerful party, which consisting of Pharisees, who had nothing to hope, but a great deal to fear, from his successful brother, were still busily plotting to raise up their old idol over him. These intrigues were observed by Antipater, the father of Herod, who was an Idumæan

¹ Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 1, 2, 3. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 5.

profelyte,

*Antipater
in fear of
Aristobu-
lus.*

Yr. of Fl.
2283.
Ante Chr.
65.

*Cabals
with the
discontent-
ed Phari-
sees.*

*Carries
Hyrcau in-
to Arabia.*

*Aretas in-
vades Ju-
dea.*

*Aristobulus
defeated.*

profelyte, and had been appointed governor of Idumæa by Alexander Jannæus. This person, though, in all likelihood, indifferent as to the distinction between Pharisee and Sadducee, was in as great danger of feeling the resentments of Aristobulus, as any of the former sect. His peculiar skill and address, backed by an unmeasurable ambition, had long before recommended him to the favour of the late king Alexander, and of his queen Alexandra, who had bestowed the government of Idumæa upon him; and, as he had still looked upon Hyrcan as their successor, the hopes of advancing himself still higher under that soft prince, had betrayed him into a more than ordinary zeal for his interest; so that, when he came to see his brother on the throne, he had all the reason in the world, not only to despair of further advancement, but to dread his resentment. This consideration determined him to join the discontented Pharisees, whom he took care to fill with fears and jealousies, from that prince, whom they styled an usurper; and who, he told them, would never think himself secure, till he had cut off his brother, and, with him, all that had been in his interest.

As soon as he had gained Hyrcan's consent, he readily offered to negotiate that affair with Aretas, king of Arabia; and this commission he executed with such privacy and dispatch, that he came back very soon, took Hyrcan with him in the night, and, by long journeys, conveyed him to Petra, the metropolis of Arabia, where he presented him to the king. It is likely that Antipater, at his first interview with Aretas, had only engaged him to protect Hyrcan against his brother; but now they were both at his court, he began to open to him the other part of his design, and to convince him how much it would be his interest to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom, by assuring him that he should have all the places restored to him, which had been heretofore taken from him by the Jewish kings, which were very many and considerable, and which he must never hope to recover, as long as Aristobulus was on the throne. Hyrcan was easily persuaded to confirm all his minister had said, and to ratify all the engagements he had made to the Arabian king, who came soon after with them into Judæa, at the head of an army of five thousand men, where he was joined by those of Hyrcan's party. Aristobulus marched against him, and an obstinate fight ensued, in which he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into Jerusalem. Aretas pursued him thither, and, entering that metropolis without opposition, drove him and his
few

few men, most of them priests, into the precinct of the temple, and there closely besieged him, whilst the rest of the people declared for the conqueror[†]. *Besieged in the temple.*

S E C T. IV.

The History of the Jews, from their being subdued by the Romans to the Reign of Herod the Great.

ARISTOBULUS, being thus streightly besieged by the Arabian king, and forsaken by all his party, was forced to have recourse to the Romans. Pompey, having by this time overcome Tigranes, was retired into the Lesser Armenia, and from thence had dispatched Gabinus into Judæa; and this last, having received three hundred talents from Aristobulus, was gone back without having taken any steps either for or against his interest. Scaurus came next from Syria into Judæa, and, in his way, was met by some ambassadors from the two contending brothers, each to implore his friendship and assistance, for which they offered him four hundred talents. Scaurus, who knew Aristobulus to be the more liberal, and the braver of the two, suffered himself to be gained by him; besides, he rightly judged it would be the easier task to restore him, since he need but oblige Aretas to raise the siege, and depart out of Judæa, and Hyrcan would soon be abandoned by his party. He therefore wrote a threatening letter to Aretas, in which he told him, that, if he did not immediately withdraw his troops, he should be declared an enemy to Rome, and oblige Pompey to turn his arms against his country. Aretas, who had no mind to exasperate the Roman general, readily obeyed, and led his army out of Judæa: Scaurus returned to Damascus; and Aristobulus, being thus timely relieved, assembled a body of forces, and pursued the Arabian king. He overtook him, and his brother Hyrcan, at a place called Papyrion, where he engaged and defeated him, after having killed seven thousand of his men, and amongst them Cephalion, the brother of Antipater[‡]. Much about the same time Pompey, being come to Damascus, received ambassadors from all the neighbouring states, especially those of Judæa, Syria, and Egypt. The princes of these three being but a kind of usurpers, were extremely desir-

Yr. of Fl.
2283.
Ante Chr.
65.

The Romans invited by Aristobulus.

Scaurus bought by Aristobulus.

Aretas defeated.

The two brothers send presents to Pompey.

[†] Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 4. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 5. [‡] *Ibid.*

ous to bring the Romans over to their interest, and endeavoured to gain their general by most magnificent presents (N).

Send a second embassy.

Soon after this occasion, the two contending brothers sent separate embassies to Pompey, on his coming into Coele Syria, each to implore his friendship and patronage against the other; Antipater in behalf of Hyrcan, and Nicodemus in behalf of Aristobulus. Both were heard with seeming equanimity, dismissed with fair promises, and the two brothers ordered to appear in person, and to plead their cause before him. After a full hearing, he engaged to decide the controversy as justice should direct.

Yr. of Fl.
2285.
Ante Chr.
63.

Plead their cause in person.
A set of Jews plead against them both.

Hyrcan's defence.

Early in the following year Pompey returned to Syria, where he deposed several petty tyrants, took several fortresses, particularly that of Lyfiad, of which Silas a Jew had made himself master, and came at length to Damascus. Here he found the two brothers, who were come to plead their cause and pretensions before him, and had brought a great number of witnesses to their respective pleas. But, besides these, there came another set of Jews, to plead against them both, alleging, that their nation had been for a long time governed only by the high-priests of the God of Israel, without the regal dignity; and that, though the two brothers were of the sacerdotal race, they had governed them contrary to their ancient laws, by taking the power and title of kings, and thereby reducing the Jewish nation into a state of slavery. Hyrcan spoke next, and complained, that being the elder brother, he had been unjustly deposed by Aristobulus, and by him forced into a private state, with only the income of a few paternal lands, whilst Aristobulus, not contented with the revenues of the whole kingdom, committed continual depredations on his neighbours both by sea and land. For

(N) Aristobulus, for his part, sent him a golden vine, upon a square mount, with the fruit on it, and deer, lions, and other beasts about it, all of the same precious metal. This curious piece had been formerly made by Alexander Jannæus, and was now sent to Pompey, who conveyed it to Rome, where it was deposited in the temple of Jupiter, in the Ca-

pitol. Strabo tells us that he saw it there, and that it was reckoned worth five thousand talents. However, the senate, being neither willing to acknowledge Aristobulus for king of Judæa, nor to return so noble and curious a present, ordered it to be inscribed to his father Alexander, king of the Jews.

proof

proof of all which, he brought a thousand of the principal Jews, who had been gained by Antipater, to witness what he had alleged. To this charge Aristobulus replied, that he had indeed turned his brother out of the government; but that it was, because he was incapable of holding it, and not from any ambitious views of his own; that Hyrcan was a person of so inactive and sluggish a disposition, and so despised by the people, that he had been forced to wrest the power out of his hands, lest it should be transferred into another family. He added, that, as to the royal title, it was no other than his father Alexander had borne before him. However, Pompey, after a full hearing of all parties, wisely deferred giving his sentence, lest Aristobulus, against whom he designed to declare, should obstruct his intended expedition against the Nabatheans; and contented himself with dismissing them with a promise, that as soon as he had subdued Aretas, he would come himself into Judæa, and there determine their controversy. Aristobulus, who looked upon this delay as an ill omen, and did not perhaps care to see Pompey in Judæa, went away in disgust, first to Delion, and thence into Judæa, without so much as taking leave of the Roman general *.

Aristobulus's reply.

Pompey puts off the decision;

and Aristobulus goes off in disgust.

His abrupt departure incensed Pompey, who forthwith assembled his troops, and marched directly to Judæa. Aristobulus had raised a good army, and was himself at the castle of Alexandrion, a place of no small strength (O), when Pompey entered Judæa. As soon as this last had reached Corea, he sent for Aristobulus to come to him; who would willingly have excused himself, but was at length prevailed upon by those that were about him to obey the summons, and prevent thereby a war with the Roman general. He came accordingly, more than once or twice, and conferred with him about the dispute between his brother and him, sparing neither compliments, promises, nor presents, to engage him on his side. Pompey as often dismissed him with a shew of friendship, and suffered him to return to his castle. At length he proposed to him, that he should put all his fortresses into his

Is summoned to appear before him.

Pompey's partiality against him.

* Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 5. & Bell. Judg. lib. i. cap. 5.

(O) This fortress had been built by his father Alexander Jannæus, and was from him called Alexandrion; it was situate on a high mountain, in

the very entrance into Judæa, near the town of Corea, which was the first place in Judæa on the Samaritan side.

hands, and send orders to all his governors to resign them to him without hesitation. It was easy then for him to see, that the Roman general was in his brother's interest, and wanted only to put it out of his power to maintain himself against his decision. But though he had long suspected his partiality, and taken all possible methods to secure himself against it, yet was he forced, though much against his will, to comply with the proposal, being now in that general's hands. But, as soon as he found himself at liberty, he fled with all speed to Jerusalem, with full resolution to defeat his design^{*}.

Pompey comes against Jerusalem.

Pompey soon followed him to that metropolis; then Aristobulus, repenting of what he had done, came out, and went to throw himself at his feet, and to beg of him to forbear any hostilities against the Jewish nation, promising him a considerable sum of money upon that condition. The general agreed to it, and, keeping him in his camp, sent Gabinius with some troops to receive the money; but he was repulsed by the garrison, who shut the gates against him, and refused to perform the agreement. This disappointment so exasperated Pompey, that he ordered Aristobulus to be kept in chains, and marched directly with his whole army against the city.

Keeps Aristobulus in chains,

The inhabitants being divided into the two factions of Hyrcan and Aristobulus; the former, which was the more numerous, opened the gates; while the other took shelter in the temple. Pompey sent Piso, one of his generals, with a number of troops, to secure the place, and the royal palaces, whilst those that were in the temple were busy in fortifying every part of it that could be of service for sustaining a siege. He at first offered proposals of peace; but finding them determined on hostile measures, he resolved to besiege the temple in form. He began with inclosing the place with a strong wall, to prevent either their flight, or their receiving any help from without; Hyrcan gladly furnishing him with all necessary implements to carry on the work. Battering rams, and other engines of war, being brought to him from Tyre, he ordered the attack to be made on the north side of the temple, which was the weakest, though inclosed with strong walls, high towers, and other fortifications; having a large deep ditch, and a spacious valley beneath. As for the other sides of it, they were in a manner inaccessible, after the bridges had been broken down. The bat-

and besieges the city.

^{*} Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 6. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

tering engines being accordingly raised on mounds and platforms, began to play in earnest against the place, and to sling large stones into it; whilst the besieged were as industrious in levelling the one, and dismounting the other, as fast as they were raised by the besiegers. The siege had already continued three months, and might in all likelihood have lasted much longer, had not the besieged been seized again with their old fatal superstition about the breach of the sabbath, which hindered them from making a suitable defence.

*Strange
superstition
of the
Jews.*

This scruple had now made such an impression upon them, that they never moved a hand on that day to hinder either mounds and batteries being raised, or breaches being made in their walls; a circumstance which being at last perceived by the besiegers, they took the advantage of getting all things ready for an assault on that day, without throwing either stones, or any missive weapon, that might force them to stand on their own defence; so that the besieged might let them go on with their other works, without the least opposition: and such was their zeal for the divine service of the temple, that no annoyance from the enemy could obstruct it from being performed with the same regularity and calmness, as in time of the profoundest peace. By these means the besiegers made at length a breach by battering one of their towers, which in its fall brought down a considerable part of the wall, so that they easily mastered the place. Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, at the head of a detachment, mounted one end of the breach, Furius advanced at the other end, and Fabius in the center. A horrid slaughter immediately ensued, in which no less than twelve thousand of the besieged were killed by the Romans, besides many more, who died by their own hands.

*The city
taken.*

What was most surprising during this horrid scene, was the constancy of the priests, who never intermitted one moment the divine service of the temple; but continued to offer up their usual prayers, praises, and sacrifices, with the same calmness and assiduity, as if no such slaughter had been then acting in that sacred place; and at last suffered themselves to be butchered before the altar, with as much meekness and constancy, as the victims they were then offering. Pompey, though surprised at their religious constancy, caused all the prisoners that were found to have been most zealous against him to be put to death, whilst a great number of the rest prevented him by their own desperate resolution; some threw them-

*Admirable
constancy
of the
priests.*

*Hyrcan
half-re-
stored.*

selves down precipices, and others, setting their apartments on fire, were consumed in the flames. The Romans soon altered the face of the Jewish affairs, according to their usual method. Hyrcan was indeed restored to the pontifical dignity, with the specious title of prince, though from thenceforth tributary to Rome; but he was wholly divested of his regal power, and forbid to resume either the diadem, or royal style, or to extend his territory beyond the old borders of Judæa. All the cities which had been gained by his predecessors in Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, were taken from him, and restored to Syria, of which province Scaurus was left governor, at the head of two Roman legions, to keep the country in awe, whilst the conqueror prepared for his return to Rome.

*Pompey
enters into
the temple;*

But, before he left Jerusalem, he gave the Jews a more mortifying stroke than any we have yet related. We have had frequent occasion to mention how jealous they were of having their temple profaned by strangers, whom they absolutely debarred from setting foot into that holy place. But Pompey, eager to satisfy his curiosity, and to view the most sacred recesses of that building, caused them to be opened to him; and, attended with a number of his chief commanders, penetrated even into the most holy place, into which the high-priest alone was permitted to enter once a year, on the grand day of expiation. He viewed with a curious eye the golden table, candlestick, censers, lamps, and other vessels, the great quantity of rich perfumes and spices used in the divine worship; and in the treasury he found about two thousand talents. But whether the sacred character of the place inspired him with an uncommon respect for the things which he there saw, he not only forbore to touch any of them, but immediately ordered the priests and officers of the temple to purify it, and to offer up their sacrifices according to custom.

*but for-
bears to
touch any
of the sa-
cred uten-
sils.*

*Aristobu-
lus carried
to Rome.*

*Alexander
returns in-
to Judæa.*

Pompey, having thus subdued the Jewish nation, to prevent a future revolt, pulled down the walls of Jerusalem, and left Scaurus governor, with a sufficient force. He set out for Rome soon after, and took with him Aristobulus, and his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, with his two daughters, as captives, to adorn his triumph. However, they were not, it seems, so closely guarded, but that Alexander found means to escape, and to return into Judæa; where he soon drew a considerable party after

him, which proved the source of new and more grievous troubles (P).

As soon as Hyrcan found himself rid of his rival brother, he relapsed afresh into his indolence, leaving the care of his affairs to Antipater, who, like a true politician, failed not to turn it to his advantage, and the aggrandizing of his own family. He foresaw, however, that he could not easily compass his ends, unless he endeared himself to the Romans; and therefore spared neither pains nor cost to gain their favour. Scaraus was soon after beholden to him for a supply of corn, and other provision, without which his army, which he had led against the metropolis of Arabia, must have been in danger of perishing. This service was followed by another: Antipater, who was so well known to the king of Arabia, went and prevailed on that prince to pay three hundred talents to the Roman general, and thereby save his country from being ravaged.

Antipater's policy.

In the mean time Alexander having formed a strong party in Judæa, and an army of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, began to raise and fortify several eminent fortresses, such as those of Alexandrion and Machæron, situate near the foot of the Arabian mountains, and from them made frequent incursions into Judæa. Hyrcan was not in a condition to suppress him; on the contrary, having endeavoured to shelter himself from him by rebuilding the walls of his metropolis, which Pompey had caused to be demolished, the Romans, always jealous of their new conquests, had ordered him to desist; so that he was forced to call them in to suppress this new invader. Accordingly Gabinius, who was president of Syria, detached Marc Antony with some troops against him, whilst he himself and the rest of his army were preparing to follow. Antipater sent likewise such forces as he had raised to join the Roman general. These being followed by a number of Jews in the Roman interest,

Alexander wastes Judæa.

Yr. of Fl.
2291.
Ante Chm
57.

Hyrcan calls in the Romans.

(P) As for his father and brother, they were brought to Rome, and led in triumph among the many other princes whom Pompey had conquered. What became of Aristobulus afterwards, we may see in the sequel; but among the rich spoils which Pompey carried with him, was the golden vine we have already spoken of, the worth of which is said to have amounted to five or six hundred talents, and which he dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus (2).

(2) Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra.

*Alexander
defeated.*

*Blocked
up in Alex-
andriou.*

*Samaria
rebuilt.*

*Peace
made with
Alexander.*

*Change of
the Jewish
govern-
ment.*

with Pitolaus at their head, Alexander was forced to retire into the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where he was defeated, and lost three thousand of his men, besides those that were taken prisoners. He was thence pursued to Alexandriou, and there besieged by Gabinus; but the place being strong, and well provided, that general ordered a number of his troops to invest it, whilst he marched with the rest into Judæa, where he caused the cities, which had been demolished, to be rebuilt, according to Pompey's order. Samaria being one of them, he called it, from his own name, Gabiniana; but Herod soon after changed it into that of Sebaste^z. Whilst Alexander was closely besieged, he sent to desire peace of the Roman general, promising to surrender that fortress, and those of Machæron and Hyrcanion. About the same time his mother, a wise and discreet woman, whose husband (Aristobulus) and her children were still kept prisoners at Rome, visited the Roman general, and by her address insinuated herself so much in his favour, that he granted her son the peace which he desired, and he was dismissed with pardon and impunity. Gabinus ordered the three fortresses to be demolished, that they might no longer be an occasion of fresh revolts; and conducted Hyrcan to Jerusalem, where he reinstated him afresh in his pontifical dignity. He then divided the province into five several districts, and erected a separate court of judicature in each; the first at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amath, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sephoris in Galilee^a; by which institution, the government was changed from a monarchy into an aristocracy, and the Jews, who had been till then governed by their own monarchical pontiffs, fell under the subjection of a set of tyrants (Q).

In

^z Vide Syncel. ap. Usser. sub A. M. 3799.
cap. 10, & Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 6.

^a Antiq. lib. xiv.

(Q) The Jews had till now been governed by two sorts of councils, or courts of judicature, under their sovereign. These councils, or sanhedrims, were of two sorts, the inferior consisting of twenty-three, and the greater of seventy-two persons; and this latter was emphatically called the grand san-

hedrim. Of the lesser sort there was one in every city; and two at Jerusalem, where was a greater concourse of people and business. The grand sanhedrim sat only at Jerusalem, and had a place appropriated to them in the temple. It was the last resort to which all other inferior tribunals might appeal.

In the mean time Aristobulus found means to escape out of the prison, into which he had been remanded after Pompey's triumph, and to return into Judæa with his son Antigonus. Here he was soon joined by a considerable number of Jews, and among the rest by Pitolaus, who had till then been a chief leader of the Roman party. But a great number coming to him without arms, he was forced to dismiss them, and only reserved eight thousand stout men, with whom he went to secure and rebuild the castle of Alexandrion, which had been demolished by Gabinus; but this last sent Cæsenna, Marc Antony, and Servilius against him, who killed five thousand of his men, and forced him to fly with the rest into the ruined castle of Machæron. The Romans did not give time to fortify himself, but came and besieged him; and, after two days brave resistance, took the place by assault, and sent Aristobulus and his son prisoners to Rome, covered with wounds, where he was reconveyed to his old prison. But Gabinus having informed the senate of the promise he had made to Aristobulus's wife, upon the delivery of the Jewish fortresses, the rest of his family were ordered to be set at liberty, and he only was kept prisoner. Gabinus being next year invited into Egypt to assist Ptolemy Auletes in the recovery of his kingdom, Alexander resolved to take advantage of the weakness of Cæsenna, a rash unexperienced youth, whom Gabinus had left to command in Syria with a small number of troops. Having raised a considerable army, he entered Judæa, which was by this time filled with banditti and free-booters, who plundered every where without controul. He fell on the Romans wherever he met them, and killed a great number: the rest retired to Mount Garizzim, where he invested them with great expedition. The news of this revolt having brought Gabinus into Judæa, the first thing he did was to send Antipater to try by fair means to withdraw the revolters from Alexander's party, and this consummate politician acted his part so well, that he brought back a considerable number. But all his address could not persuade Alexander to come to any terms. On the contrary, this last, enraged to see

Aristobulus escapes into Judæa.

Defeated, and taken prisoner.

Gabinus goes into Egypt. Alexander raises new troubles.

Yr. of Fl. 2293.
Ante Chr. 55.

Supplanted by Antipater.

Joseph. *ibid.* 4 Maccab. xi.

appeal. Both were abolished each other, and endowed them by Gabinus, who erected in with the sovereign power, from lieu of them a court in each of which no appeal could be made the five districts independent of but to Rome.

such

*Defeated
by Gabinius.*

*Crassus
sent governor of Judæa.*

Yr. of Fl.
294.
Ante Chr.
54.

*Crassus's
treachery
and sacrilege.*

such a defection of his men, resolved, with the thirty thousand he had left, to put it to the issue of a battle. It was accordingly fought near Mount Tabor, where he was totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men killed on the spot. Gabinius, after this victory, returned to Jerusalem, where he settled the Jewish affairs according to Antipater's mind; then leaving Judæa, and soon after the government of Syria, was succeeded by Crassus^c. This last, upon his accession to his new government, found the whole province in peace, so that he was at leisure to pursue his favourite design of invading the Parthians; for which expedition he had obtained a decree from the senate^d. As avarice was the chief passion that impelled him, he began with plundering the temple of Jerusalem, not only of the two thousand talents which Pompey had left untouched, but of every thing he found valuable in it, to the sum of eight thousand Attic talents more. Among these was a large beam of massy gold, covered with another hollow beam, that went across the partition which divided the holy from the most holy place. The veil that separated those two rooms was fastened to it, and over it they threw all the old veils whenever they hung a new one; so that this valuable piece, which weighed three hundred Hebrew minæ (R), was so well concealed, that none knew of it but the treasurer of the temple. A priest, named Eleazar, then in that post, apprised of Crassus's design, was imprudent enough to endeavour to save all the rest of the costly temple-furniture at the expence of this; but did not discover it to him, till he had made him swear that he would spare the rest: but the greedy governor made no scruple to break his oath, and to plunder that holy place of every thing valuable he could lay his hands on, without sparing the most sacred utensils. The whole amount of this sacrilegious plunder was so great, that Josephus, fearing it would scarcely be credited by other nations, is forced to appeal to the writings of Strabo of Cappadocia, and other records not now extant^e. The immense treasures of which that rapacious governor stripped this place, amounted to ten thousand talents; above two millions of our money.

^c Joseph. 4 Maccab. Dio Cass. ubi supra.

Vid. & Plutarch. in Crass.

^d Dio. lib. xxxix

^e Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 12.

(R) The mina amounted to whole bar or beam weighed about two pounds and a half about seven hundred and fifty of our weight; so that the pounds.

Crassus

Cassius being killed in his Parthian expedition, Cassius brought the shattered remnant of his army into Syria, to suppress the incursions which the now elated Parthians made into that province; and here he worsted them in so many encounters, that he soon forced them to send home for a fresh supply of troops. From thence he marched into Judæa, where he besieged Tarichæa, a city on the south shore of the lake Gennezareth, where Pitolaus had shut himself up with the few remains of Aristobulus's faction: having taken it, he carried away thirty thousand prisoners; and Pitolaus was put to death by the advice of Antipater, to prevent his raising new troubles in favour of Aristobulus. As for Alexander, Cassius contented himself with forcing him to be quiet, whilst he marched towards the Euphrates, to stop the incursions of the Parthians^f.

*Cassius's
Success in
Syria.*
Yr. of Fl.
2296.
Ante Chr.
52.

Three years after this event, Julius Cæsar made himself master of Rome; when, thinking that Aristobulus might be of service to him against Pompey, released him out of prison, and sent him into Palestine^g, with two legions under his command, to keep Syria in awe; but those of Pompey's party found means to poison him, and thereby frustrated the designs of that crafty general. His body was afterwards embalmed by some of Cæsar's partisans, and kept in honey in a coffin, till they could convey him into Judæa, there to be interred with his ancestors. His son Alexander did not meet with better fate; the news of his father's return into Judæa had induced him to raise forces to join him on his arrival; but Pompey, who kept a watchful eye over him, sent orders to his son-in-law Q. Metellus Scipio, formerly his colleague in the consulship, and now president of Syria, to put him to death. Scipio caused the unhappy prince to be seized, and brought before his tribunal at Antioch, where he condemned him, and caused his head to be struck off. Ptolemy Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, hearing of his death, sent to Alexandra, the widow of Aristobulus, who was then retired to Acalon, and offered to take her son Antigonus, and her two daughters under his care. They were sent to him accordingly. His son Philippion married one of the daughters, named also Alexandra; but some time after these nuptials, either for some misbehaviour, or perhaps out of love to that princess, Mennæus caused him to be put to death, and married her himself^h.

*Aristobulus
poisoned.*

Yr. of Fl.
2299.
Ante Chr.
49.

*Alexander
beheaded.*

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 12. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 6. ^g Dio. lib. xlii. ^h Plutarch. in Pomp. Cæsar. Bell. Civil. lib. iii. & Comment. lib. i.

*Antipater
succours
Cæsar in
Egypt.*

In the mean time, the war between Cæsar and Pompey afforded the Jews not only a long breathing, but also an opportunity of ingratiating themselves with the former, who was then in Egypt, waiting impatiently for new levies under Mithridates the Pergamenian. But these not being sufficient to break through Pelusium, the strong key of Egypt on that side, he was forced to stop at Ascalon, till new reinforcements arrived. But what did him the greatest service at this juncture, and facilitated the taking of that city, was the coming of Antipater, at the head of three thousand Jews well armed, together with some other succours which he had drawn from Armenia, Syria, and Mount Libanus. He also brought letters from Hyrcan, whether real, or forged by himself; exhorting the Jews of the territories of Orion, Delta, and Memphis, to assist the Roman general with all their might. By these means the city of Pelusium was easily carried by assault, Antipater himself being one of the foremost in scaling it; and a way thereby was made into Egypt.

*His valour
rewarded.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2301.
Ante Chr.
47.*

*Cæsar's
gratitude
to the
Jews.*

In all these actions Antipater behaved with such valour and gallantry, that Mithridates did not scruple to own his late successes were owing to him; and, in a letter he wrote to Cæsar, he gave him such encomiums, that Julius conceived a particular esteem for the Jewish commander. Before he left Alexandria, he gave him some considerable posts in his army, made him procurator or lieutenant of Judæa, and citizen of Rome. Cæsar also confirmed Hyrcan in his priesthood, added to it the principality of Judæa, to be entailed on his posterity for ever, and to the Jewish nation their ancient rights and privileges; and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon all these grants, and his own decree, were engraved. Cæsar arriving in Syria, Antigonus came to him, and preferred a severe complaint against Hyrcan and Antipater, for the injuries which he pretended they had done him. He represented the misfortunes which his family had sustained for having adhered to his interest, particularly the poisoning of his father by Pompey, and the beheading of his brother by Scipio: in consideration of all which, he concluded with a petition to the emperor, that he would restore him to his father's principality, which Hyrcan had unjustly seized. Antipater, who was then attending upon Cæsar, defended his own and Hyrcan's cause so well, that they were both absolved with applause, and Antigonus repulsed as a factious and turbulent person, that could never be at rest. Antipater added farther, that, as to Antigonus's father,

he

*Antigonus's
petition to
Cæsar re-
jected.*

he had been justly sent prisoner to Rome, for being a constant enemy to the Roman nation; and that his brother had been deservedly beheaded for plundering and ravaging the Jews. Cæsar had too many obligations to Hyrcan and Antipater, not to admit of a much weaker vindication of their cause. But he was resolved to do more than the bare acquitting of them: he confirmed his former decree in favour of them, and of the Jewish nation; and caused it to be engraved on brazen tables in Latin and Greek, to be hung up in the temples of Tyre, Sidon, and Ascalon (S), as well as in the Capitol at Rome, whither Hyrcan sent, soon after, his ambassadors, to renew the alliance with that nation; which was, by his order, published in all the principal cities of the empire, that all the world might know, that the Jews were acknowledged the friends and allies of Rome. These ambassadors obtained, likewise, a permissive decree for fortifying Jerusalem, and rebuilding the wall, which had been pulled down by Pompey¹.

*Cæsar's
new grants
to Hyrcan
published.*

*Hyrcan's
embassy to
Rome.*

Cæsar, having left the government of Syria to Sextus Cæsar, his near relation, was accompanied by Antipater as far as Tyre, where he embarked for Sicily.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 7. & Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 7.

(S) This decree, which at once abolished the aristocracy lately set up by Gabinius, and restored the Jewish state to its pristine sovereignty, has been preserved to us by Josephus (1), and runs to this effect:

“Julius Cæsar, emperor and dictator the second time, &c. Forasmuch as Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, a Jew, hath given us many singular proofs of his affection, both in time of peace and war, and particularly by the supply sent to me in the late war; in consideration of those services, I do hereby confirm unto him, and his heirs, the perpetual government of the Jews, both as their prince and high-priest, after the manner and rule of their own laws. I enrol him,

from henceforth, among my trusty friends; and ordain, that all the legal and pontifical rights and privileges be devolved upon him and his sons for ever; and that in all controversies that shall arise concerning the rights and discipline of the Jews, he, or they, be the only judges; and further, that the Jews be henceforth discharged from the burden of winter quarters, and all public tribute.”

About the same time the Athenians renewed their alliance with Hyrcan, and sent their decree to Jerusalem, in which they acknowledge that pontiff's singular and constant friendship to all the Greeks, and to their own republic in particular.

(1) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 17.

Antipater's

*Rebuilds
the walls
of Jerusa-
lem.*

*Herod
made go-
vernor of
Galilee.*

*His success
against the
Jews.*

*Phasaël go-
vernor of
Jerusalem.*

*Antipater
envied by
the Jews.*

*Herod ac-
cused.*

*Summoned
before the
Sanhedrim.*

Antipater's first care, when he returned to Jerusalem, was to put Cæsar's decree in execution; to restore the Jewish government to its ancient model, and repair the walls and fortifications. He made his eldest son Phasaël governor of that metropolis, and appointed Herod, his second son, governor of Galilee (T); whilst he and the high-priest made a progress through Judæa, to settle the government and peace of the kingdom. Herod soon signalized himself by the suppression of a band of robbers, who had, till then, much infested that and the neighbouring provinces. He took their chief, named Hezekiah, with some others of his companions, whom he put to immediate death, and thereby dispersed the rest of their gang. This action failed not to recommend him, not only to the whole province, but more particularly to Sextus Cæsar, the new president of Syria. On the other hand, his elder brother neglected nothing that could endear him to the people of Jerusalem, over which he was governor; so that Antipater saw with pleasure himself and his sons become the darlings of the nation, without lessening, at least outwardly, any part of their respect to the high-priest, who seemed still to be at the head of all the national affairs.

But it was this greatness, this excessive growing power of Antipater, which excited, at length, the envy and jealousy of the principal Jews. Herod's action was doubtless meritorious, and the country felt the benefit of it: but he had gone some unjustifiable lengths, in putting the banditti to death by his own authority, and without any formal trial; and this presumption the Jews looked upon as an earnest of what he might do in time, if his enterprising genius was not nipped in the bud. At length they endeavoured to open the eyes of their indolent pontiff, and to prevail upon him to summon that young hero to come and answer to this and some other accusations, before him and the sanhedrim.

They represented how dangerous it was for him to suffer the son of a proselyte, who had already engrossed all the power and honour, and left him only the bare title of sovereign, to arrogate to himself such an unlimited au-

(T) Antipater had four sons by his wife Cypriis, who were, by this time, grown up to maturity, and in great reputation for their wisdom and valour. He had also a daughter named Salome, who became afterwards infamous for the feuds and divisions which she created in her family, as we shall see in the sequel.

thority,

thority, as to put a number of men to death without trial, or even without asking his or the sanhedrim's consent. As they could not work upon his fears, they tried to rouse his pity, by the daily clamours of the mothers of those whom Herod had put to death; and who ceased not to come daily to the temple, to demand justice of him, for so daring and unwarranted an affront on his dignity. Hyrcan was at length prevailed upon to send his summons to Herod, to answer to the charge before him and the sanhedrim. Herod appeared accordingly; but in such a manner, and with such a numerous retinue, as gave them to understand, that he came not as a private person, much less as a criminal to be judged. He was clothed in purple; and, by his father's advice, attended by such a number of servants, as should be sufficient to defend him, in case he was condemned; yet not so numerous as to raise any jealousy in the friendly high-priest. He also brought letters from Sextus Cæsar, with express orders to acquit him, and threatening Hyrcan with his resentment in case of non-compliance.

Yr. of Fl.
2302.
Ante Chr.
46.

*Appears
with a num-
erous re-
tinue.*

These letters seem indeed to have been calculated to intimidate the sanhedrim, rather than to recommend Herod's cause to the high-priest, who was already sufficiently in his interest. Accordingly, when he appeared before that high court, he struck such an awe into them, that none of his accusers dared for some time open their mouths. At length Sameas, a man in great esteem for his wisdom and integrity, had the courage to stand up, and arraign him, not only for his former crime, but much more now for his unjustifiable boldness, in appearing, contrary to the laws of all nations, not in the guise of an accused person, but in that of an arrogant and threatening commander, who came rather to frighten his judges, than to clear himself of his accusation. He even prognosticated that Herod would one day prove the ruin of the high-priest and the judges, by whom he was now so shamefully favoured. Hyrcan observing, that his speech had made such an impression on the court, that the majority were like to declare against Herod, adjourned them till the next day, whilst he sent private advice to him to flee for his life: Herod followed this advice, and went to Damascus, where having gained the protection of the Syrian governor, he sent the sanhedrim word, that if they should be disposed to summon him afresh, he would disclaim their jurisdiction. This contemptuous message aroused their indignation; they vented their resentment against the pontiff, and strove in vain to awaken him

*Sameas's
noble
speech.*

him to a sense of his danger; but he remained deaf and insensible to the last ^k.

Yr. of Fl.
2304.

Ante Chr.
44.

*New pri-
vileges
granted to
the Jews.*

About two years after this transaction, Hyrcan, having sent an embassy to Cæsar, to renew his alliance with him, obtained a fresh decree for fortifying Jerusalem, which Antipater immediately put in execution. Cæsar moreover granted some farther privileges to the Jews; in consideration of the signal services they had done to him in Syria and Egypt. The reader may see them more fully in Josephus. As for Hyrcan, he gave him leave to govern in Jerusalem according to his pleasure, and confirmed to him the grant of all the towns and villages which had been possessed by his ancestors. He decreed that the lands and other privileges, which the Romans had bestowed on the kings of Syria and Phœnicia, on account of the alliance that had been between them, should likewise be bestowed on him and his successors; that he, they, and their ambassadors, should have the liberty of sitting down with the Roman senators in all public shows and games; and lastly, that when they had any petition to prefer to the senate, they should be introduced by the dictator, or by the master of the horse; and that they should have an answer within ten days^l. In a word, such was that emperor's gratitude and friendship to the Jews, so many and considerable the immunities and privileges which he heaped upon their pontiff and nation, that they could hardly be said to feel the weight of the Roman yoke.

*Sextus and
Julius Cæ-
sar mur-
dered.*

But this happy state was not of long duration. Two remarkable accidents happened, one in Judæa, and the other at Rome, which brought on a series of distraction and feuds in both. In the former, Sextus Cæsar was treacherously murdered by Bassus; and Cæsar himself assassinated at Rome by Brutus, Cassius, and their associates, Marc Antony and Dolabella, who were then consuls, assembled the senate; and the ambassadors from Judæa, among others, were admitted to renew their alliance.

Yr. of Fl.
2305
Ante Chr.
43.

*Cassius
seizes upon
Syria.*

By this time Bassus had seized upon the government of Syria, but was soon after driven out of it by Cassius, who went thither after Cæsar's death, and took the command of the Roman troops, who were then besieging the assassin of Sextus, in the city of Apamea. Cassius, having drawn him and Marcus into his party, raised the siege of the place, and got all Syria into his possession. Hearing that Alienus, one of Dolabella's lieutenants, was marching

^k Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 17.

^l Id. ibid. & Bell. Jud. ubi supra.
through

through Judæa with four legions sent to that consul by Cleopatra, he posted himself so advantageously, that he surrounded and intercepted him with a double number of his own forces, and took them all into his service. Having by this time assembled an army of twelve legions, which could not be subsisted without great expence, he was forced to levy large tributes on that province, particularly on Judæa, which he taxed at seven hundred talents. Antipater, who knew the necessity that general was in of some immediate supply, and the consequence of gaining his favour by sending him speedy assistance, committed the levying one half of that sum to his sons Phasael and Herod, and ordered the rest to be raised by one Malichus and some associates. Herod failed not to take this opportunity of ingratiating himself with Cassius, by bringing him the hundred talents which were assigned to his government; and as he was the first that complied with his orders, that general conceived a great esteem for his person. His brother came soon after; but the rest of the governors not having followed their example, particularly those of Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, Thamna, and some other cities of Judæa, Cassius ordered all their inhabitants to be sold by auction, and would have put Malichus to death, had not the high-priest redeemed him at the expence of a hundred talents, which he sent him out of his own coffers^m.

Levies seven hundred talents on Judæa.

Herod and Phasael furnish their quota.

His severity to Malichus, &c.

Cassius, being soon after forced to march against Doblælla, left the government of Cœlesyria to Herod, as an earnest of his future friendship; but Malichus in the mean time, who bore a mortal hatred to Antipater (U), and saw him with an envious eye holding alone the reins of government, resolved to take him off by treachery. Antipater having had timely notice of his design, presently retired to the other side of the Jordan, and raising some forces, put himself in a posture of defence. Malichus, finding his plot was discovered, went to him in a seeming friendly manner; and by oaths, protestations, and other

Malichus conspires against Antipater.

Sooths him into a reconciliation.

^m Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 18. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 9.

(U) Malichus was a Jew; he and Antipater had been the main supporters of Hyrcan's interest; so that he could not behold his rival, who was of Idumæan race, preferred before him without the deepest

envy and regret; and this was the motive which made him conspire against Antipater, not doubting, but, if he was removed, himself would be at the head of the Jewish affairs.

*Herod
made go-
vernor of
Cœleſyria.*

*Antipater
poisoned by
Malichus.*

*Malichus
outwitted
by Herod.*

*Herod en-
ters Jeru-
ſalem.*

crafty inſinuations, eaſily perſuaded him of his innocency, ſo that a reconciliation took place. Antipater was even forced to make uſe of all his intereſt with Marcus, now governor of Syria, and who was well acquainted with all his private plots, to prevent his putting him to death. But Malichus was not to be wrought on by acts of generoſity, whiſt he beheld his rival's intereſt ſtill triumphant. About this time Caſſius and Marcus, who had beſtowed the government of Cœleſyria on his ſon Herod, had engaged his fidelity to them by a promiſe to make him king of Judæa, as ſoon as the war, now begun againſt Marc Antony, and the young Octavius, ſince named Auguſtus, ſhould be ended. This compact made him dread the exceſſive power of Antipater to ſuch a degree, that upon the firſt opportunity, which was ſoon after offered, when he was to dine with the high-prieſt, he bribed that pontiff's butler to poiſon him in a glaſs of wine, whiſt himſelf with an armed force ſeized upon the government of Jeruſalem. Phafael and Herod eaſily perceived, that Malichus was at the bottom of this villany, notwithstanding his vows and proteſtations to the contrary. Herod, naturally of a fierce temper, was for immediately revenging the perſidy with open force; but his brother, who rightly judged, that it would be much ſafer to diſſemble for the preſent, and to puniſh the aſſaſſin by ſome private ſtratagem, without involving the nation in a civil war, eaſily brought him over to his opinion^a.

Accordingly, theſe two brothers feigning to believe Malichus innocent of their father's death, the eldeſt buſied himſelf with rearing a ſtately monument to him, whiſt Herod went into Samaria, under pretence of ſuppreſſing ſome turbulent ſpirits in that quarter. He afterwards repaired to Jeruſalem, attended with a number of his men of war, to aſſiſt at the feaſt of Pentecoſt; when Malichus, who was afraid of ſomething worſe, prevailed on Hyrcan to forbid him to enter the metropolis with ſuch an eſcort, as would profane that ſolemnity. Herod, deſpiſing his orders, entered the city by night, but forbore attempting any thing againſt his enemy, though he had received full power from Caſſius to revenge his father's death on that aſſaſſin. But a much better opportunity offered ſoon after, in which Malichus was caught in his own ſnare. Caſſius had taken Laodicea, and all the chief lords of Syria and Paleſtine haſtened thither with their preſents

^a Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 20.

and congratulations. Malichus having left his son hostage with that governor, designed to have taken that opportunity of effecting his escape, to have gone back and excited a revolt in Judæa, whilst the Romans were taken up with their civil wars, and then to have made a bold push for the Jewish crown. Whether Herod knew his whole design or no, he rightly guessed, that he would not fail to pay his compliments to the conqueror. He was not mistaken in his conjecture: for Malichus accompanied the Jewish pontiff; and Herod fell in with them on the way, after having obtained from Cassius an order to the Tyrians to assist him in the punishment of Malichus, he invited Hyrcan and him to a supper he had prepared for them in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and sent his servants into that city, under pretence of getting all things ready; but in reality, to acquaint the officers and garrison of that city with Cassius's orders. These sallied out accordingly, and as many as could approach him, at once sheathed their daggers in his body. Hyrcan hearing the news of his death, remained thunderstruck for some time. At length, having recovered himself, he asked, by whose orders he had been killed? and Herod having calmly answered, by Cassius's; he replied, that he could not but highly applaud the deed, since it had rid him of a very dangerous enemy.

Causes Malichus to be assassinated.

But Malichus had left a brother as turbulent as himself; who, under the specious pretence of revenging his brother's death, threw Judæa again into a flame, whilst Cassius was gone to join Brutus in Asia. Felix, who at that time was left at the head of some Roman forces at Jerusalem, seems also to have been gained to that side. As for Hyrcan, he had not courage enough to oppose them, but acquiesced in what they did; so that Felix attacked Phasaël on the one hand, whilst Malichus's brother reduced Masfada, and some other fortresses of Judæa. Herod was then detained by sickness at Damascus, and unable for a while to give his brother any assistance: but Phasaël, who had still a considerable number of forces, found means to expel Felix and all his party out of Jerusalem, and from thence into some fortress, out of which he did not suffer him to come, but by capitulation. By this time Herod being recovered, came to his assistance, and drove the remaining part of Malichus's faction out of their fortresses, and forced the brother to surrender Mas-

Yr. of Fl.
2306.
Ante Chr.
42.

New troubles in Judæa.

Quelled,

• Bell. Jud. ubi supra. Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 20.

fada to him, and to capitulate for his life^p. The two brothers returned to Jerusalem, where they reproved Hyrcan's baseness in the severest terms; but were soon after reconciled to him by the marriage of Herod with Mariamne, the beautiful grand-daughter of that pontiff.

*Antigonus
invades
Judæa.*

In the interim another enemy started up on the sudden, namely Antigonus, the younger son of Aristobulus, Hyrcan's brother. He was supported by Ptolemy Mennæus, prince of Chalcis, to whom he was related, and by whom he had been adopted. He had likewise gained Mariamne prince of Tyre, and bribed Fabius governor of Damascus to his interest; so that having raised a sufficient army, he put himself at the head of it, with an intent to revive his father's pretensions to the kingdom; but he had scarce entered the frontiers, before Herod met him with a powerful army, by which he was totally defeated. The victor returned triumphant to Jerusalem, where the people, and among the rest Hyrcan, who now looked upon him as one of his family, offered him the usual compliments of crowns and congratulations. His nuptials with Mariamne were not however celebrated till some years after: he had by her three sons and two daughters, besides his eldest son Antipater, whom he had by a former wife of his own country, named Dorea^t.

*Herod
marches
against
him.*

*Marriage
with Ma-
riamne put
off.*

*Marc An-
tony's arri-
val in Bi-
thynia.*

*Phasaël
and Herod
accused by
the Jews
to him.*

*Hyrcan's
ambassy to
him.*

Brutus and Cassius having been defeated in the course of the following year by Marc Antony and Octavius, the latter marched into Gaul; and the former came into Syria to settle the affairs of that province. Upon his arrival in Bithynia, where he was complimented by vast crowds of ambassadors from all the neighbouring states, the Jews preferred a severe accusation against Phasaël and Herod, as having ingrossed all the power and administration of Judæa, and left Hyrcan only the bare name of a prince. But Herod, who was there also, found in that general a steadfast friend; not only on account of former kindnesses, which he had received from Antipater, whilst he served under Gabinus in Judæa, but much more in consideration of a large sum of money, with which he had taken care to bribe him; so that he would not so much as hear their accusers. Upon his arrival at Ephesus, an embassy came to him from Hyrcan, desiring that the Jewish prisoners, whom Cassius had formerly sold by auction, contrary to their alliance with Rome, might be restored to their liberty and lands. Antony readily granted their re-

^p Id. ib. cap. 21, & seq.

^t Ibid.

quest, and sent an obliging letter to Hyrcan, which was soon followed with an edict to the Tyrians, and other neighbouring states, enjoining them to restore all those captives^r.

Jewish captives restored.

But all these favours of the triumvir, though chiefly owing to his friendship for the sons of Antipater, were not able to reconcile them to the generality of the Jews. For as soon as Antony arrived at Daphne, a city near Antioch^s, he was accosted by a fresh embassy from Jerusalem, which was sent to repeat the old complaint against those commanders. Messala undertook their defence, and was backed by Hyrcan, who, looking upon them now as part of his family, went thither to exert his interest in their defence. After a full hearing, Antony asked the pontiff, which of the two parties he thought best qualified for the government; and being answered in favour of the two brothers, he likewise declared for them; and, as a farther mark of his friendship, made them both tetrarchs; put Judæa under their care; and wrote a letter to the sanhedrim in their favour. Fifteen of the most turbulent of their accusers were sent to prison, and would have been put to death, had not Herod interceded for their lives. All these measures served only to exasperate that faction the more, and produced a third embassy, which came to meet the triumvir at Tyre, consisting of a thousand persons. But Antony, whom fresh presents, and large sums of money, had effectually confirmed in Herod's interest, sent orders to the magistracy of that place to assist him in the punishment of those factious mutineers; whereupon Herod met them without the city, and advised them, in a friendly manner, not to push the matter farther. Hyrcan likewise tried in vain to forewarn them of their danger, in case they persisted in their design. They refused all advice, till the Tyrians rushing in upon them, made them repent of their rashness, when it was too late. A great number were killed and wounded, some taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. This execution put an end indeed to the controversy, but not to the faction, which vented their resentment against Herod in such an open manner, that Antony, in a fit of anger, caused all the prisoners to be put to death^t.

Yr. of Fl.
2307.
Ante Chr.
41.

New complaints against Herod rejected. Hyrcan's answer in their favour.

A third embassy sent, and severely punished.

M. Antony's severity against them.

Antigonus invades invaded Judæa.

Herod had no sooner weathered this storm, than another was raised against him by Antigonus. Ptolemy the

^r Ibid. cap. 22.
ⁱ cap. 17.

^s Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 25. Bell. Jud. lib.
^t Id. ibid.

son of Mennæus had been succeeded by his son Lyfianias; and this last had prevailed upon Pacorus the son of the Parthian king, and his general Barzanes, who had made themselves masters of Sidon and Ptolemais, to invade Judæa, depose Hyrcan, and set Antigonus on his throne; in consideration of which service, the latter was to pay him an hundred talents, and five hundred women. Pacorus, pursuant to this agreement, sent his cup-bearer, named also Pacorus, with part of his cavalry, to invade Judæa. Antigonus, who had got together by that time a great number of discontented Jews, who joined him from Mount Carmel, had made himself master of the canton of Drvma (X), where a great number of other Jews coming still to him, persuaded him to march on to Jerusalem, and attack Phasaël and his brother in the royal palace. He marched accordingly thitherward, attended with the Parthian cup-bearer; and these two being met by the two tetrarchs, were so warmly repulsed by them, that they were forced to retire into the temple. Herod, for the better security of that place, posted a guard of soldiers in all the adjacent houses; but these were soon set on fire, and the soldiers burnt in them before any help could be brought. Herod did not let this loss go long unrevenged, but gave them a sharp defeat, in which he made a great slaughter of their party. Thus they continued skirmishing with one another till the feast of Pentecost, which was impatiently wished for by Antigonus, in hopes that the great concourse of the Jews at that solemnity would join forces with him against the sons of Antipater. He judged rightly enough, for great numbers of them resorted to him; but as the greater part of them had neither arms nor experience, Herod, who with his brother had retired into the royal palace, and defended it, the former from within, and the other from without, made a vigorous sally upon those of the enemy, who had posted themselves in the suburbs, and drove several thousands of them before him, some into the city, and others into the temple.

Yr. of Fl.
2308.
Ante Chr.
40.

*Antigonus
and Paco-
rus repul-
sed, and re-
tire into
the temple.*

*Jews join
with Anti-
gonus.*

*An agree-
ment me-
diated by
Pacorus.*

The two parties being at length tired with shedding so much blood, came to an agreement, that Pacorus, who was by that time encamped without the walls of the city,

(X) It is not easy to guess what canton this was, unless it be the same with the Daroma of Eusebius and St. Jerom, by which they mean the southern part of the tribe of

Judah, extending about twenty miles from east to west, from Beertheba to the Dead Sea, and is called in Hebrew Darom, which signifies *south*.

should

should be admitted to mediate a peace between them. This project, though set on foot by Antigonus, who wholly relied on the friendship of the Parthian general, was yet agreed to by Phasaël, who went out to meet him, and courteously lodged him in the royal palace. Here Pacorus taking the advantage of the confidence his kind host put in him, persuaded him to go on an embassy to Barzapharnes, who was then governor of Syria under the Parthian king, assuring him, that it was the only expedient to settle his affair on a firm footing. Herod who justly suspected the treachery of the Parthians, was entirely averse to the proposal; but Phasaël, more credulous than his brother consented; and taking Hyrcan with him, set out on the journey, attended with an escort of two hundred Parthian horse, and with Pacorus, who accompanied him all the way. Upon their arrival in Galilee, they were met by a guard of armed men, who were sent to conduct them to Barzapharnes, and Pacorus returned to Jerusalem. Their reception in all appearance was very courteous, and Barzapharnes lodged them in a house near the sea-side, where Phasaël was soon after informed by some friends of the contract which had passed between the Parthian king and Antigonus: it was then that he first became sensible of their treachery, and of his own danger. However, though he was earnestly intreated to make his escape, and was offered transport-ships to convey him away, yet he could not be prevailed upon to forsake either Hyrcan's or his brother's interest; for here he was likewise told, that Pacorus was sent back to Jerusalem to surprise Herod also. The best expedient therefore he could think on, was to go to Barzapharnes, and to expostulate the matter with him; and this he did in the severest terms, telling him at the same time, that, if money was the motive of his treachery to him, he was able to bribe him higher to be honest, and come over to his interest. The Parthian had no other way to come off than by forswearing the charge, and assuring him, that nothing was falser than such a surmise; but as soon as he thought, that Pacorus had made sure of Herod, he marched directly towards him, and ordered Hyrcan and Phasaël to be seized, and imprisoned.

His treachery suspected by Herod.

Phasaël betrayed.

His fidelity to Hyrcan.

Both imprisoned by Barzapharnes.

Herod's escape.

Pacorus, however, missed his aim. Herod, having timely notice of the treachery, had found means to convey himself out of Jerusalem, together with his mother, his betrothed Mariamne, her mother Alexandra, his brother Pheroras, with all his servants, friends, and valuable

*Fights his
way into
Idumæa.*

and effects, and a numerous escort of his own troops, made the best of his way towards Idumæa. He met with several obstructions in his journey, being forced to fight his way through the Parthians and Antigonians, who pursued him; but his valour, and that of his guards, extricated him out of all his difficulties. In memory of a signal defeat, which he gave them at a place about fifty stadia or seven miles from Jerusalem, he afterwards built a stately palace, and called it Herodion *.

*Leaves his
family at
Mafada;
and goes
into Ara-
bia,*

and Egypt.

At Threſſa, or Rheſſa, a small town in Idumæa, his brother Joseph met him at the head of a considerable reinforcement; but when they arrived at Mafſada, the place where he designed to retire, it being a very strong, and almost impregnable fortress, he found it too small to contain all his men, so that he was forced to dismiss nine thousand. Here he left his family and treasure under the care of his brother Joseph, and of a garrison of eight hundred men; and having furnished it with all necessaries, he set out for Petra, the metropolis of Arabia, where Malchus had succeeded his father Aretas, a prince whom he had formerly highly obliged. His design was, to borrow as much money of him, as would buy his brother Phasaël's freedom; and to that end he had brought his son with him, who was but seven years old, to leave him there as a pledge to the Arabian king. But that ungrateful prince sent him express orders to depart out of his territories, pretending that he had been forbid by the Parthians to receive him; so that he was forced to dismiss some of his attendants, and to make the best of his way into Egypt.

*His palace
plundered.*

Mean while, his flight from Jerusalem having been discovered the very next morning, the first thing the Parthians did, was to plunder his palace, city, and all the country about it. They spared however Hyrcan's treasure, which amounted to three hundred talents, and some of Herod's riches, that were left behind; but they made themselves amends by the plunder of Marissa, an opulent city, which they totally destroyed. Antigonus was next installed on the Jewish throne, according to their agreement, and Phasaël and Hyrcan were soon after brought to him in chains. The new king however did not think proper to put the high-priest to death, but contented himself with incapacitating him for the pontifical function, by

* Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 25. The reader may see that palace described by Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 16,

causing

causing his ears to be cut off. As for Phasaël, he easily foresaw that he could not escape some cruel death; but, being bound with chains, and unable to kill himself by any other way, he knocked his brains out against a stone. The Parthians, having thus far performed their contract with Antigonus, began their march homeward, and took the unfortunate high-priest with them, to prevent any fresh tumults upon his account.

Hyrcan's ears cut off, and Phasaël kills himself.

By that time Herod had removed from Rhinocorura to Pelusium, he received a message from the Arabian king, who was now ashamed of his baseness, with an apology, and new offers of his service; but he rejected them, and would have embarked for Rome, had not the sailors obstinately refused to take him in: whereupon he applied to the magistrates of the city, who received him with great honour, and provided him another ship (K). On his arrival at Rome, he addressed himself first to Antony, and then to Octavius, to whom he related all that had happened in Judæa, with the desperate condition of his affairs; and partly by his intreaties, and reminding them of his father's friendship to Julius Cæsar, partly by the promise of a large sum of money, so worked upon them, that they resolved to assist him to the utmost of their power. Antony, on account of the old kindnesses of Antipater, performed more than Herod expected, or even desired. The utmost of his aim was, to have had Aristobulus, the brother of his beloved Mariamne, settled on the throne, and himself placed at the head of the Jewish affairs under him, as his father had been under Hyrcan; whereas the triumvirs actually resolved to procure him the crown.

Herod's success at Rome.

M. Antony's kindness to him.

The senate was accordingly convened, and Herod introduced to them by Messala and Atratinus, two noble senators, who set forth the great services of Antipater's family to the Romans; representing Antigonus as a turbulent and seditious person, and a known enemy to their nation.

Created king of Judæa;

* See Levit. xxi. 16, & seq. Jud. lib. i. cap. 11.

* Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 25. Bell.

(K) During his stay in Egypt, he was solicited by Cleopatra to continue there longer. The Maccabith book, often quoted, adds, that she offered to make him her prime minister, and general of all her forces; but that he was fully bent upon going to Rome with all speed;

and, getting on board a vessel, which was bound to Pamphylia, a violent storm forced them to land at Rhodes, where he met with some friends and assistance, passed thence to Brundisium, and came at length to Rome.

Antony

and
crowned.

Antony observed, how advantageous it would be to his expedition against Parthia, to have such a stedfast friend as Herod to be king of Judæa; upon which he was unanimously chosen by the senate, and Antigonus voted an enemy. As soon as the decree was passed, Herod was conducted with great ceremony into the Capitol, Octavius and Antony marching on each side of him, accompanied by the consuls and senators; where, after the usual sacrifices, the decree was deposited among the archives, after which ceremony, Antony gave them a magnificent entertainment. Thus Herod became king of Judæa, by the friendship and interest of Antony and Octavius, in the consulship of C. Domitius Calvinus, and C. Asinius Pollio. The condition in which he had left his affairs in Judæa, and his family in Idumæa, not permitting him to stay longer than seven days after his inauguration, he set out again for Brundisium, and sailed from thence to Ptolemais, where he landed about the latter end of the summer; so that he spent but three months in this expedition.

Massada
besieged by
Antigonus.

While he was thus successful at Rome, Antigonus had so closely besieged the fortress of Massada, that though it was well provided with all other necessaries, yet the garrison were much distressed for want of water; insomuch that Joseph, who commanded there, was contriving means to make a desperate sally, and to break through the besiegers, in order to escape into Arabia, to procure fresh succour from Malchus, who was highly ashamed of his late treatment of Herod. But, happily for him, the very night he intended to sally out, there fell such a heavy rain, as filled all their cisterns; so that he thought of nothing now but how to make a brave defence, till his brother came to his relief. In the mean time Ventidius, the Roman general in Syria, having driven the Parthians out of that province, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, under pretence of relieving Massada, but, in reality, to extort money from Antigonus; for, as soon as this last had satisfied his avarice with a large sum, he marched away, leaving, for formality's sake, some part of his men with Silo, a pensioner, whom Antigonus had been forced to gain by dint of money, till he could get himself strengthened by the Parthians, whose assistance he was still in hopes of obtaining.

Ventidius
outwits
him.

Mariam-
ne's cha-
racter.

Herod, on the other hand, was not idle; his thoughts were wholly bent on relieving his distressed family, but

† Antiq. ibid. cap. 26, 27. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, cap. 12.
especially

especially his beloved Mariamne, a princess who was indeed very well worth all his care and concern, whether we consider her as descended from a long series of kings and high-priests, or a person of exalted virtue and merit, adorned with the most endearing charms of body and of mind. As soon therefore as he was arrived at Ptolemais, he got an army together of Jewish and other troops, which his generosity still increased as fast as he went, insomuch, that a very little time had brought almost the whole province of Galilee into his interest. At the same time his friend Antony sent orders by Dellius to Ventidius, to assist him with all his forces; so that he was now strong enough to march against Antigonus, and to relieve Maffada. He stopped, however, to lay siege to Joppa, a place of too great importance to be left behind in the hands of the enemy. Silo took this opportunity to withdraw his forces, and was like to have paid dear for his desertion: for Antigonus fell upon him, and would have infallibly defeated him, had not Herod come to his rescue. Joppa having soon after surrendered, he marched directly to relieve his besieged friends; and, notwithstanding the many ambushes which Antigonus laid in his way, with the treachery of Silo, who extorted money from both sides, and did all he could to obstruct, instead of assisting him, he reached Maffada, forced the enemy to raise the siege, and was joyfully received by all his family².

Herod marches against Antigonus,

takes Joppa,

and relieves Maffada. Herod marches against Jerusalem; proclaims a general amnesty.

By this time Herod's army was greatly increased, not only by the garrison of Maffada, but by other reinforcements, which came voluntarily from other parts, and enabled him to form the siege of Jerusalem. He took Rheffa in his way, and being come before the metropolis, caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed, extending to all that had joined with Antigonus, provided they should come over to him within a limited time. Antigonus addressing himself to Silo, and the rest of the Roman soldiers, who were come to assist Herod in the siege, observed, "That it was a shameful injustice in the senate, to set a private person on the throne, who was an Idumæan, or half Jew, contrary to the Jewish laws and right of succession; that if they resented his receiving the crown from the Parthians, there were still enough left of the royal and sacerdotal race, who had deserved, to the full, as well of the Romans as Herod, and on whom they might more justly bestow the royal dignity." The contest

Antigonus's answer to it.

² Antiq. ibid. cap. xxvi, xxvii. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, cap. xii.

between

*A mutiny
fomented
by Silo.*

*Jericho
plundered
by the Ro-
mans.*

*Joseph sent
into Idu-
mæa.*

*Sephoris
taken by
Herod.*

*The ban-
ditti in
Galilee to-
tally de-
feated;*

*their gangs
destroyed.*

between the two rivals rose at length to such a height, that Antigonus caused some volleys of arrows to be shot upon the enemy, and forced them to retire. Here arose a fresh mutiny, supposed to have been underhand encouraged by Silo; his soldiers complaining aloud of the want of money and provisions, and demanding better quarters: Herod was forced to send out for fresh supplies, which came afterwards in such plenty, that there was not the least pretence left for a revolt. The city of Jericho, however, fell a sacrifice to the Roman avarice; they plundered it of all its riches, which amounted to an immense value. Then Herod was forced to send them into winter quarters in Samaria, Idumæa, and Galilee, whilst Antigonus obtained of Silo, as a great favour, that part of the Roman army might be sent into Lydda, which still held out for his interest*.

The season, by this time, being too far advanced to begin the siege of Jerusalem, Herod sent his brother Joseph into Idumæa with a thousand foot and four hundred horse, whilst he himself went and secured his family in the city of Samaria. He afterwards took some fortresses in Galilee from Antigonus, and among others that of Sephoris, which had been abandoned by the garrison. From thence he sent a detachment into the territories of Arbela, which was infested with banditti; but as those troops could not drive them from their lurking-places, he marched against them with his whole army, and was as boldly encountered by their whole force. An obstinate fight ensued, in which his left wing began to give way; but he came so timely to their aid; that he gained a complete victory; by which he became master of all Galilee, except those rocky parts into which the defeated banditti retired. He rewarded his troops with a donative of a hundred and fifty drachms to each private man, and so proportionably to those a higher rank, and then sent them into winter-quarters. Silo left him soon after to follow Venedidius into Parthia; and Herod, who could hardly stay for the return of the spring, to put himself in action, resolved, if possible, to rid himself and the country of those barbarous freebooters.

When he thought he had pretty near reduced their gang, he left the country under the command of Ptolemy, at the head of as many forces as he thought would suffice to keep it in awe; and took the route to Samaria, where

* Antiq. ubi supra, in fin. cap. xiii. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

he had left his family, with a determination either to begin the siege of Jerusalem, or bring Antigonus to a battle. He was no sooner gone, but those whom he had lately driven over Jordan, repassed that river, slew Ptolemy, and ravaged the country afresh; so that he was obliged to return with fresh forces, with which he so effectually destroyed them, and their lurking-places, and fined those towns so severely, which had given them either shelter or relief, that he quite freed the province of that destructive vermin^b.

Banditti rally afresh, and effectually destroyed.

The Parthians having been defeated by Ventidius, that general, by order of Antony, sent Machæras, with two legions and a thousand horse, to assist Herod in his war against Antigonus; but this last having gained him over by a large sum, Machæras would needs march towards him, under pretence of examining the strength of the place. Herod, having in vain tried to dissuade him from it, began to suspect him of some treachery; but held his peace for the present. But Antigonus, seeing the Romans draw near the walls of Jerusalem, conceived such a jealousy of them, that he caused his men to let fly some volleys of arrows and stones against them, which so exasperated Machæras, that he returned to Emmaus, and turned his arms against the Jews, slaying indiscriminately all that fell in his way, and among them a number of Herod's friends. Herod threatened to prefer his complaints to Antony in person, who was then employed in the siege of Samofata; but Machæras prevailed upon him to be reconciled, and to leave his brother Joseph, and a number of forces with him, to carry on the war during his absence; on this condition, however, that they should undertake nothing that was hazardous till his return. Herod, at his arrival before Samofata, was received with all the marks of honour and esteem by the Roman triumvir, and did him many gallant services at that siege: in requital of which, when the city was taken, Antony left Sosius governor of Syria, with the command of the Roman forces, and orders to assist Herod with them whenever he should require his aid.

Antigonus's ill treatment of Machæras; his resentment;

reconciliation with Herod.

Herod goes to Ad Antony's camp.

Herod, on his return, found his affairs strangely altered for the worse: his brother Joseph, contrary to orders, had made an incursion against Jericho with his own troops, and five legions, which he received from Machæras; but the Roman horse, being unfit for such rocky ground as

Joseph defeated and killed.

Galilee and Idumæa recovered by Herod.

Herod's signal victory over Antigonus;

marriage with Mariamne.

Herod besieges Jerusalem.

he was then encamped upon, the enemy surprised and defeated him, after a noble defence, in which himself was killed by Pappus the Roman general. Antigonus caused his head to be cut off, and carried in triumph with him; but his brother Pheroras redeemed it at the price of fifty talents. The consequence of this defeat was, the total revolt of Galilee, where the wealthiest of Herod's party were barbarously flung, in great numbers, into the lake of Tiberias. Idumæa was also on the point of revolting, when Herod appeared at the head of a fresh army, and in a little time reduced those two provinces again. His army still increasing, and Machæras stoutly defending himself against Antigonus, a battle was soon fought between the two antagonists, wherein Herod gained a complete victory, and made a horrid slaughter of the enemy: Pappus being found among the dead, he ordered his head to be cut off, and sent to Pheroras. His eagerness to revenge his brother's death, made him pursue his flying enemy with such uncommon celerity, that, had he not been prevented by a violent storm, he might have gone straight to Jerusalem, and have taken it with ease. Antigonus was, by that time, so reduced, that he was upon the point of abandoning the capital; but now winter coming on, and the soldiers being unable to bear the fatigues of a siege, Herod put them into winter quarters, and began to make preparations for opening it in the beginning of spring^c.

Meanwhile he went to Samaria, and consummated his marriage with Mariamne, whom he had betrothed four years before. By this time he had got a reinforcement of thirty thousand men; and Sosius had been sent to his assistance, at the head of eleven legions and six thousand horse, besides some auxiliary troops hired from Syria. By this numerous army Jerusalem was invested. The besieged, on the other hand, were no less numerous, and resolute for a vigorous defence, the city being filled with Jews, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom. They annoyed the besiegers by frequent sallies, in which they destroyed great quantities of their provision and forage. But on the fortieth day of the siege, the Romans, in spite of the stout resistance from within, found means to scale the outward wall; and on the fiftieth they got within the second, when some of the galleries about the temple being set on fire, Herod threw all the odium of it on Antigonus. The lower city being taken, the be-

^c Antiq. & Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

sieged betook themselves to the higher, and to the temple, where they suffered very much through famine, it being the sabbatic year. However, they built a new wall instead of that which was beaten down, countermined the enemy, and fought sometimes above and sometimes under-ground, with more despair than courage. At length, after a long and close siege, Herod finding them as obstinate as ever, ordered a general assault to be made, which both his and the Roman troops performed with such vigour, that they forced them at length to surrender (L). *Takes it by storm.*

The Romans, having dispersed themselves through all the quarters of the upper city, made a terrible slaughter of the Jews, and plundered and ravaged every habitation. The very sanctuary was in danger of undergoing the same fate, had not Herod prevented it, partly by intreaties, and partly by mere force. He sent, at the same time, a severe message to Sosius, complaining, that if this plunder and butchery was not stopped, the Romans would leave him king only of a bare wilderness; that, as for himself, he should look upon his success as the greatest misfortune that could befall him, if it must be attended with the profanation of that sacred place, the access to which was permitted to none but the Jewish priests. Sosius answered, that he did not well know how to forbid his troops plundering a place that had been taken by assault; so that Herod saw himself under a necessity of saving both temple and city from all further devastation, by a large donative out of his own coffers. *Saved from destruction by Herod.*

Thus was Jerusalem taken, after a siege of six months; and with its surrender, ended the reign of the Asmoneans, which had continued a hundred and twenty-nine years, from Judas Maccabeus to Antigonus, the last male of that race who bore the regal title. Sosius, having presented a crown of gold to the temple, left Jerusalem, and conveyed Antigonus in chains to Antony, by whom he was, at the earnest solicitations of Herod, put to a shameful death, in the third year of his reign^d. *Yr. of Fl. 2311. Ante Chr. 37. Antigonus put to death.*

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 1. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 13. Vid. & Usser. sub. A. M. 3967.

(L) Antigonus came down and in the most abject and from a tower, which he had defended as long as he could, submissive manner implored his mercy. threw himself at Sosius's feet,

S E C T. V.

*The History of the Jews from Herod to the Birth of Christ.**Herod's
cruel be-
ginning.**The causes
of it.**Oppression
of the An-
tigonians.**Cruel
watchful-
ness over
them.*

THE reduction of Jerusalem, and the death of Antigonus, having fixed Herod upon the Jewish throne, he was soon obliged to employ his thoughts on two important concerns; the one to replenish his coffers, exhausted by the large sums with which he had been forced to buy the friendship of the Roman generals; the other was to suppress the opposite faction, which, in spite of his rival's ignominious death, retained an invincible attachment to the Asmonean family, and an irreconcilable hatred to his own. These points, which could not be attained without a great deal of oppression, and much bloodshed, we must look upon as the main springs of all his actions, and the causes of his uneasy reign. Being possessed of that metropolis, he caused all the gold, silver, and other valuable things he found in it, to be carried into his own palace, by which rapine he amassed immediately an immense treasure; but as a great part of it had been promised to the Romans, and was actually given to them, he reimbursed himself by the forfeiture of the estates of the Antigonian faction, causing the wealthiest of them to be seized, and forty-five of the principals to be put to death (M). Such was his jealousy in this respect, that he caused guards to be planted at their gates, to examine, as they were carrying them to their graves, whether they were really dead, and whether any riches were conveyed off with their bodies; in which case they were seized upon, and sent into his treasury. Upon the whole, his necessities and profusion were so great, that he spared no extortion to supply them; insomuch that this being the sabbatic year, in which there was neither planting nor sowing, and all the country having been terribly plundered and ravaged, both before and during the siege, nothing less than a grievous famine was expected all over the land.

* Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 1. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 13.

(M) Herod, however, spared that very Sameas, who had appeared the most intrepid against him at his trial before the sanhedrim; as well as Pollio, another learned and va-

luable Jew, who had been a great partizan for Hyrcan against him: and these were not the only instances of Herod's clemency.

Herod

Herod had still another rival left, who, though at a great distance from him, and kept, as it were, a prisoner in Parthia, did not suffer his mind to be at ease. This was Hyrcan, the deposed king and high-priest, whom Patorus had carried thither in chains. But when Phraartes came to be informed of his high birth and dignity, he generously took off his chains, and permitted him to live in Babylon, where he was highly respected, not only by the great number of Jews, who dwelt in that city, but likewise by all those that lived beyond the Euphrates, who looked upon him as their rightful prince and high-priest. Their veneration for him was raised still higher, when they understood that Herod had filled the pontifical chair with an old acquaintance of his own, named Ananel, a descendent of one of those priestly families that settled at Babylon after the captivity, and whom that politic prince caused to be fetched from thence, merely on account of his meanness and obscurity; that, being without friends or interest in Judæa, he might be contented with his sacerdotal function, without interfering with the royal prerogative.

Hyrcan might then have thought himself happy in his exile, being thus respected by the Parthian king, and by all the Jews of the dispersion; yet such was his love for his country, or rather his fatal confidence in the new Jewish monarch, that, as soon as he heard of his being on the throne, he conceived a great desire of spending the remainder of his life at Jerusalem. His friends, to whom he communicated his thoughts, tried in vain to dissuade him from it, by representing to him the folly and hazard of putting himself in that monarch's power, especially since he could hardly expect greater honour or happiness at Jerusalem than he enjoyed at Babylon. But Herod plied him with repeated invitations, and even sent Santacalla as his ambassador, with presents to the Parthian king, entreating him to allow the pontiff to return to Judæa.

In the midst of these transactions Herod was not a little disturbed with domestic jars. Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcan, and mother of Aristobulus and Mariamne, a woman of a haughty spirit, could not bear, with any patience, to see an obscure Babylonish priest preferred before her son to the pontifical dignity, from which Hyrcan was now disabled by the loss of his ears. She was ever

Jealousy of Hyrcan, then in Parthia.

That pontiff's happiness there.

Persuaded to return into Judæa.

Yr. of Fl.
2313.
Ante Chr.
35.

Herod's domestic jars.

expostulating with him on the injury done to her son, and insisting that the pontifical dignity belonging, in right of succession to him alone, as being descended by father and mother from Alexander Jannæus, none but he ought, in justice, to be invested with it. But Herod, conscious that the young prince had an equal right likewise to the regal dignity, which he now usurped from him, was afraid to grant her the one, lest she should find some means in time of seizing upon the other. His refusal induced her to write to Cleopatra, not doubting but her interest with Antony might greatly influence that general in favour of her son. It was impossible for her to carry on that correspondence so closely, but Herod had some intimation of it; and, fearing the worst from those two intriguing princesses, he was forced for the present to consent to have Ananel deposed, and Aristobulus invested with that dignity, pretending that he had only given it to the former, till the latter was come to be of an age to perform the functions.

*Aristobulus
made high-
priest.*

This condescension of Herod, backed with so plausible an excuse, wrought a kind of reconciliation between them; but which was nothing less than sincere on either side, especially on Herod's, who still suspected the intrigues of the mother, and the merit of the son, whose high birth, and virtues, joined to a graceful person, attracted the eyes and hearts of the whole Jewish nation. Upon some pretence, therefore, he quarrelled with Alexandra, forbade her to meddle with any public affairs, and at last caused her to be confined to her palace, and to be closely watched. In the mean time, Cleopatra having sent her and her son an invitation to come to Egypt, she was easily persuaded to accept it, since she could now only look upon herself as Herod's prisoner, from whose jealousy she had every thing to fear. The difficulty was, how to conceal their flight from his watchful spies: she intrusted her design only to two faithful servants, one of whom was to procure her a ship to carry them off, and the other to provide two coffins, one for her son, and the other for herself, to convey them in that manner to the ship. But one of the two servants inadvertently mentioned the matter to a third, whom he thought to have been in the secret, who immediately took hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himself with Herod, and made a full discovery of the design. Herod stayed only till the mother and son were conveyed some part of the way in their coffins, and then caused them to be arrested, and brought back. His fear, however,

*Alexandra
confined.*

*Invited by
Cleopatra.*

*Her strata-
gem be-
trayed.*

however, of Cleopatra's resentment, prevented his expressing his own against them; and since he found it unsafe to punish them, he put on the mask of clemency, and was outwardly reconciled to them; but from that moment resolved to get rid of the young prince.

An accident soon happened, which determined Herod to hasten his death. At the feast of the tabernacles, the new high-priest, who was then about seventeen years of age, appeared in his pontifical ornaments, and officiated with such majesty and grace, that the people thought they beheld all the merit and grandeur of his ancestors revived in his person. They could not forbear filling the temple and city with his praises, which raised the tyrant's jealousy to such a height, as made him resolve to put his cruel design in execution with the utmost speed. Accordingly, as soon as the solemnity was over, he went with him to Jericho, where Alexandra had invited them to a sumptuous entertainment. The weather being hot, Aristobulus was invited to bathe in a fine fish-pond in that neighbourhood, where some of Herod's hired creatures were swimming; and where, as soon as they had him in their hands, they kept him under water till he was dead. The atrocious deed was glossed over with the specious pretence of its being done in sport, by accident, and without any design on the pontiff's life; and Herod not only seemed to believe it, but took all the pains he could to have it thought so by the rest; by putting himself into the deepest mourning for him, ordering a stately monument to be erected to his memory, and his funeral obsequies to be performed with the utmost magnificence. This was the end of young Aristobulus, which filled the city and kingdom with inexpressible grief: he died in the eighteenth year of his age, having scarce enjoyed his dignity one whole year, which, upon his death, returned to Ananel.

Aristobulus officiates on the feast of tabernacles.

Raises Herod's jealousy.

Drowned in a bath.

Ananel restored.

Herod becomes odious.

Alexandra plots against him.

All this affectation of Herod was easily seen through by the people, and only rendered him more odious to them, and much more so to his own family. Alexandra, at the first news of her son's death, could scarcely be kept from laying violent hands on herself; but, upon cooler thoughts, she resolved to conceal her resentment against the tyrant, that she might the more easily compass his ruin. She wrote an account of his treachery to Cleopatra, who, moved rather by her ambition and avarice, than by a sense of pity or horror for the crime, ceased not to solicit

*Herod
summoned
to appear
before
Antony.*

Yr. of Fl.
23 & 24.
Ante Chr.
34.

Acquitted.

Antony to punish the murderer, in hopes that after his death she might easily obtain his kingdom for herself. Antony, thus importuned, sent orders to Herod to come and clear himself before him at Laodicea, whither he was then going, accompanied by Cleopatra. Herod was obliged to obey, though much against his will; but took care to bribe his judge so high, that, upon his appearing before him, he was most basely absolved, and Cleopatra's avarice compensated with the province of Coele Syria, instead of that of Judæa. Before his departure, suspecting that Antony harboured a design to possess himself of Mariamne, the fame of whose beauty had certainly inflamed the curiosity of the triumvir, he ordered his uncle Joseph, whom he left governor in his absence, to put this princess to death, in case he himself should be condemned by Antony. This injunction, which nothing but the violence of his love suggested, Joseph was so imprudent as to communicate to Mariamne, who thenceforward entertained the utmost horror of her husband. Alexandra, being also informed of the inhuman order, joined Mariamne in persuading Joseph to leave the city, and put themselves under the protection of the Roman eagles, that were planted in the neighbourhood; but this project was rendered unnecessary by the news of Herod's acquittal. Their deliberations had not been kept so secret, but they reached the ears of his sister Salome, who, in consequence of a female quarrel with Mariamne, insinuated to her brother, at his return, that a criminal correspondence had been carried on in his absence betwixt his uncle and his wife. Mariamne found means to convince him of her innocence in this particular; but could not help upbraiding him with the barbarous order he had given to take away her life. This expostulation awakened all his jealousy. He was now persuaded that nothing but guilty familiarity could have induced his uncle to disclose the fatal secret. In the first transports of his rage, he caused Joseph to be put to death, without hearing what he could say in his own defence; and Alexandra being put in chains, was confined to a close prison.

*Cleopatra
comes to
Jerusalem.*

*Her reception,
avarice, and
lust,*

His present troubles were, for a while, diverted by the arrival of Cleopatra in Judæa, in her return from the Euphrates, whither she had accompanied Antony. That princess, whose avarice was as insatiable as her lust, had disoblged Herod sensibly by both these passions. On one hand, she had obtained from her paramour all the fertile territories of Jericho, which were by far the richest and
pleasanteſt

pleasantest of all Judæa, especially upon account of the balm, and the great quantity of palm-trees which grew in it, and brought Herod a considerable revenue. On the other, she was soliciting that monarch to an amour all the time she staid in Judæa. Herod, who had conceived a great aversion to her, was, in the midst of his magnificent entertainments, revolving some means of putting her to death, whilst he had her in his power; but his friends, dreading the consequences of such a fact, did not only dissuade him from it, but prevailed on him to glut at least her avarice with costly presents. However, as he had refused to gratify her other predominant passion, he feared her resentment for his refusal, joined with the invincible hatred which the Jews had conceived against him, would one day prove fatal. To prevent which disaster, after he had accompanied her as far as Pelusium, he fortified the castle of Massada, and furnished it with arms and provisions for ten thousand men, that at all events he might have a sure place of refuge. At the same time he took constant care to send that princess the revenues of those territories which Antony had given her, that she might have no opportunity of quarrelling with him upon that account^b.

*make her
hateful to
Herod,*

*who forti-
fies the
castle of
Massada.*

But this attention was not sufficient to prevent the effects of her resentment; and she laid such a plot against him, that all his strength and courage were hardly sufficient to save him from ruin. She had obtained a great number of provinces from Antony, in Syria, Phœnice, and Arabia. The latter of these had paid tribute to her constantly enough, whilst Antony was in power; but after his defeat, at the battle of Actium, Malchus, then king of that country, refused further payment. Herod, who had got a complete army, with which he designed to assist his friend Antony against Octavius, received orders from him to turn his forces against the Arabians. This was Cleopatra's plot; who, by bringing these two kings to a battle, proposed to get the territories of the conquered, let the victory fall on which side it would. But as her spite against Herod was most prevailing, she sent one of her generals, named Athenion, at the head of an army, under pretence of assisting him, but in reality to betray and ruin him; because she foresaw that he was like to have the better of his enemy. For Herod, upon the first encounter, had given them a great overthrow, and

*Her resent-
ment a-
gainst him,
and hellish
plot.*

Yr. of Fl.
2316.
Ante Chr.
32.

^b Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 5. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 28.

He is betrayed by Athenion.

Yr. of Fl.
2317.
Ante Chr.
31.

Judæa greatly damaged by an earthquake.

Herod's victories over the Arabians.

Yr. of Fl.
2318.
Ante Chr.
30.

Antony's defeat at Actium.

He rejects Herod's advice to him.

obliged them to get a fresh army together, which Malchus brought into Coeleſyria. Here a ſecond battle was fought near Cana, in which Herod was on the point of obtaining a new victory, when Athenion, who ſtood neuter all the time of the engagement, fell upon his troops before they could rally, cut the greateſt part of the Jews in pieces, and plundered their camp, Herod himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty, with a ſmall number of his men ¹.

Herod had entered into the ſeventh year of his reign ^k, when Judæa was ſhaken with ſuch an earthquake, as had never been felt before, which deſtroyed great numbers of cattle, and many thouſand perſons periſhed under the ruins of their houſes. His troops indeed eſcaped the common ruin, becauſe he kept them encamped in the open field: nevertheless, the great loſs which the kingdom ſuſtained by this calamity, obliged him to ſend an embaſſy to ſue to the Arabians for peace. But by this time the account of his loſs having been greatly magnified to them, they not only rejected his offers, but ſlew the ambaſſadors that brought them, and invaded Judæa, expecting to have found it deſtitute of defence. It was with the greateſt difficulty that Herod kept his men from abandoning him; but having at length diſpelled their fears, and offered the uſual ſacrifices, he went to meet the enemy on the other ſide of the Jordan, and there gave them two ſuch ſignal defeats, that he forced them in their turn to ſue for peace, and to accept it on his own conditions; after which he returned in triumph to Jeruſalem ^l.

But his happineſs was ſoon after troubled by the defeat of Antony by Auguſtus at the battle of Actium, by which Herod ſaw himſelf deprived of a moſt powerful as well as ſteady friend, and on the brink of falling a ſacrifice to the conqueror's reſentment. The beſt expedient he could think of, under this conſternation, was to ſend advice to Antony to put Cleopatra to death, and to ſeize on her kingdom and treaſures; by which he might be enabled to raiſe new forces, and either make a freſh effort for the empire, or, at the worſt, obtain eaſier conditions of peace. He promiſed him, on thoſe terms, not to abandon his intereſt, but to furniſh him with money, troops, ſtrong holds, and all other aſſiſtance to carry on the war againſt his rival. Antony was ſtill too great a ſlave to that princeſs, to conſent to ſuch an expedient;

¹ Antiq. ubi ſupra, cap. 6.

^k Vide Uſſer. Annal. ſub A. M. 3973. ^l Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 8, & 9. Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 14.

which

which infatuation, when Herod perceived, he thought no more but how to make his peace with the conqueror on the best terms he could obtain. He had still another dread upon him as great as the displeasure of Cæsar. Hyrcan, the only surviving male of the Asmonean race, had been formerly acknowledged king of Judæa, and as such had entered into alliances with the Roman senate. Herod, on the other hand, had been chiefly upheld on his throne by the interest of Antony; and Alexandra, ever watchful for all opportunities of being revenged on the usurper, had begun to intrigue again, in hopes of deriving some advantage from the late change of affairs. Herod, therefore, who had his spies about him, thought it unsafe to go to Augustus, till he had drawn the father and the daughter into a snare, which might afford him a pretence for putting the former to death; he accordingly caused him to be beheaded in the eightieth year of his age, for carrying on a clandestine correspondence with Malchus, king of Arabia; a correspondence into which Hyrcan had been inveigled by the emissaries of Herod.

*Herod's
plot against
Hyrcan.*

*Causes him
to be be-
headed.*

This monarch's next care, before he departed, was to secure his family, in case he should miscarry in his address to Augustus. To that end, he committed his mother Cypris, and his sister Salome, to the care of his brother Pheroras, whom he sent into the castle of Alexandrion, with orders, to seize on the Jewish crown, and defend it to the last, in case he heard that his affairs were desperate. As for his wife Mariamne, and his mother Alexandra, he sent them into the strong fortress of Masfada, and put them under the care of his treasurer, named Joseph, and Sohemus, one of his chief confidants, with express orders to put those two princesses to death, as soon as they should receive the news of his ill success at the emperor's court, and then to join his brother, and assist him with all their power. Having taken these precautions, he embarked for Rhodes, where Augustus then was; and having obtained an audience, appeared before that prince in all his royal ornaments, except his diadem. He made no difficulty to own his former attachment to Antony's interest, his assisting him with men, arms, money, and other necessaries for the war; and even the counsel he had given him, after his defeat, of killing Cleopatra, and seizing on her kingdom, and immense treasure, in order to obtain a more advantageous peace. "All this," said he, "I thought myself bound in honour, gratitude, and

*Herod goes
to Augus-
tus.*

*His orders
to his brother.*

*His speech
to Augus-
tus.*

friendship, to do for Antony; but since he has rejected my last advice, and left me at liberty to make you a tender of my future services, if you think them worth your acceptance, and can forget what is past, you shall find me henceforth as sincere and stedfast a friend to you, as I have been hitherto to your rival." As an earnest of which disposition, he mentioned to him the timely succour he had lately given to Q. Didius, his governor in Syria, against Antony's gladiators. Augustus was very much taken, both with his speech, and gallant behaviour; he had likewise been acquainted with the succour he had sent to Didius, and thanked him for it, assuring him, that he readily accepted of his friendship, and confirmed the kingdom to him; in token of which friendship, he ordered him to take up his diadem, and wear it in his presence. Herod, pleased with his good success, made some presents to Augustus and his favourites; and was from that time in greater esteem with him than any other tributary prince; so that he returned to Jerusalem highly satisfied with these additions of honour and power: but all this was soon soured, by the ill reception he met with from his favourite Mariamne, and her exasperated mother^m.

Is confirmed in his royalty.

Meets with new domestic plagues.

Mariamne's melancholy reception of him.

These two princesses, looking upon their confinement at Massada only as a more honourable imprisonment, and remembering with horror the bloody orders he had formerly left with his uncle Joseph concerning them, did not doubt but he had given the same to their two new guardians. To be satisfied in this particular, they spared neither presents nor caresses, till they extorted the fatal secret from Sohemus; so that when Herod came to Massada, and was going to embrace the queen with his usual tenderness, and to acquaint her with his success, he was surprised to find all his caresses answered with sighs and tears, and other marks of grief and disdain. His resentment rose to such a height, that it extorted from him the bitterest reproaches, accompanied with such menaces, as would have alarmed any woman but her. But his love, which was no less violent, seldom suffered those sallies of anger to be long-lived; till his mother and sister, tired and affrighted to see him still agitated between those opposite passions, found out a way to work her effectual ruin, by raising the vilest surmises and calumnies against her character.

^m Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 10.

In the mean time, Augustus passing through Syria in his way to Egypt, Herod, who went to meet him as far as Ptolemais, entertained him and his army with incredible magnificence. Besides a present that he made him of eight hundred talents, he took care to furnish his army with bread, wine, and other provisions, as they marched through some barren deserts, where they might have been otherwise in danger of wanting even bread and water. He accompanied him as far as Pelusium; and that emperor was so charmed with his politeness and generosity, that he made him ride by his side, whenever he went to review his troops, or upon any diversion. Herod gave him the same magnificent reception upon his return from Egypt, as he passed through Syria; in recompence of which, Augustus made him a present of the four thousand Gauls, which had served as life-guards to Cleopatra; and restored to him the territories and revenues of Jericho, Gadara, Hippon, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton, on the sea-side; which made a considerable enlargement both to his kingdom and revenues. But, upon his return to Jerusalem, he relapsed into his former discontent and jealousies, on account of his beloved queen, whose aversion to him daily increased; inso-much that she came at last to treat him with such contempt, and accompanied it with such bitter reflections, as easily convinced him, that her affection was entirely alienated. Meanwhile his sister Salome continued to do her all the ill offices in her power. She even suborned his cup-bearer to accuse the queen of having bribed him to poison his sovereign. In consequence of this charge, one of her favourite eunuchs was put to the rack, although the torture extracted nothing from him, but that he believed the queen was exasperated by the cruel order he had left with Sohemus; a declaration which proved fatal to this officer, whom the king caused to be put to immediate death, on the supposition that he durst not have revealed the secret to her, unless he had made a criminal impression on her heart.

He next ordered the queen to be publicly tried; and, having packed a set of judges of his own creatures, she was found guilty: but they begged he would not precipitate the sentence, but confine her to some castle, till he had more maturely consulted with his own heart. Salome, who knew how apt her brother was to relapse, and fearing some discovery of her treachery might come out to the queen, should her death be delayed, obtained an order

His magnificent reception of Augustus.

The emperor's requital to him.

Yr. of Fl.
2319.
Ante Chr.
29.

Mariamne's aversion to him.

Tried and condemned to die.

der from him for her execution, under pretence that the nation would rise in arms for her, if he suffered her to live any longer.

Alexandra's baseness to her.

Mariamne bore her fate with heroic courage, and marched to the place of execution with incredible serenity, till an accident befel her, which put her constancy to the severest trial. Her mother, the turbulent intriguing Alexandra, who expected nothing but to follow her in a short time, could think of no better expedient to avert the impending storm, than trying to ingratiate herself with Herod, by insulting her unfortunate daughter. Not contented to load her with the bitterest reproaches for her ingratitude and infidelity to the best of husbands, she made several offers to strike her, and to pull her by the hair. Mariamne bore all these insults, without betraying any other change in her countenance, than shame at so base an artifice; which, however, did not succeed, as the sequel will shew. Mariamne submitted to her death, with great intrepidityⁿ, and with her ended all the happiness of her tyrannic husband.

Her singular behaviour.

Her death.

Herod's remorse.

Herod's rage being quenched with the blood of that amiable princess, his love broke out the more fiercely, and filled him with such unspeakable remorse, that his life became a burden. In vain he tried to divert his grief with feasting, and other diversions; Mariamne was still uppermost in his thoughts: he called aloud upon her name; and sometimes would order those of his attendance to fetch her to his presence. A grievous pestilence, which swept away multitudes of people of all ranks, added a fresh load to his misery; because it was universally looked upon as a just judgment on him for all the blood he had shed, and especially that of his injured queen. At first he withdrew into some of the neighbouring deserts, under pretence of hunting, but, really, to avoid the sight of men. At length, being seized with a violent distemper in his bowels, he returned to Samaria, where his physicians tried in vain to give him some ease; their medicines did but increase his pain. His constitution, however, got the better of his disease, but never could alter his four and brutish humour, to which he abandoned himself more and more, as he recovered his health and strength. He degenerated, at length, to such a pitch of cruelty, that he spared neither friend nor foe in his fits of rage; and went on sacrificing numbers of his relations and best friends to his passion, even to the day of his death.

Yr. of Fl.
2320.
Ante Chr.
28.

A grievous plague.
Herod grows furious, and retires.

ⁿ *Antiq. cap. 16.*

Alex-

Alexandra, the base and unnatural mother of the virtuous Mariamne, was one of the very first that fell a victim to his rage after her injured daughter. The hopes of Herod's death, while he lay sick at Samaria, had inspired her with the thought of corrupting the governors of the two principal fortresses of Judæa, one called Antonia, near the temple, and the other in the city of Jerusalem, to deliver them up into her hands, together with Herod's children, pretending thereby to secure the kingdom for his sons by Mariamne, in case of their father's death. But her restless and intriguing genius was so well known to those governors, that, instead of complying with her request, they informed the king of it, who sent orders back to have her immediately put to death; and the order was instantly executed. His brother-in-law Costobares, an Idumæan, had married Salome, after Herod had put her first husband to death. This man, whom Herod had raised from an inferior rank to the government of Idumæa, had justly incurred his displeasure, by endeavouring to make himself and that province independent, and applying to Cleopatra for assistance. Herod would have put him to immediate death, had not Salome interposed; but afterwards, being willing to get rid of him, she sent him a bill of divorce; and, to justify that unlawful action to her brother, told him that she had discovered a treasonable design, which was carried on by her husband, in conjunction with Lyfimachus, Dositheus, and Antipater; and, as a proof of it, she affirmed, that he privately kept the sons of Babas (N) under his protection, contrary to his express commands; all which particulars Herod having found true, he ordered every one of them to be put to death.

Alexandra intrigues against him;

and is put to death.

Salome divorces her husband.

Yr. of Fl.
2322.
Ante Chr.
26.

Costobares, &c. put to death.

Herod, having by this time rid himself of the Asmonean race, and of their most considerable partisans, began to shew a great disregard to the Jewish religion, by abolish-

9^o Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 11.

(N) These had been great supporters of the Asmonean race, and, at the siege of Jerusalem, strenuously opposed the opening of the gates to Herod; for which that prince, upon his taking the city, had given charge to Costobares to secure them; but he had let them escape, and had excused the matter to Herod, who, finding now, that he had sent them into an asylum, and maintained them there, put him, and as many of them as he could find, to death.

ing

*Herod introduces
heathenish
games.*

*Hated for
it by the
Jews.*

*Conspired
against.*

*Renews
his horrid
cruelties.*

*Samaria
rebuilt.*

ing several of its ceremonies, and introducing some foreign customs, which were forbidden by it. He built a stately theatre in the city, and a spacious amphitheatre in its suburbs; and ordered public games to be celebrated in them every fifth year, in honour of Augustus. In order to draw the greater concourse to the games, he caused them to be proclaimed, not only in the neighbouring provinces, but in the most distant kingdoms; and promised magnificent prizes to those who should gain the victory. Besides great numbers of the most expert musicians, players, coursers, and gladiators, he caused also some of the fiercest wild beasts to be brought, and exhibited upon the stage; a circumstance which did not a little displease the zealous Jews, who thought it unlawful and inhuman to expose men to the fury of wild beasts. But what exasperated them most, were the trophies with which he had caused those sumptuous places to be adorned, and which they, mistaking for statues, thought contrary to their law; which forbids all kind of imagery, whether carved, or even painted. They therefore exclaimed, that he had profaned their city.

Ten of the boldest of the malcontents resolved at last, upon entering the theatre with daggers concealed under their cloaths, and either to stab the king, or some of his retinue; not doubting but even their perishing in the attempt would render the tyrant still more odious. They were not mistaken; for Herod being informed of their design by one of his spies, and causing the assassins to be put to a most excruciating death, the people were so exasperated against the informer, that they cut and tore him to pieces, and cast his flesh to the dogs. Herod tried in vain to discover the authors of this outrage; he ordered some women to be put to the rack, and to extort from them the names of the principal mutineers, whom he caused likewise to be hurried to death, together with their innocent families. This last act of cruelty exasperated the Jews to such a degree, that he expected nothing less than a general revolt: to prevent which, he set about fortifying Jerusalem, rebuilding Samaria (O), and gar-

(O) He adorned it with magnificent buildings, fortified it with walls and towers, and invited six thousand foreigners to come and settle there, who, finding the soil very fertile,

became very rich in a short time. He gave it the name of Sebaste, which signifies the same in Greek, as Augustus in Latin.

rifoning

rifoning several other fortresses in Judæa, in order to keep the country in awe ^P.

About the same time, which was the thirteenth year of his reign, Judæa was visited with a grievous drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging pestilence; of which great numbers daily died, for want of proper help and sustenance. Herod, whose treasury was exhausted by building so many cities and fortresses, was forced to melt down all his plate, and send it to Egypt, to procure a fresh supply of provisions, in order to stop the mouths of the people, who, as is usual in such calamities, threw all the odium upon him. The drought having likewise killed such quantities of their sheep, that they had not wool sufficient to cloathe themselves against the approaching winter, he took care also to procure a sufficient supply of it betimes; and Petronius, the Roman prefect then in Egypt, so far befriended him, as to send him a sufficient quantity of necessaries; which Herod caused to be immediately distributed among his subjects, but to the Jews preferably to any of the rest. This generosity, for the present, changed their hatred into admiration; and his praises were, for a while, the main subject of their discourse; but as he soon relapsed into his cruel and savage humour, their love was as soon turned into hatred again, which continued to his death.

As soon as the land had recovered itself from the late calamity, Herod went on with his buildings (P), particularly his stately palace near the temple of Jerusalem, in which the gold, marble, cedar, and other precious materials, seemed to outvie the workmanship. At the same time he was not unmindful to ingratiate himself with the emperor, by more substantial services than building of places to his honour; for, Gellius having been sent with an army to attempt the conquest of Arabia,

Yr. of Fl.
23²⁵.
Ante Chr.
23.

Judæa visited with
famine and
pestilence;

and mor-
tality of
cattle.

Relieved
by Herod's
generosity.

The stately
palace at
Jerusalem
built.

Herod's
gratitude
to Augustus.

^P Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 11.

(P) Amongst them, that of Cæsarea, was the most magnificent next to Sebaste. He bestowed twelve years in the finishing and adorning it. It stood on the coasts of Phœnice, and was very convenient for trade; but had, till then, a very dangerous harbour, so that no ships could be safe in it, when the wind was at south-west. Herod remedied this inconvenience, at an immense labour and charge, and made it one of the most convenient havens on that coast. He beautified also the place with stately buildings (1).

(1) Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 13.

Herod

Herod failed not to send him very considerable succours, and, amongst the rest, five hundred of the stoutest of his guards: and, though that enterprize proved unsuccessful to the Romans, in a country where the air, water, and aliments, were as hostile to them as the temper of the people^q, yet Herod's assistance proved so useful and seasonable, that Cæsar could not avoid being highly pleased with his attachment^r.

*Marries a
second Ma-
riamne.*

This year also he married another Mariamne, who was the daughter of a Jewish priest of Alexandria, named Simon, the son of Boethus, a woman of extraordinary beauty. To raise her father up to a condition fit for such an alliance, he placed him upon the pontifical chair, after having dispossessed Jesus, the son of Phabæus, of that dignity. Soon after those nuptials, he built the magnificent palace of Herodion, on the place where he had formerly defeated the Antigonians. The situation of it was so inviting (Q), that the Jews, and other people, gladly came and built round it; so that from a palace it soon became a considerable city^s.

*Palace of
Herodion
built.*

By this time Herod seemed to be at the height of all his wishes: his being in such high esteem with Augustus, made him either loved or feared by his subjects and neighbours; and therefore, that he might cultivate that prince's favour still more, he sent his two favourite sons, whom he had by Mariamne, and who were grown up by this time, to be educated under his eye. Pollio, his intimate friend, was ordered to provide a stately house at Rome; but the emperor took that care off his hands, and assigned them apartments in his own palace: and so well pleased was he with the confidence which their father put in him, that he gave him full power to name which of them he pleased to be his successor. He likewise added several provinces to his kingdom^t.

*Herod sends
his two sons
to Rome.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2327.
Ante-Chr.
21.*

*Augustus's
great fa-
vours to
him.*

Augustus not only lent a deaf ear to Zenodorus (R), and others who accused him of oppression, tyranny, and other

^q De hoc Bell. vide Strab. lib. xvi. ^r Antiq. ubi supra, & Bell. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 16. ^s Plin. lib. v. cap. 14. ^t Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 13.

(Q) This stately building stood on a pleasant hill, about seven miles from Jerusalem; and had the prospect, as well as command, of the country round about.

(R) Zenodorus was tetrarch of a small toparchy, which he governed so ill that it was taken from him and subjected to Herod. Zenodorus of consequence became the inveterate enemy

other crimes; but he appointed him his procurator in Syria, and forbad his governor there to undertake any thing without his knowledge and advice. Herod took this favourable opportunity to obtain a tetrarchy for his brother Pheroras, that he might live according to his birth, and without depending upon his successor's favour after his death. In acknowledgement for all these favours, Herod, having accompanied the emperor to the sea-port, built a sumptuous temple in honour of him, all of fine white marble, near the Panium, or place whence the Jordan has its origin. The vast number of edifices he built, and adorned with carvings, and other imagery, which the Jews looked upon as destructive of religion and good manners, so exasperated them against him, that he was forced to remit them a third part of their yearly tribute. His pretence indeed was, that the last grievous dearth, which had greatly impoverished the land, required this indulgence; but, it was really extorted from him by the fear of those murmurs and private meetings of the people, which were now more frequent than ever. However, to let them see, that he was neither insensible of their mutinous cabals, nor afraid to put a stop to them, he issued out an edict, expressly forbidding all public and private assemblies, whether on account of feasts, or any other pretence, under the severest penalties. But, as he not only had his spies every-where, but sometimes mixed himself among them in disguise, he quickly found all these precautions were likely to prove to little purpose to keep the people in obedience. He therefore bethought himself of exacting an oath of fidelity; but this new imposition was so strenuously refused by Pollio, or Hillel, and Shammai, at the head of the whole sect of Essenians, and by all the chiefs of the Pharisees, that he was forced to set it aside, without venturing to shew any resentment against those that had opposed him in it, for fear of exasperating the whole nation^u.

Herod obtains a tetrarchy for his brother.

Forced to scath the Jews.

Prohibits all assemblies

His exaction of an oath opposed, and set aside.

He fell, soon after, upon a much better expedient to quiet them, and, at the same time, to satisfy his invincible

^u Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 13.

enemy of Herod, against whom he trumped up divers accusations, and prevailed upon others to reinforce his complaints: but when they repaired to Antioch, in order to support their allegations, they perceived such marks of the emperor's partiality to Herod, that, before the trial, they were driven to despair, and made away with themselves. Zenodorus took away his own life by a strong dose of poison.

desire

*Proposes
rebuilding
the temple.*

*His speech
to the as-
sembly;*

Yr. of Fl.
2328.
Ante Chr.
20.

*and pro-
mise to
them.*

*The build-
ing finished
with won-
drous speed
and mag-
nificence.*

Yr. of Fl.
2331.
Ante Chr.
17.

*Its struc-
ture de-
scribed.*

desire of eternizing his memory, by the number and magnificence of his buildings. The great attachment which they had for their temple, made him conceive the hopes, that his rebuilding it in a more stately manner, would not fail to recommend him, not only to the present Jews, but also to posterity. The difficulty was, to convince them of his being both willing and able to rear such a costly edifice; for this purpose he harangued them in a set speech, wherein, with his usual eloquence, he failed not to display his zeal for the glory of God, and for promoting the true religion. He reminded them how vastly inferior that sacred place now was, to that which had been formerly built by Solomon. He said, now that God was pleased, not only to raise him to the Jewish throne, but to bless him with peace and affluence, and with the friendship of the Romans, he thought himself bound to make some singular acknowledgement to him for all those blessings; and hoped, that the rebuilding of his temple, in the manner he proposed, could not but be acceptable both to him and them: he concluded with assuring them that he would not move a stone from the old edifice, till he had prepared all the materials for the new. As soon as he had gained their consent (S), he set immediately ten thousand artificers to work, under the direction of a thousand priests, the best skilled in carving and masonry. One thousand carts were likewise employed in fetching the materials; and, in a word, such a number of hands was engaged, and such expedition used, that he got every thing ready within the space of two years; at the expiration of which the old edifice was pulled down, and the new temple reared with such dispatch, that the holy place was finished in eighteen months^x. The remainder took up a little above eight years; by which time it was, if not wholly finished, yet made fit for divine service, according to the king's first design. The temple, properly so called, or holy place, was but sixty cubits high, and as many in breadth; but in the front he added two wings, projecting twenty cubits more on each side; which made a front of one hundred and twenty cubits in length, and as many in height, with a gate seventy cubits high, and twenty in

^x Antiq. lib. xv. cap. ult.

(S) We must not, however, the same rebuilt, enlarged, and look upon this building as adorned, upon the old foundation, and with the same materials, as far as they could go. breadth,

breadth, but open, and without any doors *γ*. The stones were white marble, twenty-five cubits in length, twelve in height, and nine in breadth, all wrought and polished with exquisite beauty; the whole resembling a stately palace, whose middle being considerably raised above the extremities of each face, made it afford a beautiful vista, at a great distance, to those that came to that metropolis (T). Instead of doors, the gates closed with very costly veils, enriched with variety of flowering of gold, silver, purple, and every thing that was rich and curious; and on each side of the gates were planted two stately columns, from whose cornices hung golden festoons, and vines, with their clusters of grapes, and leaves, curiously wrought. As for the galleries that surrounded this sacred place, the porticos, towers, courts, and other embellishments of it, we do not design to swell this section with them, but refer our readers for a fuller account to Josephus, the Talmud, and such other writers as have been at the pains of compiling their several descriptions from them, viz. L'Empereur, Grotius, Le Clerc, Lamy, Prideaux, Whiston, Calmet, &c.

Whilst the work of the temple was carrying on with such surprising expedition, as raised the admiration of the Jews, Herod made a voyage to Rome, to pay his compliments to the emperor, and a paternal visit to his two sons. Augustus received him with all the marks of friendship, and entertained him in the most sumptuous manner. The Jewish monarch could not but be highly pleased to behold his sons so greatly improved under the care of that emperor. He acknowledged the favour in terms, and by presents answerable to the high sense he had of the obligation; and, after a short stay, took the two princes back with him into Judæa. There they were received with the loudest acclamations of the people, who could not forbear admiring their majestic port and behaviour; which, joined to the excellent education they had received in Italy, had rendered them, in all respects, truly accomplished princes. He married them soon after to suitable

Yr. of Fl.
2332.
Ante Chr.
16.

*Herod goes
to Rome.*

*Brings
back his
two sons.*

*Marries
them.*

γ Bell. Judiac. lib. vi. cap. 6.

(T) This superstructure, reduced to the height of one hundred. A project was set on foot for raising it again to its former height in Nero's time; but, upon some account or other, it was set aside.

matches; Alexander to Glaphyra the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and Aristobulus to Berenice the daughter of his sister Salome ².

Salome grows jealous of them.

Her hellish cabals against them.

Yr. of Fl.
^{2333.}
Ante Chr.
15.

Agrippa's splendid reception in Judæa. Herod returns to Jerusalem.

Yr. of Fl.
^{2334.}
Ante Chr.
14.

Salome afraid of his two sons.

But the admiration and love which the people expressed for those two excellent princes, failed not to raise the envy and jealousy of the restless Salome, and of those of her accomplices, who had forwarded the death of Mariamne, as they had reason more than enough to fear their avenging that princess's death. To prevent so just and sad a catastrophe, they had recourse to their vile artifices, which had succeeded so well against that innocent princess. They began with spreading reports abroad, that the two young princes could not endure their father, whom they looked upon as still reeking with the blood of their mother; not doubting but, when the rumour reached that jealous monarch's ears, it would inevitably render them obnoxious to him, and hasten their ruin. In the mean time Agrippa being arrived in Asia Proper, Herod went to invite him into Judæa; where having shewed him his new-built cities of Sebaste, Alexandrion, Cæsarea, &c. he conducted him to Jerusalem ³. The people met them, at some distance from that metropolis, in their festival dress, and attended them, with loud acclamations, into the city, where Agrippa's reception was suitable to the magnificence of his host (U). In the succeeding spring, Herod joined Agrippa with his fleet at Lesbos, and they proceeded together against the Bosphorans. On his return to Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and acquainted them with the success of his arms, and those of Agrippa, in that expedition. He likewise remitted the nation a fourth part of their tribute; which made some satisfaction for the late murmurings, occasioned by a law he had enacted against robbers, decreeing that every convict should be sold as a slave into foreign countries; so that their slavery was rendered perpetual, contrary to the law of Moses. But, whilst things went thus smoothly on in his kingdom, his family was plagued with intestine jars, occasioned by the hatred which Salome bore to his two worthy sons. The truth is, they spoke both of her, and of her brother Pheroras, in such terms, as raised a dread of something worse from them. They even ventured to complain sometimes of the injustice done their mother, and, in their behaviour, shewed

² Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 2.

³ Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 2. & 3. Vide & Philo. Legat. ad Cai. p. 1033.

(U) Agrippa sacrificed a whole hecatomb at the temple.

so little tenderness towards their father, that Salome found it an easy matter to alienate his affection from them. To suppress, in some measure, the presumption of the two brothers, Herod caused Antipater, another of his sons (X), whom he had till then educated in a private manner, to be brought to court, where he heaped such favours on him, as only rendered him more obnoxious to them, and them more indiscreet in their speeches against their father, all which were still repeated to him, and very often aggravated; whilst Antipater, wholly employed to cultivate a good understanding with him, was careful never to let a word escape him to the prejudice of his two brothers; though he did not fail to employ more effectual means for their destruction.

Herod tries to suppress their rashness. His favour to his son Antipater.

Among many other marks of Herod's affection to this favourite son, he recalled his mother, whom he had repudiated to marry Mariamne; and obtained of Agrippa the favour of his accompanying him to Rome, and of his being presented to the emperor; so that, by this time, every one began to look upon him as his father's successor. Antipater set out accordingly; but, to prevent his two rivals regaining their father's favour during his absence, he ceased not, both by his letters and his agents, to turn his heart against them; till at length Herod began to look upon them as enemies, and resolved to take them with him to Rome, and to try them at Cæsar's tribunal^b. Augustus being at Aquileia, Herod went thither, accused his two sons of high-treason, and demanded justice against them in such vehement terms as drew floods of tears from both. But Alexander pleaded his own and his brother's cause with such becoming modesty, as easily convinced both the emperor, and the audience, of their innocence. Augustus, in a genteel manner, reproved Herod for his too rash belief, and reconciled them together; but it was not likely this peace should be long-lived. The father was too jealous, his sons were too indiscreet, and their enemies too cunning and indefatigable, not to give cause for fresh dissensions. Herod himself laid the foundation for a new and dangerous rupture, by a speech which he made to the Jewish assembly, upon his return with his sons to Jerusalem. Having acquainted them with his success at Rome, he declared to them, that it was indeed his inten-

Yr. of Fl.
2335.
Ante Chr.
13.

Herod accuses his two sons of high-treason before Augustus. Returns to Jerusalem.

^b Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 6, & 7.

(X) This last son he had by calls Doris, and the fourth another wife, whom Josephus book of Maccabees Dosithea.

tion, that his sons should reign after him, and not till then; Antipater first, and then Alexander, and lastly Aristobulus; but that, whilst he lived, he did not think fit to part with the reins of government. This declaration was indeed casting a bone of discord among his sons, and so it proved in the sequel^e.

Yr. of Fl.
2338.
Ante Chr.
10.

*Cæsarea
finished.*

By this time the city of Cæsarea being finished, Herod caused the dedication of it to be performed with the greatest pomp and splendor, and appointed games to be performed in it with the utmost solemnity every fifth year. Livia, the emperor's wife, contributed towards the expence of those sports five hundred talents out of her own coffer; and Herod entertained his guests there, who were very considerable, both in quality and number, with surprising magnificence^d; insomuch that Augustus said of him, that his soul was too great for his kingdom; and that he deserved to have been king of Syria and Egypt.

*Herod dis-
turbed
with fresh
jars.*

Herod might have viewed, with no small pleasure, both himself and the whole Jewish nation, respected and protected by the emperor and the senate on one hand, and by his friend Agrippa on the other; but his domestic jars, which daily increased by the machinations of his brother and sister, and the emptiness of his coffers, which he had exhausted by his profuseness in buildings and feasts, made him too wretched to taste any pleasure in other things. To remove these two corroding sores, he betook himself to remedies more desperate than the disease. To supply his present necessities, he cast his eyes on the tombs of David and Solomon, out of which he had heard, or pretended to have heard, that Hyrcan had formerly drawn some large sums; and those places, he thought, would prove a lasting fund for his extravagant expences. Animated by this hope, he executed his design with the utmost privacy; and went to the place in the night, accompanied only with some few confidants, where, instead of the coined gold and silver he expected, he found only a quantity of rich vessels, curiously wrought, which he caused to be carried off. Not content with these, he ventured farther, to search into the very coffins of the dead monarchs; but some sudden damp, or as Josephus calls it, a miraculous flame, which consumed two of his guards, having scared him and his retinue, put a stop to his farther search. Herod, to make some satisfaction for his sa-

*Herod
plunders
David's
sepulchre.*

Yr. of Fl.
2339.
Ante Chr.
9.

*Frighted
from pur-
suing it.*

^a Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 8.

^f Ibid. cap. 9, & seq.

crilege,

crilege, caused a stately monument of white marble to be erected at the entrance of the sepulchre^c.

But his cruelty to his sons, and their friends, rendered him still more abhorred. His vile sister had raised his jealousy against them to such a height, that he acted more like a furious tyrant, than a father or king, filling the city with blood, and turning his own palace into a slaughter-house. Alexander had been accused to him of having corrupted, by dint of presents and promises, two of his favourite confidants, namely, his high-steward and cup-bearer. Herod ordered them immediately to be put to the rack; whereupon they confessed their having indeed received some presents from that prince; but denied his having betrayed to them any ill design against the king. This confession not satisfying his jealousy, they were tortured afresh, till he had extorted enough from them to justify his sending his son to prison, and loading him with irons. Here the young prince grown desperate, sent his father four different confessions, in which he owned all, and more than the torture had extorted from the other two, and at the same time accused Salome and Pheroras, with two of the king's prime ministers and favourites, of being all alike concerned in the plot. He declared in particular, that Salome had even ventured to come to him in the dead of night, and lying down by him, had used many cogent arguments to convince him, that they must expect neither peace nor happiness, till they had rid themselves of the tyrant^f.

His cruelty to his sons,

and to their friends.

Alexander's desperate confession.

This accusation, which was only calculated to set all on fire, had the desired effect; and the jealous king, not knowing whom to trust, flew into the greatest excesses of cruelty. There was now nothing to be heard of but racks, imprisonments, and dreadful executions abroad, whilst the tyrant was so tormented with fears at home, that he often started out of bed, as if pursued by his sons and their accomplices. Thus it was hourly expected when these fits of rage would have issued in frenzy, or hastened his son's execution; when Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the father of Glaphyra, came, in a lucky minute, and, by his interposition, settled a calm again, at least for a time. Pheroras, hearing of this reconciliation, found no better expedient to obtain Herod's pardon, than by coming in a mourning dress, and, at his feet, confessing himself the author of all the slanders raised

Raises more bloody scenes.

^c Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 17.

^f Ibid. cap. 12.

Yr. of Fl.
2340.
Ante Chr.
8.

*Herod re-
conciled to
his sons.*

*Banditti
infest Ju-
dæa.*

*The temple
dedicated.*

*Banditti
defeated.*

*Herod out-
of favour
with Au-
gustus.*

against the two princes. Herod, thus reconciled to his sons, set out with them for Rome, to acquaint the emperor with the whole affair, after having accompanied Archelaus as far as Antioch in his way homewards². He was indeed under an obligation to clear his son at the Roman court, because he had, after their second rupture, exhibited several grievous complaints against him to the emperor.

During his journey to Rome, the bands of robbers, whom he had driven out of Trachonitis, having taken shelter in Arabia Petræa, under the protection of Obodas the king of that country (Y), had made such terrible inroads into Judæa, that Herod, on his return, put all their relations and friends to death; an execution which made them more desperate than ever. By this time, the temple being finished, Herod caused the dedication of it to be performed with his usual magnificence, and in the following spring set about suppressing the Trachonitish robbers. He began with a law-suit against Syllæus for sixty talents which he had lent him; and having gained his cause before the prefects of Syria, Saturnius and Volumnius, Syllæus, instead of paying the money, stole away to Rome. Herod having got leave of those two governors to right himself by arms, marched into Arabia, and there defeated the robbers, demolished their castle, and returned to Jerusalem, without taking any further revenge. But this expedition had like to have cost him dear, through the treachery of Syllæus, who preferred a complaint to the emperor, and aggravated the wrongs done to the Arabians to such a degree, that Augustus sent him a very sharp reproof, and would have wholly cast him off, had not he been better informed in the sequel. Herod sent two embassies to that prince, but neither of them had been able

² Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 13.

(Y) This prince had a favourite minister named Syllæus, who had formerly made his addresses to Salome; but Herod refusing to give her to him, unless he turned Jew, and Syllæus not daring to consent to it, she had been given to Alexas, one of Herod's confidants. Hence arose a mutual

hatred between them, which Syllæus improved, by persuading Obodas to protect those banditti, who accordingly assigned them the fortress of Repta for a place of retreat, from which they sallied out and committed innumerable outrages and cruelties, both in Palestine and Cœlesyria (1).

(1) Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. 11. & 13.

to get an audience. At length he employed Nicolas Damascen, who finding how prejudiced the emperor was against his master, contrived a happy expedient to explode all the accusations of Syllæus, by means of the ambassadors of the Nabathean Arabs, without discovering his errand, till they had cleared the way for his admittance (Z). Augustus being now satisfied of Herod's innocence, and of his own too great credulity, was thinking to have taken the Nabathean kingdom from Aretas, and to have made him a present of it; but while he was deliberating about it, fresh complaints came to him from that unhappy monarch against his sons, which diverted the emperor from pursuing his design.

Reconciled to him.

Salome and Pheroras had again alarmed Herod with new plots and assassinations intended against him by his sons; and though, upon enquiry, nothing could be proved against them, but a design of retiring into some other country, where they might peaceably outlive their father's tyranny; yet the jealous king took all the rest for granted upon this single evidence, and sent two of his ministers to Rome, with orders, that, if they found the emperor reconciled to him, they should deliver his letter, and obtain justice against the two young princes. Augustus having read the letter, and finding Herod desperately bent upon the ruin of his unfortunate sons, sent immediately orders to have them tried at Berytus, before the governors of Syria, and other neighbouring provinces, and in particular before Archelaus; and, if they were found guilty,

Prefers new complaints against his sons. Obtains Augustus's consent to have them tried.

(Z) These were come to demand justice against Syllæus, who had by that time caused Obodas to be poisoned, and was soliciting the emperor for that kingdom; but the Nabatheans having set up a king of their own, sent this embassy to Rome, to have him confirmed there, and the assassin punished.

Damascen, therefore, having privately gained them, directed them how to manage their audience in such a manner, as to clear Herod of all

all that was laid to his charge, without betraying any other design than that of accusing Syllæus. The plan succeeded to his wish, and Damascen putting himself at the head of their embassy, managed his accusation with such address, backing it with the suffrages of his Nabathean colleagues, that Syllæus, who was then present, could not disprove one single point; but was condemned to pay Herod's debt, and then to lose his head (2).

(2) Conf. Antiq. ubi supra, cap. xiii. & lib. xvii. cap. 4, Strab. cap. xvi.

he gave their father leave to punish them as he should think fit. Herod convened them all, except the Cappadocian king, whom he suspected of too great partiality to his sons; and having left these two unfortunate princes under a strong guard at Platone, a small town of the Sidonians, he pleaded his own cause before an assembly of above five hundred persons; but with such violence as rather raised their indignation than pity. He spared for neither evidence nor arguments to have them condemned to die; and concluded with telling them, that being a king, he might have done it by his own authority, according to the laws of Judæa; but that he rather chose to have them tried before such an assembly, to avoid the imputation of injustice or cruelty. After a full hearing Saturnius, who had been formerly consul, voted that they should be punished indeed, but not with death, and was seconded by his three sons, who were then his lieutenants; but they were over-ruled by Volumnius, who condemned them to death, and the rest of the judges acquiesced in his opinion: only they left it to Herod to execute the sentence when and how he should think fit.

Pleads his own cause against them.

Gets them condemned.

Damascen pleads for them.

Tyro warns him against his son Antipater.

The two princes put to death.

Damascen, on his return from Rome, tried in vain to dissuade him from too rashly depriving himself of two such sons, and leaving himself in his old age to the mercy of the ambitious Antipater. Tyro, another old experienced foldier, came likewise, and freely told him the danger he was in from that young prince, who, he assured him, entertained some treasonable designs against him, whilst the chiefs of the Jewish nation, to whom he was grown odious on that account, highly pitied his two condemned sons, as less guilty than that brother. Herod insisted on his naming those chiefs; and they were immediately imprisoned. Tyro himself was, by the subtlety of Salome, accused by Herod's barber of having hired him to cut his throat. Herod had recourse to the rack, which was administered to the accuser, and to Tyro and his son, a youth of about the age of Alexander; and the latter, to save his father from the torture, confessed, that himself alone, without his father's privity, had resolved to kill him, and to save Alexander. Scarce any body believed his confession but Herod, who thereupon caused his two sons to be conveyed to Sebaste, and there strangled, or, as the fourth book of the Maccabees has it, hanged on a post or gallows. Their bodies were afterwards buried at Alexandrion, among their Asmonean ancestors^b.

^b Antiq. ubi supra, cap. xvii. & lib. vii. cap. 9. 4 Macc. cap. ult. Antipater

Antipater having now no rival left but his father and Pheroras; the latter, though highly obliged to his brother, having disagreed with him, they both entered into a plot to take him off as soon as possible. Herod had about this time sent Glaphyra, Alexander's widow, back into Cappadocia, and returned her dowry out of his own coffers. There were still two sons left of hers, and two which Aristobulus had by Berenice, whom the king had caused to be carefully educated. He had likewise expressed an uncommon concern for them, as well as a remorse for the untimely death of their father; and as he found himself upon the decline, he was contriving how to have those young princes so advantageously matched, that he might see them safely and happily settled before he died. But Antipater, who looked upon them in another view, found means to break all his measures, and to persuade him to change the disposition of his family, contrary to his first design¹. It will not be amiss here to give an account of that monarch's wives, and of their issue, in order to understand the sequel of this history. The reader will find both in the note (A).

Antipater and Pheroras plot against him.

Yr. of Fl.
2342.
Ante Chr.
5.

In

¹ Antiq. lib. xvii. cap 2. & 3.

(A) Herod had nine wives, the first of whom, named Doris, was the mother of Antipater. The second was Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, by whom he had a son named Herod, called also Philip, who had married Herodias, on whose account the Baptist was afterwards beheaded. The third was his brother's daughter. The fourth his first cousin. He had no children by these two last.

The fifth was called Martac, a Samaritan, by whom he had Archelaus and Antipas; the former succeeded him in the half of the kingdom under the name of Tetrarch, and the latter, called also Philip, married Salome, the dancing daughter of Herodias above-mentioned.

The sixth, named Cleopatra, was a native of Jerusalem, by whom he had two sons, Herod, called also Antipas, and Philip. Herod having married Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, during his life, was reproved for it by John the Baptist, which was the cause of his being put to death.

Pallas was his seventh wife, by whom he had a son, named Phasaël. The eighth was Phædra, by whom he had only one daughter, named Roxana; and by the last, called Elpis, he had another daughter called Salome.

As to his grandsons, by his beloved Mariamne, mother of Alexander and Aristobulus, lately put to death, they make likewise a considerable figure in history, and especially those of the latter in the gospel, and deserve here a particular mention.

Aristobulus

New troubles in Judæa.

In the mean time another incident rendered Herod more odious to the Jews, and more irreconcilable to his brother. An edict, lately issued out, commanding the Jewish nation to swear allegiance to Augustus, and to the king, had been strenuously opposed by the Pharisees to the number of seven thousand, as contrary to the Mosaic law^{*}; for which contumacy Herod had condemned them to a severe fine, which had been paid by Pheroras's new wife. Pheroras was glad to take this opportunity of retiring into his tetrarchy, and took an oath never to return to court against whilst Herod lived; his being at that distance from the metropolis, was indeed a likely expedient to prevent his being suspected of having a hand in what he was then hatching against the king's life; and for the same reason Antipater procured himself to be sent for to Rome, to attend upon Augustus. Thus had these two politic persons contrived to screen themselves from discovery, whilst their instruments were at work to bring about their treacherous design; but an accident soon after brought their whole treason to light¹.

Herod falls sick.

Herod being sick, and still retaining a great love for his brother, had sent for him to communicate some private orders. Pheroras had refused to come, on pretence that he dared not violate his oath. He was soon after taken ill; but Herod recovered, and was so far from resenting his late refusal, that he paid him an affectionate visit, without staying for an invitation. Pheroras dying two days after, Herod caused him to be magnificently buried at Jerusalem. But his death proved the beginning of Antipater's disgrace: for two of the deceased's freed-men

Goes to visit his brother.

^{*} Vid. Deut. xvii. 15.

¹ Joseph. ubi supra.

Aristobulus left two sons, and a daughter whom he had by Berenice his wife, namely, Agrippa, Herod, and Herodias. Agrippa, at first put into prison by Tiberius, and afterwards made king of Judæa by Caligula (3), was he who put James, the brother of John, to death, imprisoned Peter, and was smitten with death at Cæsarea (4). Herod was made

king of Chalcis, and is only known in St. Luke for his marriage with the daughter of Herodias.

As for Agrippa, he left a son of the same name, before whom, and his sister Berenice, St. Paul was admitted to plead his cause at Cæsarea; and another daughter, named Drusilla, married to Felix governor of Judæa.

(3) Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 8. ad fin.

(4) Acts xii. 1, & seq.

demande

demanding justice against his wife, whom they accused of having dispatched Pheroras with poison, given him that evening on which he was taken ill. Herod had recourse to his old way of extorting the truth by the rack; in particular, the women of Pheroras's family suffered it at first with a surprising constancy; but one of them was at length forced, by the excess of the torture, to cry out, that she prayed to God that Doris, Antipater's mother, might bear her share of the torments, which she had been the cause of. At these words, Herod having caused the torture to be increased, and also applied to one Antipater, an officer under his treacherous son, the whole plot was unravelled. Upon comparing their several depositions, and the intelligence which Salome had already given to the king, it was found, that the poison, of which Pheroras died, had been procured from Alexandria by a friend of Antipater, from whom it was conveyed by Antipater's mother to Pheroras, in order to be given to the king upon the first opportunity. All these particulars were acknowledged by Pheroras' wife, who added, that she would fetch it to him; and, instead of doing so, flung herself down from a high gallery: but her fall not proving mortal, she, upon Herod's promise of a general pardon, deposed further, that her husband being stung with remorse at his receiving this last visit from him, had ordered her to fetch the poison, and burn it before his face; that she had burned it all, except a small dose which she had reserved for herself, in case of necessity. The box, and the rest of the poison being produced, and acknowledged by other witnesses, convinced Herod of his son's perfidy, not only to himself, but to the two sons of his favourite Mariamne. His other wife of that name was likewise accused of being in the same plot; and though nothing was proved against her, yet she was banished, her son Herod disinherited, and her father deposed from the high-priesthood (B). Doris was likewise

*Antipater's
plot against
him dis-
covered,*

*Pheroras's
wife's con-
fession.*

(B) Simon was succeeded in that dignity by one Matthias, the son of Theophilus, a native of Jerusalem. But this pontiff having on the following expiation-eve contracted some pollution, which incapacitated him from officiating on that grand solemnity, a near relation of his named Joseph, the son of Ellemus, was substituted in his room. Matthias enjoyed his dignity but one year, after which he was deposed for being privy to an insurrection raised at Jerusalem, and succeeded by Joazar, his brother-in-law (5).

stript of all her costly ornaments, which amounted to a large sum, and banished the court ^m.

Yr. of El.

^{2342.}
Ante Chr.

6.

John the Baptist born. His father's vision.

About this time the angel Gabriel was sent to Zachary, a pious and upright priest of the course of Abiah, whilst he stood offering the sacred incense in the temple, according to the priestly office ⁿ, to foretel the birth of a son, by his wife Elizabeth, who should be a Nazarite, and the forerunner and great harbinger of the world's Redeemer ^o. The good old priest, conscious of his and his spouse's old age and infirmities, could not forbear desiring to have his faith confirmed by some further miraculous token; and the angel granted his request, in such a manner as might at once be a reproof to his diffidence, and a confirmation of the message he had delivered. Zecharias was that instant struck dumb, and continued without the use of speech till the promised child was actually born.

Struck dumb.

The angel sent to the Virgin.

Six months after this vision, the same heavenly messenger was sent to an obscure young virgin, named Mary, who dwelt at Nazareth, under the guardianship of her espoused husband Joseph, both of them of the house and lineage of David ^p, with the glad tidings, that she was chosen by the special favour of Heaven, to be the happy mother of the promised Saviour of the world, to whom she should, therefore, give the significant name of Jesus, or Saviour, according to the prophecies long since delivered. Those that relate to this particular head, are as follow: "Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emanuel, &c. ^q"—"Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace ^r (C);" with some others of the same nature,

^m Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 4, 5, & 6.

ⁿ Exod. xxx. 7, 8.

^o Luke i. 5, & seq.

^p Matth. i. 23. Luke i. 26, & seq. iii.

23, & seq.

^q Isaiah vii. 14.

^r Ibid. ix. 6.

(C) Our readers may, perhaps, be willing to know what answer or evasion the Jews make use of against such pregnant prophecies; and it will not be amiss here to give them a specimen out of one of their subtlest and boldest champi-

ons (6), by which he may guess at the rest.

First then, to the former of these prophecies, where the miraculous child is called Jesus or Saviour, because he was to save his people from their sins, they in general, and this in

(6) Augst. Libr. Nitzabon, Vide Munster in loc. & not. in Verf. Hebr. Evang. S. Matth. cap. i.

particular

ture, which are not quite so manifest (D). But the astonished Virgin was so far from calling to mind those prophecies, that she looked on her virginity as an obstacle to the accomplishment of the angel's declaration, till assured at length by him of the miraculous conception of the divine child, with a humble confidence, she wholly submitted

particular, answer to this effect: Who has told you that the sin of Adam has intailed any guilt on his posterity? Was not that of his son Cain, who murdered his brother, a thousand times greater than the biting of an apple? And yet no such thing is said of his posterity being tainted with it. Besides, where is the least mention made, that the Messiah was to save his people from their sins? And if there was, how did Jesus save us from them, when you own he made us commit one infinitely heavier in crucifying him? In vain do you tell us of a Redeemer of souls: we expect none but a redeemer of bodies, a Messiah that shall deliver us from slavery, and make us again a flourishing victorious nation and kingdom.

To the second prophecy, the sarcastic author, above quoted, gives the following answer, in a kind of triumphing tone: "We will join issue with you, though, according to your interpretation, it should have been written, "his names" (instead of his name, shall be called); but, waving that, how can his (Jesus's) name be called Wonderful, Counsellor? Did not Judas rather defeat his counsel, when he betrayed him unknown to him? He could not be the Gibbor, or

Mighty One, seeing he was put to death: he could not be the Abbi had, the *Everlasting Father*, or *Father of Eternity*, because he was cut off in the midst of his days. Lastly, he could not be called the Prince of Peace, because he enjoyed none himself, neither have wars ever ceased since his time; yea, himself says, that he did not come to bring peace, but war, upon earth."

Others endeavour to elude the force of the prophecy, by pretending that the impersonal *vajicra*, *he shall call*, refers to God; and, consequently, that all those titles there mentioned relate to him, and not to the child there spoken of. But this evasion is so ungrammatical, and contrary to the plain import, in a vast number of parallel places, that others of them have disowned it.

(D) Of this kind is that of Jeremiah "The Lord will create a new thing upon the earth: a female (or a woman) shall encompass a man (7);" which the context plainly shews to allude to the days of the Messiah, and, most probably, from the natural sense of the words, to the miraculous pregnancy of this virgin. However, the Jews not only take them in a very different sense, but exclaim against us for urging this text to them.

(7) Jerem. xxxi. 22.

herself to the will of Heaven. The angel having, at the same time, acquainted her with the pregnancy of her cousin Elizabeth, in her old age, she went into the mountainous country to congratulate her and her husband upon this event^a. Elizabeth, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, when she embraced Mary, felt her child leap in her womb; from which circumstance she began to conceive a high notion of her visitor, which she expressed in terms of the deepest respect and gratitude. Mary, on her part, being filled with rapturous joy at what she had heard, testified her humble sense for all the divine favours in a canticle of praise; and, after three months abode, returned to her homely habitation at Nazareth. Elizabeth, being delivered of the promised son, gave him the name of John, as his father had been commanded by the angel; and Zecharias, having testified his consent to it in writing, found his tongue immediately loosed, and his heart filled with the Holy Ghost; which broke out into a prophetic hymn, that inspired the wondering bystanders with singular hopes concerning this new-born child^c.

*Christ the
Saviour of
the world
born.*

The Virgin Mary now began to give such signs of pregnancy, as made her aged spouse, conceive some sinister suspicion of her conduct. He was contriving some means to give her a private divorce, without exposing her to the rigour of the law; when he was apprised by an angel, that her conception was altogether miraculous; and that he ought to take her and the child under his patronage, since that miraculous Son was appointed by God to be the Saviour of his people. Joseph immediately obeyed, and took her to his home, but lived in perfect continence with her till the time of her delivery^d. Meanwhile Bethlehem, the city of David, being the place pointed at by the prophet for the birth of the Messiah^e, the divine wisdom so ordered it, that the decree of Augustus, for taking a new survey of the Roman empire, and the number and estimate of all persons and estates, should reach Judæa about this time; which obliged the pregnant Virgin and her husband to repair thither, to be inrolled with all those that were of the house and lineage of David. The great concourse of people coming to that place, laid this poor little family under the necessity of lodging in a stable. Here the Virgin brought forth her son, and laid him in a manger. But

*Augustus's
decree.*

*Christ born
in a stable.*

^a Luke i. 40, & seq.
i. 18, & seq.

^c Luke i. 27, ad fin.
^e Mic. v. 2.

^d Matt.

this humble rising of the Sun of righteousness did soon break out into its peculiar lustre; an angel, at the head of a heavenly host, proclaimed his wondrous birth to the shepherds, singing aloud, "Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men!"

Christ's birth proclaimed by angels.

The child's parents, according to the Mosaic law, circumcised him on the eighth day, and gave him the name of Jesus, as they had been directed by the angel² (E).

The most signal manifestation of this new-born Saviour, was the arrival of the magi, or wise men, from the East (F), at that metropolis, under the guidance of a miraculous star (G), which ceased not to move before them, till it had brought them to the place and person they were in search of. However, as they looked upon him as the king of the Jews, they first repaired to the metropolis, where he was most likely to be either born, or heard of. Upon their first enquiry after him, Herod and the whole city were moved; and the grand sanhedrim, being consulted about the place of his birth, directed them to Bethlehem, the city mentioned by the prophet. Whatever hopes the rest of the Jews might conceive from this phenomenon, and the tidings of the new-born Messiah, Herod, who thought of nothing but an earthly kingdom, began to look upon that wonderful child as a dangerous rival, and resolved from that instant to destroy him. To this end he caused the magi to be privately brought to

Wise men come from the East.

Herod's fear and cruelty.

¹ Luke ii. 8, ad 12.

² Ibid. ver. 21. Matt. i. 21.

(E) This wonderful birth of the Saviour of the world happened, according to the computation of Usher, in the four thousandth year of the world; and exactly falls in with an old tradition of the Jews, that the world should last two thousand years before the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah, according to the six days of the Mosaic creation; after which was to follow the seventh, or millennium.

(F) It would, doubtless, prove an enquiry worth making, could we come at any tolerable certainty concerning these

wise men, who they were; what part of the world they came from; what time of the year they arrived at Jerusalem; how many they were; and many more such questions, which have been started to little purpose, and to which no satisfactory light can be given.

(G) We have a great variety of conjectures, concerning this wonderful star, according as men are inclined, either to lessen or multiply miracles. But whether it was a star, comet, meteor, or other supernatural appearance, the learned have not yet determined.

him;

*Wise men
offer their
gifts to
Christ.*

*His parents
present him
in the tem-
ple.*

*Simeon's
ecstatic
prophecy.*

him; and having carefully sifted them, concerning the time of the star's appearance, and other circumstances, which might serve his bloody design, he dismissed them with these words: "Go and search diligently for the child; and when you have found him, bring me word, that I may go likewise and pay my homage to him." They set out accordingly, and were not a little overjoyed, when, upon leaving Jerusalem, they beheld the same star still going before them, till it stood and shot its rays perpendicularly upon the house where the child and his parents were. Here they approached the divine Babe with suitable reverence; and, having opened their treasures, offered him presents of gold, frankincense, and myrrh; and, being warned not to go back to Jerusalem, they returned home another way^a. The child being forty days old, the time prescribed for the purification of women after the birth of a son^b, his parents brought him to Jerusalem to be presented to the Lord in the temple, and to be redeemed, according to the law concerning the first-born^c, with the price of five shekels, or of a lamb, or a pair of doves, or young pigeons; which last was the price appointed for the meaner sort. And to such low condition was the family of David reduced by this time, and so poor were the parents of the world's Redeemer, that they were obliged to redeem him at the lowest price. Here they were met by a venerable old man, named Simeon (H), a person of consummate piety, endowed with the spirit of prophecy; to whom it had been revealed, that he should not see death before he had beheld the promised Messiah. Being therefore directed by the Holy Ghost to the temple at the same time, he took the Babe in his arms, foretold the sorrows with which his mother's pious soul would in time be pierced, on account of the many blasphemies and persecutions to which this Divine Son would be exposed; and being now assured, that nothing could add to his happiness, but the joys of a future life, he sung his own requiem in a short ecstatic hymn, and restored the Babe to his parents. His testimony was accompanied with that of a venerable old prophetess, named Anna, who had dedicated the remainder of her life, from her widowhood, to the service of God, and of

^a Matth. ii. 1, & seq.
xiii. 2. Numb. xviii. 15.

^b Levit. xii. 2, & 6.

^c Exod.

(H) Of this venerable person's station, character, or profession, nothing further is known.

his temple : she, coming at that instant to the place, began likewise to publish this new-born Saviour to all the faithful Israelites ^d.

What expedient the jealous Herod pitched upon to frustrate all these predictions, by ridding himself of this dreaded child, and how he was disappointed, will hereafter appear : we shall close this section with a short view of the different sects that reigned in Judæa.

Josephus reckons four principal sects among the Jews ; *Various sects reigning among the Jews. Josephus's account of them.*
1. The Pharisees ; 2. Sadducees ; 3. Essenians ; and, 4. Galileans ^e. The evangelists add that of the Herodians to the two former, and mention nothing of the two last.

The rise of the Pharisees is unknown ; they claim, indeed, their famous doctor Hillel for their father, as he is supposed by some to have lived during the pontificate of Jonathan, about a hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ. If he be the Pollio mentioned by Josephus, along with the famous Sameas, he must have lived about the time of Herod, long before whom the Pharisaic sect was in high repute. One of their favourite tenets was that of an oral tradition conveyed down from Moses, to which they attributed the same divine authority as to the sacred books. They believed, in opposition to the Sadducees, the existence of angels, the immortality of the soul, resurrection, future rewards and punishments, and the doctrine of fatality (I).

Tenets, oral tradition.

Belief of angels, and a future life.

The Sadducees maintained, that there was no resurrection, nor any future state ; that God being the only immaterial Being, there was neither angel, nor any other spiritual existence. They hold, that man was absolute master of all his actions, therefore stood in no need of any assistance or direction. The natural consequence of this tenet, was a total disbelief of particular Providence. They rejected all the oral traditions of the Pharisees, and adhered to the text of the Scripture.

Sadducees deny the resurrection, &c.

^d Luke ii. 22, ad 38.

^e Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1, & seq. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 7, & alib. pass.

(I) Josephus, who was himself a Pharisee, affirms, that those spirits, which they called devils, were no other than the souls of such wicked men as still retaining their mischievous propensity, were ever seeking

to annoy those of the living. In the next place, this resurrection was no more than a transmigration from one body to another, more or less happy, according to their behaviour in their former state.

Herodians.

The Herodians seem to have been a faction set up in opposition to the Pharisees and zealots, that maintained the lawfulness of acknowledging and paying tribute to the kings that were set over them by the Romans; a doctrine which was absolutely denied by the latter. The former likewise excused several unlawful innovations which had been made by Herod the Great, and his successors, as the effects of necessity rather than choice; whereas the latter decried them as heathenish, idolatrous, and the effects of a base complaisance for the Roman emperors. In a word, they pretended that Herod was the true Messiah.

Gaulonites.

The Gaulonites, so named from Judas the Gaulonite[†], or Galilean, as he is called by St. Luke[‡], began to appear soon after the banishment of Archelaus, when his territories were made a Roman province, and the government given to Coponius. For the Jews looking upon this alteration as an open attempt to reduce them to slavery, Judas took the advantage of their discontent to put himself at their head, and to ripen them for an insurrection. Augustus furnished him with a plausible pretence for it, by issuing out his edict to have the whole province of Syria new-surveyed, and taxed, about this time. Judas, therefore, who was a man of uncommon ambition, took this occasion to display all his eloquence, to convince the Jews, that such a submission was no less than base idolatry, and setting men upon the level with God, who was the only Lord and Sovereign that could challenge their obedience and subjection. The party which he drew after him became, in a little time, so considerable, that they threw every thing into confusion, and laid the foundation for those great mischiefs which ensued.

Essenians.

The Essenians, though not taken notice of in the New Testament, constituted a considerable sect among the Jews, and are much celebrated by Josephus, Philo, Pliny, and some of the fathers and other Christian writers, both ancient and modern.

Their origin.

It would be next to impossible to trace out their origin, or even the etymology of their name, with any certainty. Pliny tells us, from what authority it is not easy to guess, that they were of several thousand years standing; and that they had subsisted so long without procreation. But this wild notion was founded upon wrong information relating to another particular; because, though one branch of them condemned all intercourse with women, as apt to

[†] Vide Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 1, 2.

[‡] Acts v. 37.

extinguish devotion, there was another sort who declared as much against celibacy, as tending to extinguish the race of mankind. The first Essenians we read of are in the fourth book of Maccabees, under the name of Haddanim^b, and in Josephus¹, where both agree, that they were already settled in Judæa in the time of Jonathan, the brother and successor of Judas Maccabeus, about a hundred and fifty years before Christ. It is not improbable, that this anchoretic sect took its rise a little before the time of the Maccabees, when the faithful Jews were obliged to live in deserts and caves, to avoid persecution (K).

The Essenians distinguished themselves in their rules, and manner of life, into laborious and contemplative, otherwise called therapeutes: the first sort of them divided their time between prayer and labour, such as the exercise of some handicraft, or the cultivation of some spot of ground, where they sowed and planted such roots, herbs, corn, &c. as served for their food; and the latter, between prayer, and contemplation or study. In this last they confined themselves to that of the sacred books, and morality, without troubling themselves with any other branch of philosophy.

Both the contemplative and laborious had their synagogues, their stated hours for prayer, for reading and expounding the sacred books. This latter province was always performed by the elder sort, who were seated at the upper end, according to their seniority, whilst the younger,

^b Cap. vi.
cap. 3, & 7.

¹ Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 9, & 19. Bell. Jud. lib. i.

(K) We have already hinted their different opinions concerning marriage and celibacy. Those who allowed the former were yet very sparing of matrimonial intercourse, and wholly abstained from it on the night before the sabbath, and other festivals, on fast-days; and the like; and, at other times, they were no less careful to wash, and use other purifications, after it. The other branch, who condemned it, did likewise disallow all servitude, and thought the distinction of

master and servant to be against the law of nature; for which reason they never indulged themselves in the use of the latter: and, when any of them was, either through old age, sickness, or other accident, rendered incapable of helping himself, he received all proper assistance from the younger, who all expressed an uncommon readiness, or even emulation, to perform that duty to him. But the other sort allowed themselves servants for all inferior offices.

who were permitted to read the proper parashas, or lessons, were placed at the lower end. Their expositions were generally of the allegorical kind, in which they seem to have outvied all their Jewish brethren. But they paid the greatest regard to the five books of Moses, and looked upon that lawgiver as the principal of all the inspired penmen; insomuch that they condemned to immediate death whosoever spoke disrespectfully either of him or his writings (L).

Those of Judæa lived, according to Pliny and Josephus^{*}, in a desert in the neighbourhood of Hebron, about twenty miles south of Jerusalem.

This city, being generally supposed to have been the place of John the Baptist's birth, it is not improbable, that he was sent thither to be brought up among them, and

^{*} Vide Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 9, & 19. lib. xv. cap. 13, ad fin.

(L) With respect to their faith, they believed the being of angels, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, like the Pharisees; but seem to have had no notion of the resurrection. They looked upon the souls of men as composed of a most subtle æther, which, immediately after their separation from the body, or from their cage or prison, as they affected to call it, were adjudged to a place of endless happiness or misery: that those of the good took their flight over the ocean, into some warm and delightful regions prepared for them, whilst those of the wicked were conveyed into some cold and intemperate climates, where they were left to groan under an inexpressible endless weight of misery.

The therapeutic fort placed the excellency of their contemplative life in raising their minds so far above the earth; as to be able to see from thence what is done in heaven. When

they attained to this degree, they could dive into the nature of angels; give them proper names, or rightly interpret those already given; and pry so far into futurity, as to acquire the character of prophets.

In their practice they surpassed all other sects in austerity. If we may credit Philo, it was a fundamental maxim with them, upon their entrance into the therapeutic life, to renounce the world, and all their worldly properties, which they, it seems, generously divided among their friends and relations whom they left behind them in it. They never eat till after sunset, and the best of their food was coarse bread, with some salt, and hyssop, or some such stomachic herbs. Their cloathing was made of coarse wool, plain, but white. They condemned all sorts of unctions and perfumes as luxurious and effeminate. Their beds were hard, and their sleep short.

lived

lived with them till the time of his manifesting himself to the Jewish nation¹.

We have now mentioned all the Jewish sects that made any figure in our Saviour's time, and might here put an end to this digression; but as there is still one in being, which derives its origin from the famous Ezra, and the great synagogue, and is opposed to the rest in some of their fundamentals, it will not be amiss to speak something of it. They are called Caraim, or Caraites (M); that is, Scripturists, or persons wholly addicted to the reading, and thoroughly versed in the sacred writings.

It is not easy to determine when this sect first began. *The Caraites.* They boast a catalogue or register of the learned, who have written or taught either for or against their sect from the time of Esdras². Some of those that are dispersed in Poland, pretend to carry this claim still higher, and affirm that they were descended from the ten tribes carried away by Shalmanezzer. The Rabbinites allow them to have been a sect at least as old as the time of Alexander the Great, when they tell us, that Jaddua, the then high-priest, wrought a miracle before that prince, which the two chiefs of the Caraites could not imitate. They were probably the successors of the Scribes so often mentioned by the evangelists (N), such as were those whom Herod the Great consulted about the place where the Messiah was to be born³. These, therefore, it is very likely, after the Pharisaic sect had clogged the Jewish religion with such a number of traditions, as rendered it wholly burdensome, if not intolerable, resolved to throw them all off, and to adhere close to the text; and thus they acquired the name of Caraites, or Scripturists, either

¹ Vide Luke i. ver. ult. ² Bafnag. ubi supra, part ii. chap. 16.
³ Matth. ii. 4. Vide Bafnag. ubi supra.

(M) From the verb kara, *to read*. As they rejected all the other writings but those of the Jewish canon, and the pretended oral tradition so much extolled by the Pharisees.

(N) After the return from the captivity, when the canon of the Scripture was revised by Ezra, and his inspired associates, it is very probable the multiplying and propagating, as well as revising the copies of it, which were then very scarce, was committed to these sopherim, or scribes, who, by a constant converse with those writings, attained to a still greater knowledge of them, and came at length to set up for teachers and expounders of them, and to the name of scribe had that likewise added of doctor or teacher of the law.

given them out of contempt, or taken by way of distinction from the Traditionists. The difficulty is to discover the time when, and the persons by whom, this breach was at first made; and doubtless the testimony of the Caraites themselves, who go either as far back as Ezra, or, at the latest, as the times of Hyrcan, or Alexander Jannæus, will appear too suspicious. But that of the Talmudists, who allow them, some as ancient as Saddoc, or at least as Herod the Great, may be less liable to suspicion.

We shall in the following note give a short summary of their particular tenets, as they are opposed to those of the other sects (O); and only observe here, that these differences

(O) 1. They look upon the canonical books of the Old Testament as the only rule of their faith, and reject the apocryphal as of no authority, together with the pretended oral tradition of the Pharisees.

2. They expound Scripture by Scripture; and, where that cannot be done, they call in the assistance of reason, and the writings and comments of other doctors, though without paying too implicit a regard to the latter.

3. They commonly read the Scriptures in their synagogues in the original, esteeming it next to impossible to come at their true meaning from any translation of them; for this reason they are careful to instruct their children besides in that sacred tongue; and if they suffer any version of them, it is only for the use of those of the meaner sort, who are not acquainted with the Hebrew.

4. Their prayers are likewise in that tongue, as being the most holy and energetic, and the only one in which the incommunicable name of God can be properly pronounced. In their prayers, wherein they express

a much greater fervency and devotion than the rest, they always turn their faces towards Jerusalem.

5. They expect, like the rest of the Jews, the reign of the Messiah to be a temporal and glorious reign, and attribute his long delay, partly to the slowness of Saturn's motion, which they make the ruling planet of the sabbath, and of the Jewish nation; and partly to their sins, which have provoked God to suspend the sending him at the promised time: for this reason they forbid the calculating the time of his coming under the severest anathemas.

6. They entertain the highest and justest notions of the Deity, and of his perfections and attributes. They affirm his providence to be as extensive and unlimited as his knowledge; and at the same time allow, that man has a freedom to determine himself; but that God gave unto every one a portion of his universal grace to assist him in his right choice; and that our wills being influenced by our tempers and constitutions, but chiefly by the stars,

ferences had intailed such an irreconcilable hatred between those two sects, as came little short of persecution. They not only charge each other with heresy, with perverting the Scriptures, and corrupting religion; but pronounce the bitterest anathemas they can meet with in the sacred books against each other, and that publicly and solemnly; so that where either of them, especially the Pharisees, are most numerous or powerful, the others must hear themselves cursed, without daring to resist or complain. This mutual hatred and contempt is carefully propagated both by the parents to the children, and much more by the masters to the disciples, over whom they usurp an uncontrollable authority. But all these sects agreed in their interpretation of the prophecies relating to the Messiah, who they believed would appear in all the splendour of temporal power, overthrow their enemies, take vengeance upon their oppressors, and raise their nation to the most envied height of empire and prosperity.

Hatred of the Caraites and Talmudists

SECT. VI.

The History of the Jews, from the Birth to the Death of Christ.

WE left Herod in a most distracted state; his conscience continually stung with the remembrance of his beloved Mariamne and her innocent sons, whom he had cruelly murdered; his life and crown in imminent

Herod's distracted state resumed.

stars, makes that grace very necessary. They have a fourfold distinction of this disposition of the soul, the one of sickness, the other of health, the third of life, the fourth of death.

7. Their morality was not inferior to their divinity. It kept a kind of medium between the austere Essenian and the Epicurean Sadducee. Of the two they rather inclined to the former in point of abstemiousness.

8. They believe a future life of rewards and punishments, according to men's good or bad

actions in this; that the souls come from heaven; that the future life was made for them, and that they will subsist there as the angels do.

9. They condemned the phylacteries of the Pharisees. They had no less an abhorrence of all kind of pictures, that were used either by heathens, or afterwards by Christians, for a religious use, or, as they term it, to be worshipped.

10. They rejected the astronomical calculations, as introduced after the captivity, for settling the new moons and other festivals of the year.

*New
proofs of
his danger
and
wretched-
ness.*

*Antipater's
cabals a-
gainst his
two bro-
thers.*

*Batillus's
confession
on the
rack.*

*Antipater
sent for to
Jerusalem.*

danger from the rebellious Antipater, and ungrateful Pheroras; his latter days imbibbered by the treacherous intrigues of an abandoned sister; his person and family hated by the whole Jewish nation; and his crown endangered by the miraculous birth of a child, proclaimed by heaven and earth as the long expected Messiah. To all these plagues we must add not only the treasonable designs of the unnatural Antipater, but also the bitter complaints of his other two sons, then at the Roman court, which rendered him completely miserable. Not that those two young princes were really so divested of all filial affection, as they were represented to him by Antipater and his instruments; but it had been his and their constant care and study, by such vile misrepresentations, to render them more and more suspected by the jealous king. Antipater was so intent on the means of destroying his father, and seizing the crown, that he even furnished new proofs against himself, in sending a fresh supply of poison to his mother, by means of a freed-man called Batillus. This agent was no sooner arrived at Jerusalem, than Herod, who had unravelled the whole plot, caused him to be apprehended, and put to the rack; upon which he confessed the purport of his errand from Rome. Herod, the better to conceal his resentment against his treacherous son, immediately sent him a letter, in which he seemed to complain only of some ill treatment from his mother; and charged him at the same time to make what haste he could to Jerusalem, that his absence might no longer give his enemies an opportunity of obstructing his interest in the succession. He concluded with a promise, that immediately upon his arrival he would obliterate all past miscarriages, and give him all the marks of paternal affection that he should desire.

Antipater, still ignorant of what had passed in Judæa, and thinking his father by this time poisoned, and in his grave, had set out for Judæa; but on his arrival at Tarentum, he received a dispatch from some of his friends, which acquainted him with the particulars of Pheroras's death. The news gave him a terrible shock, not indeed so much out of love to the deceased, as because he found that he had missed his aim of poisoning the king. He pursued, however, his journey as far as Celenderis, a city in Sicily, where, being alarmed at the disgrace of his mother, who had been banished the court and stripped of all

her wealth, he stopped some time, to consult with his friends, whether he had best proceed, or return. Some of these counsellors having inspired him with the sanguine hopes, that his appearance at court would dispel all his father's suspicions, he got on board again, and in a little while landed at Sebaste. There he met with a more mortifying omen, than that of his mother's disgrace; instead of those acclamations with which numerous crowds had followed him to the ship, he heard nothing but the bitterest curses from the Jews against himself, as the bloody murderer of Mariamne's two brave sons ^p.

Discouraged from pursuing his journey.

Mean while, Herod had not been negligent of what he thought perhaps a more important care, than that of securing his son, namely, the destroying of his new-born rival at Bethlehem, whom he supposed to be still in that place. Finding himself disappointed by the wise-men, from whom he expected a more particular information concerning the infant, that he might be sure of not missing his victim, he issued forth an order to have all the male infants massacred, not only in that city, but in all the coasts round about, from two years old and under (P). But the child was removed out of the reach of those assassins; his parents having been timely forewarned of Herod's bloody design, had withdrawn themselves into Egypt, whence he was not recalled till after the death of the tyrant; when, upon their return, fearing still some farther attempt from his successor Archelaus, they turned off into Galilee, and repaired to their old habitation at Nazareth.

The children at Bethlehem massacred.

Soon after this massacre at Bethlehem, Antipater arrived at Sebaste, and from thence went directly to Jerusalem, where Herod had so closely concealed his designs concerning him, that he made no hesitation to offer himself at the gates of the palace. They were immediately opened to him; but, upon his entering, they were shut again to all his retinue. Upon his being introduced to the king, he went to throw himself at his feet, and to embrace his knees; but met with a stern repulse, and was immediately arrested. When he asked the reason of this severe treatment, he was upbraided with the death of his brothers, and referred over to Varus, by whom he should be judged

Antipater's arrival.

^p Ibid. cap. 7, sub init.

(P) It is something surprising, that Josephus, who was never sparing of Herod's cha-

racter, should yet have omitted such a material occurrence.

on

*His trial
for treason.*

*Herod's
bitter com-
plaint a-
gainst him.*

*His de-
fence.*

*Invali-
dated.*

on the very next day (Q). Antipater was accordingly brought the next morning before him, and a numerous assembly, whom Herod had convened for that purpose. Upon his first appearing, he threw himself upon his knees, and begged that they would not condemn him unheard. Herod, who was also present, bade him stand up. Then upbraided the prisoner with his secret designs of poisoning him, and unravelled the whole conspiracy lately discovered, appealing for the truth of it to his relations and friends, and other evidences, whom he had also summoned to prove his accusations; the last of which, and that which he vented with the greatest vehemence, was the death of his two brave sons, "Of whom," said he, addressing himself to Antipater, "thou hast been but the too unnatural follower, if they were guilty; and the base murderer, if they were innocent." His excessive grief, attended with a flood of tears, which he could not refrain at naming of those two unhappy princes, obliged him to stop short, and to beckon to Nicholas Damascen to proceed with the trial.

Antipater, in order to anticipate Damascen, began to plead his own cause. He expatiated on the little likelihood there was that he should harbour thoughts of such a horrid parricide, especially after the dreadful punishment of his two brothers for the like attempt; and he loudly complained of the malice of his enemies. But Damascen being at length permitted to speak, gave such satisfactory evidence to the court, that there could be no room left to doubt of his being guilty. Varus however told Antipater for the last time, that if he had any thing to reply with a view to invalidate the proofs, he might now freely speak, seeing it was Herod's and his own earnest desire, that he might prove himself innocent. Antipater, for want of better evidence, had recourse to oaths and bitter curses, which he plentifully imprecated on himself, if he were guilty; but this being the usual refuge of the blackest criminals, the president, to bring the trial to a fair issue, ordered some of the poison which had been mentioned in the evidence, to be brought, and given to a condemned person before the court; this experiment being tried, the man died almost as soon as he had taken it.

(Q) Quintilius Varus had succeeded Sextus Saturninus in the government of Syria, and being arrived at that province, was just then come to Jerusa-

lem, to pay a visit to Herod, and was thereupon desired by that monarch, that he would preside as judge at the trial of his rebellious and unnatural son.

Varus

Varus immediately left the court and Judæa to return to Antioch, without declaring his opinion to any but to Herod, who ordered his son to be shut up in prison, and sent letters to Augustus to acquaint him with the whole trial, charging at the same time the messenger to give that emperor all the farther particulars of it by word of mouth.⁹ *He is cast.*

After this transaction another discovery was made, by an intercepted letter from Antipater, then in Egypt, directed to Antipater, to the following effect: "I have sent you Achme's letter (R): you know what risk I run by so doing, since I lay myself at the mercy of two most potent families, my inveterate enemies. It concerns you therefore to look to it, that nothing miscarry." The business was to find this letter of Achme; and the messenger pretended to be ignorant of any other, except that above mentioned. At length, upon closer search, another was found sewed in the lining of his garment, couched in these terms: "Achme to Antipater: I have written to your father, according to your direction, and have inclosed in the packet the forged letter from Salome to the empress my mistress; and I doubt not but the king, upon reading of it, will put her to death as a traitress." This pretended letter of Salome was contrived by Antipater, and dressed up by Achme, who wrote to the king as follows: "Achme to king Herod: Out of a desire I have to serve you, by acquainting you with any thing that concerns your safety, I have herewith sent you a letter of Salome to the empress my mistress, in which she desires her leave to marry Syllæus (S). Pray tear it as soon as read, since the discovery of it would cost me my head." Herod, upon reading and comparing the whole, caused his son to be brought before him, bound as he was, and shewed him the letters; and at the same time asked him, what he had to answer for himself. Antipater at sight of them, was thunderstruck, and could not utter a word; and, upon its being insisted on, that he should name his accomplices, he only mentioned Antipater. Salome, who was exceed- *New discoveries of Antipater's treason.*
Confronted by Herod.
Salome accused.

⁹ Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 7.

(R) This Achme was by nation, a Jewess, in the service of Julia, Augustus's wife; but had been corrupted by Antipater with large sums, to contrive this plot against his father, and his aunt Salome.

(S) Syllæus was a Nabathean, and Herod's sworn enemy; and was soon after beheaded at Rome, for betraying Ælius Gallus into the Arabian expedition, and for some other crimes.

ingly

ingly alarmed at this attempt against her, after having protested her innocence, with dire imprecations, strenuously insisted upon the traitor's being executed without delay. Herod, on the other side, was inclined, at first, to have sent him to Rome, to be tried before Cæsar; but, fearing, upon second thoughts, lest he should either be rescued by the way, or acquitted by his friends in Italy, he contented himself with sending a full account to the emperor, together with the intercepted letters; and remanded his son to prison^r.

*Herod's
last illness
and will.*

Whilst his ambassadors were on the road to Rome, Herod, worn out with age, sickness, and numberless cares and inquietudes, fell into a violent disease, which, added to all his other misfortunes, rendered him so morose and choleric, that he became a burden to himself, and a terror to all his attendants. Finding his end approaching, he made his will, by which he appointed his youngest son his heir and successor. He bequeathed in legacies, a thousand talents to Augustus, five hundred to his empress, and left a considerable fortune to the unworthy Salome. The rest of his estate, lands, revenues, and money, he divided among his children and grand-children.

*A tumult
in the city.*

But, if he was capable of receiving any real satisfaction from this disposal of his crown and wealth according to his inclination, it was soon after soured by a seditious tumult, which was raised about this time by Judas the son of Sariphæus, and Matthias the son of Margolothus, two Jewish doctors, equally eminent for their learning and piety. These men, at the pleasing news of his being given over, unhappily persuaded a number of their disciples to pull down all the structures which that monarch had built, contrary to their laws. These, with their two masters at their head, having heard a report about the middle of the day, that Herod was actually dead, went immediately to the temple-gate, over which he had set up a golden eagle of exquisite workmanship; and began their pious work with pulling it down, and breaking it into pieces with axes and hammers. The king's commander in chief ran immediately to the place with a body of troops, and was agreeably surprised to find it only a mob of youths, who immediately dispersed at his arrival. Only forty of them, with their two chiefs, proving intrepid enough to stand their ground, were immediately seized, and brought to the dying king. Upon their being asked what motive

Quelled.

^r Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 7, ad fin.

had induced them to such an attempt on the temple, they boldly answered, that they had long since resolved upon it; and that it was their only grief, that they had deferred it so long. They added, that they neither feared his anger, nor any punishment he could inflict on them, since what they had done, was in obedience to their law, and from a pure zeal for the glory of God.

Their intrepidity before Herod.

This affront having raised, in some measure, his drooping spirits, he ordered them to be sent in chains to Jericho, whither he also caused himself to be conveyed, in a litter. There he assembled the principal men of the Jews, and, in a speech, reminded them of the great and glorious things he had done for them, and of the sumptuous edifices he had reared to the glory of God, during his whole reign. He said he expected by those works to have endeared both his person and memory to the whole nation; but that, to his great grief, he found it quite the reverse, since they had dared, even during his life, and in the face of the sun, to offer such an affront to him; and not to him only, but much more to God, to whom that golden ornament had been dedicated; so that they had even turned their malice into open sacrilege. The assembly being afraid to rouse his cruelty too far, by representing that the dedication of such an image was contrary to the second commandment, only declared the fact, and acknowledged that the perpetrators deserved condign punishment. Herod, somewhat softened by this answer, contented himself with deposing the high-priest Mattathias, whom he suspected to have been a private encourager of the tumult, and giving that dignity to his brother Joazar; then causing Matthias the ringleader, and the rest of the prisoners, to be burnt alive, he forgave all the rest*.

Herod's speech to the assembly at Jericho.

The zealots burnt alive.

This indignity, however, gave him reason enough to think what kind of mourning the Jewish nation was like to make at his death. As his disease became more and more loathsome and intolerable (T), and made him still more

* Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 9.

(T) This disease, which Josephus doth not scruple to call a judicial one, was so complicated, and attended with such nauseous and frightful symptoms, that our readers will spare us the repetition of them here. However, the king, still flattering himself with the hope of a cure, sent for physicians from all parts, who, having tried their art in vain, advised him at length to the hot waters of Callirhoe, on the other side

more desperate and inhuman, he meditated such a horrid expedient, to prevent their rejoicing at his death, as scarcely ever entered into the heart of any tyrant. He issued his summons for the chief Jews to repair to Jericho on a certain day, under pain of death; upon their arrival, he ordered them all to be shut up in the circus: and having sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, gave them strict charge to have the prisoners butchered as soon as the breath should have left his body. About this time his messengers returned from Rome, with Augustus's approbation of Antipater's sentence, and the news that Achme had been there put to death for her treachery. Herod could not but feel a sensible joy at it, in spite of all his tortures; and, finding himself at that time very hungry, called for an apple and a knife; but his pains increasing that instant, and he essaying to put an end to them with the knife, a grandson of his, who tried to stop his hand, uttered a loud shriek, which alarmed the court, and made every body without believè that he was dead. The report of his decease soon reached Antipater's prison, who expressed such joy at the news, as hastened his execution; for his gaoler having acquainted the king with it, Herod was so incensed, that he dispatched one of his guards on the very instant to put him to death^t. He outlived his son but five days, during which, he altered his will. He left his kingdom to Archelaus, made Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; and bequeathed to Philip the regions of Trachonitis, Gaulon, Batanea, and Panias, which he erected likewise into a tetrarchy. To Salome, besides fifty thousand pieces in money, he gave the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, with some considerable legacies to his other relations. He died in the seventieth year of his age, the thirty-seventh after his advancement to the Jewish crown, and the thirty-fourth after the expulsion and death of Antigonus^u.

*Antipater
put to death.*

*Herod's
death.*

^t Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 9, ad fin.

^u Ibid. cap. x. sub init.

side Jordan, which empty themselves in the lake Asphaltes. Upon his going thither, he was ordered to be set in a vessel of oil up to the neck, which, instead of relieving him, threw him into a fainting fit, out of which he was with difficulty brought, by the

outcries of his attendants. It was then that he first began to think his disease incurable; upon which, he appointed a donative of fifty drachms per head to all his soldiers, and proportionably to his officers; and ordered himself to be conveyed to Jericho.

Salome

Salome and Alexas, in spite of all the oaths and protestations their tyrannic brother had extorted from them at his death, were so far from executing his last inhuman orders, that they even strove to smother the shameful secret from the nation. To this end they went immediately, after his death, to the hippodrome, where the principal Jews were detained, caused the gates to be flung open, and declared to them, that it was the king's order they should all depart to their respective homes, he having no further occasion for their presence: then, and not till then, they published the news of the king's decease. They now summoned the chief officers and soldiery to the amphitheatre at Jericho, and read to them a letter from the deceased king, in which he thanked them for their past services and fidelity to him, and desired them to shew the same to his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed his successor. His last will was read at the same time, by Ptolemy, the keeper of the royal seal, in which there was this remarkable clause, "That it was to be of no force till ratified by Cæsar." The audience, however, taking it for granted, that the emperor would not fail to confirm it, shouted aloud, "Long live king Archelaus!" and both officers and soldiers promised him the same allegiance and attachment which they had shewn to his father.

A. D.

1.

Bef. vulg.
æra 3.

The imprisoned chiefs released by Salome.

Archelaus proclaimed.

The new king, to shew his gratitude to his predecessor, began with preparing a funeral answerable to his greatness and dignity. His body was laid on a sumptuous litter, enriched with variety of precious stones, having the royal crown on his head, and holding the sceptre in his hand. His sons and grandsons, his sister and her husband, accompanied with the rest of his relations, marched by the side of the corpse, and were followed by all his officers, both civil and military, according to their rank. Among the latter, his guards led the van; then came the Thracians, next the Germans, and last, the Gauls or Galatians; all of them armed, in order of battle. The procession was closed with five hundred of the king's domestics, scattering aromatic perfumes. The whole proceeded to his castle of Herodion, about eight stadia, or one thousand paces distant from Jericho, where they deposited his remains, according to his will*. They returned from thence to Jerusalem, where Archelaus having finished the seven days mourning for his father, according to the Jewish custom, gave the people a magnificent feast. He went

Herod's stately funeral.

* Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra, & Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. ult.

*Archelaus's
speech to
the Jews,*

*universal-
ly applaud-
ed.*

*A new tu-
mult raised.*

*The master
of the
horse in-
sulted.*

next to the temple, cloathed in white, and, being there seated on his throne, gave the people thanks for the zeal they expressed for him; but added, that he would not assume the title of king, till it should be confirmed to him by Augustus. He concluded with assuring them, that his chief care and study should be to deserve the love they had so unanimously testified for him, and to make his reign more easy and happy than that of his father had proved to the Jewish nation. This speech was received with loud acclamations; after which, they began to try the sincerity of it, by a number of petitions suitable to their different exigencies. Some begged for an alleviation of their tribute, others for the total abolition of the customs, others again for the release of prisoners; all which were readily granted at this lucky juncture, Archelaus not thinking it advisable to exasperate them by a denial. The whole ceremony was concluded with suitable sacrifices, and a sumptuous entertainment.

The Jews, however, soon resumed their rebellious disposition, in spite of all these grants. Next day, a number of malcontents, who had been for some time holding secret cabals for raising new mutinies, broke out in open revolt. For want of a more plausible pretence, they came beating their breasts, bewailing the death of Matthias, and others of his accomplices, who had been burnt for pulling down the golden eagle; and demanded justice against those friends of the deceased king, who had been concerned in their death; particularly they desired, that the high-priesthood might be taken from Joazar, to whom it had been given upon that occasion. This unexpected indignity failed not to exasperate the new king; but as he was upon the point of departing for Rome, and unwilling either to have his journey stopped by this tumult, or to go away before it was quelled, he sent his master of the horse, to appease them by fair words, and to remind them, that the king would do nothing till he was confirmed by the emperor; but, before that officer could utter a word, they attacked him with volleys of stones, so that he was forced to withdraw. The king sent others on the same errand, and they met with the same reception; insomuch that every thing seemed tending to open rebellion. By this time the feast of the Passover had brought a great concourse of people from all parts to Jerusalem; during which solemnity, the malcontents never stirred from the temple, but chose to beg for subsistence of the comers, rather than

leave

leave the place, or intermit their godly work, till they were driven from it by force ¹.

Archelaus, who justly feared these mutineers would spread the infection among the multitudes that repaired to the feast, sent an officer at the head of some troops, with exprefs orders, either to disperse them, or to seize such as should continue obstinate. This detachment was immediately attacked by the insurgents, reinforced by a great number of strangers, whom their outcries had inspired with the same rebellious spirit: a bloody encounter followed, in which most of the soldiers were killed upon the spot, and the officer terribly wounded, who narrowly escaped with his life. This fresh indignity obliged, at length, Archelaus to send his whole army against them, with orders to his cavalry to kill all that came out of the temple. After another obstinate fight, in which three thousand of the rebels were killed, the rest were put to flight, and betook themselves to the mountains; upon which the king published an order for all strangers to depart to their own homes, by which means an end was put to the paschal solemnity for that year, the rebellion suspended for some time, and Archelaus left at liberty to prepare for his journey to Rome ². He set out accordingly, leaving the government of the kingdom to his brother Philip, and took with him his mother Mattace, by nation a Samaritan, Nicolas Damascen, an old counsellor of his father, and a great number of other friends. He was likewise accompanied by his aunt Salome, with her children, and some other relations, who pretended to assist him with their interest at the Augustan court, though their real design was to obstruct his confirmation, and to accuse him to the emperor of the massacre of his subjects lately committed in the temple.

The mutineers dispersed.

At Cæsarea, he was met by Sabinus, the intendant of Syria, who was hastening into Judæa, to receive the rich legacies which Herod had bequeathed to the emperor. He had, however, been dissuaded by Varus, in his way thither, from undertaking any thing farther, till the emperor's will was known, and Archelaus confirmed in his kingdom; so that he had been prevailed upon to stay in that city till he received further orders from Rome. He tarried, however, no longer there than till Varus was returned to Antioch, his capital; then he repaired to Jeru-

Archelaus goes to Rome.

¹ Antiq. ubi supra. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 1. ibid. cap. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

² Antiq.

Antipas opposes him.

Jerusalem, lodged at the royal palace, and summoned the king's treasurers to put him in possession of those treasures; but, as they had orders from Archelaus, not to part with them till his return, they refused to deliver them to Sabinus; alleging, they would preserve them for Augustus, till they received further directions from their sovereign. By this time Archelaus, and his retinue, were arrived at Rome. Among those, whom the subtle Salome had brought with her to oppose his election, was Antipas, another of Herod's sons, whom that monarch had appointed his successor by his first will, and whom she designed to set up against his brother, under pretence, that the first will was of greater validity than his second.

Antipater's speech against Archelaus.

There was still another circumstance which very much weakened the interest of Archelaus, namely, his treasurers refusing to deliver up Herod's legacies to Sabinus; of which refusal both he and Vagrus had taken care to inform the Roman court. Archelaus was therefore forced, in his own vindication, to present a memorial to the emperor, in which he exhibited his title to the crown, the particulars of Herod's last will, together with an inventory of the treasure which that monarch had left behind him, to which he likewise added his royal signet with which that will was sealed. This memorial was soon followed by another from Antipas, in which were displayed such allegations as were most likely to invalidate Herod's last will, and his brother's title. Augustus having perused the writings on both sides, summoned a council of his friends, to examine their respective claims; and Caius, the son of Agrippa, by his adopted daughter Julia, sat as president*. Antipater, the son of Salome, an eloquent speaker, and sworn enemy to Archelaus, opened with a speech full of the bitterest invectives against him; such as his having assumed the royal title and authority, without the emperor's consent; his having caused three thousand Jews to be massacred in the temple by his troops, at the late Passover festival; his having displaced several eminent officers, and put others in their room; his having presumed to sit on the royal throne, heard and adjudged causes, granted considerable immunities, released prisoners by his own assumed authority, and in the quality of a Jewish monarch. He likewise accused him of unnatural disrespect for the memory of his deceased father, from whom he had received such signal tokens of paternal love, and of having spent the night

* Idem. *ibid.*

which

which followed that monarch's death, in such feasting and intemperance, as was like to have raised a sedition among the people, who could not behold such a flagrant instance of ingratitude, without the utmost detestation. He concluded with telling the court, that Herod, who best knew the opposite tempers of the two brothers, had not so much as thought of appointing him his successor, whilst he enjoyed his health and senses; but had expressly named Antipas to that dignity.

*Endea-
vours to
explode
Herod's
last will.*

Damascen, in behalf of Archelaus, answered, that, with respect to the pretended massacre in the temple, nothing less than severity could quell the alarming sedition then kindled; that those men were a band of rebellious insurgents, and the first aggressors, not only in raising the tumult, but in murdering the officers whom the king had sent to appease them by the mildest means; and that he had done nothing in this, or in any other instance, but by the advice of those who were now turned his accusers: that as to the alteration which Herod made in his will about the succession, he being in his perfect senses at that time, had doubtless very good reasons for what he did, and might probably have observed something in Antipas's behaviour or character, which obliged him to prefer his brother; as a further proof that he had altered it upon cooler thoughts, he urged his submitting the validity of it to the emperor, without whose approbation it was to be of no force. As soon as he had made an end of speaking, Archelaus threw himself at Augustus's feet with such genuine marks of grief and humility, as moved his compassion. Cæsar raised him up, pronounced him worthy of the Jewish crown, and promised to do nothing contrary to his father's will; then he dismissed the assembly without any further decision, desirous to take some time to consider, whether he should bestow the kingdom solely upon him, or divide it among Herod's children, seeing they all applied themselves alike to him for redress^b.

*Answered
by N. Da-
mascen.*

*Archelaus's
humble be-
haviour
before Cæ-
sar.*

While this affair was in agitation at Rome, the restless Jews had made a new insurrection in Jerusalem, which was however suppressed by Varus's speedy arrival from Antioch, and the punishment of the ringleaders. On his return to Antioch, having left Sabinus with a Roman legion to keep that metropolis in awe, this general, seeing himself superior to the Jews, made an attempt upon the fortresses of the city, and the treasures of the Herodian

*A new in-
surrection
at Jerusa-
lem.*

*Sabinus's
attempt on
the Jewish
treasury.*

^b Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

*Rises the
treasury.*

family, with a design to convert them to his own use. He chose however a wrong time for such an enterprize. The Jews, who came flocking thither to the approaching feast of Pentecost, not perhaps so much out of devotion, as to oppose his designs, divided themselves into three bodies, one of which besieged him and his troops in the royal palace, whilst the other two possessed themselves, the one of the hippodrome, and the other of the temple on the east and north sides of it; so that he was inclosed on every side. The people were the more exasperated against him, because he had forced his way into the treasury of the temple, and brought away four hundred talents, besides other rich plunder which his soldiers had carried off, in spite of all their opposition.

These two actions could not but exasperate the Jewish nation. Whilst one part was taken up in undermining the palace, another was endeavouring to cause a defection from the Roman general, by promising an amnesty, and free leave to march off unmolested, to as many as should leave the place. They added the like promise to Sabinus, upon the same conditions, and assured the Roman troops, that they had no other design in taking up arms, but to free themselves from the tyrannic yoke of the Herodian family. Sabinus would have gladly embraced the offer; but the injuries he had done the Jews, would not permit him to rely on their promise, so that he chose rather to wait for the reinforcement he expected from Varus. At this period, new troubles were raised in other parts of Judæa; among others, two thousand valiant veterans of the late king, who had been discharged from the service, assembled in a body, and fell upon Archelaus's forces, commanded by his nephew Archiabus; but this young general, knowing them to be experienced soldiers, secured himself as well as he could in some fortresses, and other places of difficult access.

*A sedition
raised by
Judas.*

Ezechias, captain of a gang of banditti, whom Herod had with difficulty apprehended and put to death, left a son named Judas, who seeing the country labouring under a kind of civil war, took this opportunity to revenge his father's death. Having collected a band of the most desperate free-booters at Sephoris, a city in Galilee^d, after several incursions into the king's dominions, he forced his

^c Antiq. ubi supra. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 2.
vide Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 10. xvii. cap. 12. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 2,
& alib, passim.

^d De hac

way into the royal armoury, where he equipped his men cap-à-pié, and from thence into the treasury of several other places. Being thus furnished with men, arms, and money, he struck terror into the whole province, and plundered all the open country.

He was not the only person that aimed at the crown during these troublesome times. There started up another, named Simeon, a person of a comely stature, strong built, well esteemed by the Jews, and who thought himself worthy of the royal dignity. He had been employed by Herod in affairs of great importance. As soon as he appeared at the head of a party, the people saluted him king of the Jews; and he, to shew his zeal against the two rival sons of his late master, led his men directly to Jericho, where they set fire to the royal palace. He proceeded to act the same part in other places, enriching his men with plunder. But, happily for that country, Gratus, Archelaus's general, or, according to Tacitus^e, Varus, the Syrian governor, fell suddenly upon them, and, whilst they fought with more courage than skill, defeated them entirely. Simeon was taken in his flight, in some narrow defile, and being brought to the general, had his head immediately struck off^f. Whilst these free-booters were plundering and burning the royal palaces in one part of the country, another gang was employed in the same manner elsewhere; particularly at Amatha on the Jordan, built probably by Herod for the conveniency of drinking the hot waters for which that city was famed^g.

A second by Simeon.

Defeated, and Simeon beheaded.

But the most desperate and dangerous of all those seditious gangs (for they raged in every place like an epidemic disease) was that of Athronges, heretofore an obscure shepherd, of no merit but what he challenged from his gigantic stature, and brutal courage. At length, after many bloody and desperate exploits, the mock monarch fell into the hands of Archelaus, after his return into Judæa. One of his brothers was taken by Gratus, and another by Ptolemy. The last of them surrendered himself upon good conditions; and the whole gang was dispersed. But the country was still in a flame from fresh insurrections, as well as from that of the Jews against Sabinus, whilst the Herodian competitors were waiting at Rome for the emperor's decision.

A third by Athronges.

His gang defeated.

By this time Varus, apprised of the danger Sabinus and his legion were in, took the route to Judæa, at the head

Varus marches to Sabinus's assistance.

^e Hist. lib. v.

^f Jos. ubi supra.

^g Euseb. Onomast. sub. voce.

*Sephoris
taken and
burnt.*

*The siege
raised.*

*Varus's se-
verity to
the re-
volters.*

*A deputation
sent a-
gainst Ar-
chelaus.*

of his other two, which were all that he had then in Syria, with four troops of horse, and some foot, which he had drawn from the neighbouring tetrarchs. He appointed their rendezvous at Ptolemais, where he received some fresh auxiliaries, besides fifteen hundred men, which the king of Arabia sent him to Berytus, more out of hatred to the Herodian family, than love to the Romans. With part of his army Varus marched towards Samaria, whilst the rest, under the command of his son, made an inroad into that part of Galilee which was nearest to Ptolemais. This last, having put to flight all that opposed him, took Sephoris, sold all the inhabitants by auction, set fire to that noble city, and reduced it to a heap of rubbish. His father, on the other hand, passed by Samaria, because he heard, that it had no concern in the Jewish insurrections, and marched strait to Jerusalem. In his way he suffered his Arabian troops to plunder and burn several villages and towns; such as Arus, because it belonged to Ptolemy, a friend of Herod; Sampho, and Emmaus; this last in revenge of the slaughter which Athronges had made of the Romans near that place; but the inhabitants of it, foreseeing the storm, had withdrawn. Mean while the mutineers at Jerusalem, informed of the approach of Varus, made their escape; and the rest of the inhabitants assuring that commander that the authors of the hostilities committed against the Roman legion under Sabinus, were foreign Jews who had come to the festival, his anger was appeased. Nevertheless, resolving to make a severe example of the delinquents, he sent detachments in search of them all over the kingdom. A great number being found and brought prisoners to Jerusalem, he ordered two thousand of them to be crucified, and set the rest at liberty (U).

All this while Archelaus was soliciting the emperor to ratify his father's will, and to name him king of Judæa. But a deputation arrived from Judæa, consisting of fifty of that nation, sent to oppose his election, and to beg of the

(U) This severity did not hinder another body of ten thousand from taking up arms against him, which prevented his disbanding his auxiliaries, as he had designed, and obliged him to send them to quell this new revolt. It was easily sup-

pressed, because the enemy, instead of making a vigorous opposition, surrendered at discretion. Varus forgave the common people, and contented himself with sending their chiefs bound to Augustus.

emperor

emperor, that their country might be made part of the province of Syria, and subject to the governors of it, without kingly government. They were seconded by above eight thousand Jews then settled at Rome; who all professed an aversion to a kingly government, and a desire of living under that of the Romans, provided they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion and laws. Augustus referred the matter to a council of his own friends, whom he convened at the temple of Apollo, which he had lately built, and where both sides were heard in their turn. Here the Jewish ambassadors began with inveighing against Herod, who, they affirmed, had governed their nation like a tyrant, violating all their laws both sacred and civil; impoverishing a nation, whom, at his first accession to the crown, he had found rich and opulent; sacrificing an infinite number of his subjects either to his ambition, jealousy, or resentment, not sparing even the matrons and virgins of distinction, either in his fury, or his lust. They said, notwithstanding all these enormities, they would gladly have accepted his son Archelaus for their prince, had he not given them so many convincing proofs of his tyrannic disposition, an instance of which they urged in the massacre of the three thousand mutineers in the temple, before he had received the imperial confirmation. They concluded with a petition to Augustus, that he would put their nation under the Syrian governors, and then he would soon be convinced whether the Jews were really such rebellious people as they had been represented to him; and not, on the contrary, men of the most steady loyalty to the superior powers. All this remonstrance was immediately answered by Damascén, who took upon him to vindicate the deceased, as well as the new king, from the charge of tyranny and cruelty; and Augustus, having heard both sides thus far, dismissed the assembly, without declaring his resolution.

*Complaint
against
Herod,*

and Archelaus.

At length he decided the controversy in such a manner, as convinced the world of his friendship to Herod, and to his offspring. He bestowed the half of the kingdom on Archelaus, under the title of ethnarch, or governor of a nation; with a promise that he would give him that of king, as soon as he heard, that he had rendered himself worthy of that distinction. This ethnarchy contained Judæa Propria, Idumæa, and Samaria; but he exempted this last from one fourth part of their taxes, in consideration of their peaceable behaviour during the late troubles in Judæa and Galilee. Josephus reckons the whole yearly

Cæsar's division of the Jewish kingdom. Archelaus's part.

*Philip's
and Anti-
pas's,*

*and Sa-
lome's
share.*

*A pseudo
Alexander
sets up for
the crown.*

revenue of this new ethnarchy, at six hundred talents. The remainder of Herod's kingdom was divided between his other two sons Philip and Antipas; the former of whom had the regions of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Aurinitis, to which Cæsar added that part of Galilee which had formerly belonged to Zenodorus, amounting to about one hundred talents a year. The latter had the greatest part of Galilee, and the countries beyond Jordan, amounting to two hundred talents a year. Salome had for her share, besides half a million of silver, the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, to which Augustus added that of Ascalon. The rest of Herod's legacies, particularly the fifteen hundred talents which he had bequeathed to Augustus, he generously distributed among his other relations, his grandsons, and two virgin daughters, whom he married to Pheroras's sons, reserving for himself only a few of his moveables, not so much for their value, as from regard to the memory of his deceased friend^b.

This new division of the Jewish kingdom, was scarce settled, before there started up a new pretender, who quickly drew a numerous party after him. He was a Jew, brought up at Sidon, and so much resembled the late Alexander, Herod's son by Mariamne, that he easily deceived not only the bulk of the Jews, but even those who had been acquainted with that unfortunate prince (X). Upon this supposition, they spared neither pains, cost, nor acclamations, to render his entry into Rome as splendid as possible. The litter or chair of state in which he was carried,

^b Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 13. Vide & Strabo & Tacit. ubi supra.

(X) He was assisted in this imposture by an artful adventurer, well acquainted with all the intrigues of Herod's court, who, finding the young man capable of carrying it on with great likelihood of success, advised him to set about it immediately. These two accordingly began with giving out, that the two young princes, Alexander and Aristobulus, whom the Jews supposed to have been put to death, pursuant to their father's order, had been preserved by a faithful friend, and two other persons substituted in their

stead. These two went first to Crete, thence to Melos, where they raised considerable sums of money from the Jews that were settled in those islands. Having succeeded so well at their first setting out, they resolved to sail for Rome; and, being arrived at Puteoli, were met by many of the Jews, especially by those who were in the interest either of the Herodian, or of the Asmonean families, of both which they looked upon him as the immediate heir, and consequently as the only rightful king of the Jews.

the

the vast crowds that accompanied him, and the reception he met with at every place he came to, were all answerable to the high notion they had conceived of his quality.

His grand entry into Rome.

When he arrived Rome, whither the rest of the Jews flocked in crowds, to pay their homage to this new-risen offspring of the Asmonean race, Augustus, who knew Herod too well, to believe that he could be imposed upon in a matter of such importance, sent one of his freed-men, named Celadus, formerly a companion of the two brothers, to bring this new Alexander to his presence. Celadus was as easily imposed upon as the rest; but Cæsar, who examined him with a more curious and unerring eye, soon discovered a manifest deficiency in the port and majesty of this upstart, from what he had observed in that young prince, besides a certain callosity in his hands, which convinced him of the cheat. He therefore asked him and his instrument, what was become of his brother; and why he did not likewise come and make out his claim to the Jewish crown; Cæsar was readily answered by both, that Aristobulus staid at Cyprus to wait the issue of this journey, that, if one of the sons of Mariamne miscarried, the other might be preserved to keep up the Asmonean race and title. The emperor, however, partly by threats, and partly by a promise of sparing his life, extorted a full confession of the whole imposture; the consequence of which was, that the young man was sent to the galleys; and the other, who had been the contriver of it, was condemned to be hanged. As for the Jews who had assisted them with money, Cæsar thought their loss and disappointment a sufficient punishment¹.

Discovered by Augustus.

Punished.

But neither the dislike which the Jews had shewn upon this occasion to the Herodian family, nor the caution which Cæsar had given Archelaus, proved sufficient to keep him within due bounds. He no sooner returned into Judæa, than he began to betray some marks of his arbitrary and vindictive temper (Y).

A. D.
2.
Bef. vulg.
æra 2.

The

¹ Antiq. ubi supra, cap. ult. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 5.

(Y) He began with the deposition of Joazar from the high-priesthood, on pretence that he had sided with some of the late mutineers; and bestowed that dignity on Eleazar, the brother of the deposed pontiff. He next

repudiated his wife Mariamne, and married Glaphyra, the widow of his brother Alexander, contrary to the Mosaic law, because she had had several children by him, and had been married, since her first husband's

The first years of his reign proved peaceable; but the people at length, both Jews and Samaritans, being tired with his tyrannical behaviour, joined in a petition to Augustus against him; which no sooner reached the emperor than he sent an agent into Judæa, without any letter, to bring the Jewish ethnarch to Rome. Archelaus, though warned, as well as the incestuous Glaphyra, by some portending dreams, mentioned at length by Josephus^k, had given so little attention to them, that Cæsar's messenger found Archelaus in the height of his mirth, when he came to deliver his orders, and oblige him to hasten to Rome. Upon their arrival there, Augustus, with his usual equanimity, having heard both the charge and the defence, condemned Archelaus to be banished to the city of Vienne, in Gaul, or Dauphiné, and all his goods to be confiscated. Judæa, by this sentence, being reduced to a province of the empire, was ordered to be taxed, and Cyrenius, the governor of Syria, a man of consular dignity, was sent thither to see the edict executed. This commissioner having sold Archelaus's palaces, and seized upon all his treasure, returned to Antioch, leaving the Jews in no small ferment upon the account of this new imposition^l.

A. D.
6.

Banished.

*Judæa
made a
Roman
province.*

*Cause of
their future
wars, and
total de-
struction.*

Coponius, the Roman general of horse, and governor of Judæa under Cyrenius, had accompanied him in that expedition; and his presence, as well as the good offices of Joazar the high-priest (Z), had, for some time, kept the nation under some restraint, until Judas the Gaulonite, and one Saducus, a turbulent Pharisee, kindled the flame anew. This incendiary declaimed against the taxation as slavish, idolatrous, and inconsistent with their duty to God, the only sovereign who could claim any homage or

^k Antiq. ubi supra & Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 6.

^l Ibid.

band's death, to Juba king of Mauritania. He deposed soon after the new-installed pontiff upon some disgust, and raised Jesus, the son of Sias, to that dignity.

(Z) Josephus has forgot to tell us how he was reinstalled into this dignity, of which he had been deprived by Archelaus some years before, to make

room for the son of Sias, mentioned a little higher; but it is probable that, after that prince's banishment, Joazar soon found means to recover that dignity under the Syrian governor; and this might be the motive of that zeal which he shewed in appeasing the discontented Jews.

allegiance

allegiance from the children of Abraham (A). The war being thus kindled within and without, was followed by a grievous famine, and this by a pestilence; all which ended at length in the total ruin of that rebellious and unhappy nation.

A famine and pestilence.

All this while the Samaritans had not forgot their old grudge against the Jews, though they had been so long quiet. Cyrenius was scarce gone out of Judæa, before they began to hatch new mischiefs against them: they waited till the next approaching feast of the Passover, on the eve of which a number of them, having privately stole into the temple, strewed the galleries, and other places of resort, with dead mens bones, so that the priests next morning, finding that sacred place polluted, were forced to put a stop to the solemnity; which indignity obliged them to be more cautious for the future, to guard the avenues from all such insults. However, the ceremony was soon resumed; and it was on this festival that Christ, being then twelve years of age, came with his parents, according to the Jewish custom, which obliged all the males, who had attained to that age, to repair to the temple on the three grand festivals^m. Here the Holy Child chose to stay, unknown to his parents, who had departed with the

The temple polluted by the Samaritans.

Christ cometh to the temple in the twelfth year of his age. Stays after the feast.

^m Conf. & Exod. xxiii. 15. & xxxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16. & Luc. ii. 41, & seq.

(A) This topic seldom failed to make an impression on a people, who were taught to look upon themselves as the only favourites of heaven, and upon the rest of the world as designed to be their slaves; but it wrought much more effectually at this time, when their hopes of the Messiah, or temporal deliverer, inspired them with a tenfold disdain against the yoke which their conquerors were then laying upon them. Judas, therefore, could not have wished for a more favourable juncture to make himself the head of a numerous and powerful party: "And therefore, added he, it is high time that you should make a strenu-

ous effort for your country's freedom, and without expecting new miracles to be wrought for you, depend on the favour of Providence, and you need not doubt of coming off conquerors." There wanted but this last incentive to set them a-madding after the promised liberty. Accordingly, we find that his speech wrought them into a kind of phrensy, which quickly vented itself in the most horrid butcheries and cruelties; his party plundering, burning, destroying, and murdering every where, indiscriminately, Jews as well as Gentiles, and, in a word, all that opposed his specious pretence of religion and liberty.

rest

rest of the company. They did not miss him till night, when, having in vain sought him among their relations and acquaintance, they returned immediately to Jerusalem. Here, after three days sorrowful search, they found him in the temple, sitting among the Jewish doctors, and surprising them with the wisdom of his questions and answers, so far beyond his mean education and tender years.

A. D.

15.

*Changes
of govern-
ors and
high-
priests.*

Coponius was, soon after this feast, succeeded by Ambivius, in whose governorship Salome died, and bequeathed her three cities, together with the fine grove of palm-trees planted by Archelaus, and all her vast treasure, not to either of her nephews, who still held their small toparchies, but to the empress Livia. Augustus dying at Nola in Campania, was succeeded by Tiberius, after the latter had been somewhat above two years admitted into the copartnership of the empire. Upon his accession he sent Valerius Gratus into Judæa, who was the fourth Roman governor or procurator of it, and continued in that government eleven years. This governor deposed the high-priest Ananus, or Annas, in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, and raised Ishmael, the son of Fabus, to that dignity. Being soon after displeased with his choice, he took it from Ishmael and gave it to Eleazar, the son of Ananus, whom he had lately deposed. Eleazar, in less than a year, was forced to resign; he was succeeded by Simon, the son of Camith, who within the compass of another year was turned out, and Joseph, surnamed Caiphas, son-in-law to Annas above mentioned, was appointed in his room^a; so uncertain and venal was that dignity become by this time (B).

A. D.

16.

*Herod and
Philip in
their to-
parchies,*

Gratus himself was soon after recalled, and succeeded by Pontius Pilate, a person who exceeded all his predecessors in injustice, extortion, and cruelty.

We hinted a little higher, that the other sons of Herod still kept possession of their toparchies, notwithstanding Archelaus's deposition and banishment: it will be, therefore,

^a Comp. Joseph. ubi supra, & Luke iii. 2. John. xviii. 13. Acts iv. 6.

(B) These are the two high-priests that are mentioned in the gospel to have prosecuted and condemned Jesus Christ to death; and Caiphas, or as he is there called, Caiaphas (1), was the person who adjudged it necessary, that he should be cut off, to save the nation from ruin.

(2) John xi. 49, & seq.

very proper here to give some farther account of them before we enter into a new and different scene. Antipas, better known by the name of Herod, who had the country of Galilee, began with rebuilding the city of Sephoris, which had but a little before been reduced to ashes by the son of Varus, and surrounded it with a strong wall and towers, so that it became the bulwark, and one of the best cities of that canton; and as he had been successful enough to ingratiate himself with the new emperor, he built another, a fine city, on the northern banks of the lake of Gennezareth, and called it Tiberias; from thence that lake acquired the appellation of the Sea of Tiberias. His brother Philip followed his example, and raising the village of Bethsaida, on the opposite end of the same lake, into a magnificent city, called it Julias. He likewise gave the name of Cæsarea to Paleas, the place where the Jordan has its source.

build Sephoris and other cities.

Philip builds Julias.

A. D.
20.

Pilate causes new troubles in Judæa.

Sets up standards at Jerusalem.

His cruelty to the submissive Jews softened.

Hitherto Judæa, though in a violent ferment on account of the late tax, and some other tumults, which the Romans quelled by main force, had not, however, broken out into such a violent and universal flame, as began to rage after the arrival of Pilate. It was this governor, whose fierce, obstinate, and cruel temper, provoked those seditions and revolts, which did not end but with the extirpation of the Jewish state. His predecessors had hitherto forbore to bring the Roman standards into the city, because their bearing the images of men, and living creatures, rendered them an abomination to the Jews. But Pilate, who thought it beneath him to shew them the same compliance, ordered his troops, which were to winter in that metropolis, to enter it in the night, with those standards covered; and caused them next morning to be displayed. This new and shocking sight threw the whole city into an uproar. A great number of the inhabitants repaired to Cæsarea, where he resided, and earnestly begged the standards might be removed to some other place: but he refused to comply with their request, which he said was injurious to the emperor. The Jews persisted in their importunity, lying prostrate on the earth before his palace for the space of six days. At length he came forth, ascended his tribunal, and ordered a body of troops to surround and massacre all those who should refuse to depart. The Jews, however, far from being terrified, meekly held out their necks to the soldiers, telling them,

• Antiq. ubi supra, cap. iii.

and

and the governor, that the loss of their lives was not so terrible to them as the violation of their laws. Pilate, who expected nothing less than such passive constancy in that turbulent nation, was so moved at it, that he granted their request, and ordered the standards to be removed out of their metropolis^p.

*Shields
hung up in
the royal
palace.*

But, as he seems to have been wholly bent upon mortifying the Jewish nation, he soon resumed his usual cruelty. A project came into his head to set up a number of shields in the royal palace of Jerusalem, in honour of Tiberius; a step which the Jews failed not to resent as an indignity offered to them, rather than a compliment to that emperor. He had, it is true, taken care that there should be no carved images upon them that might give offence; but the very inscriptions on which were, they thought, contrary to their law; otherwise there was nothing more common both before and after the Jewish captivity, than for the Jewish monarchs to cover even the front of the temple with such ornaments. The magistrates, therefore, of that metropolis, with the sons of Herod at their head, went to represent to him, in the most civil terms, that such a consecration was contrary to their law. But their remonstrances not proving effectual, they immediately withdrew, and soon after sent a very pressing, but submissive letter to Rome, which had the desired effect. Tiberius immediately dispatched another to Pilate, wherein he highly blamed him for what he had done, and ordered him to remove the shields into some other place; they were accordingly brought from Jerusalem and hung up at Cæsarea^q.

*The Jews
petition
against
them.*

*Cæsar or-
ders them
to be re-
moved.*

*Pilate's
attempt to
drain their
sacred
treasury.*

His next project to vex the Jews was, to find out some specious pretence for drawing money out of the sacred treasury. This was indeed the most effectual way to rouse them, next to the rifling of the temple; for he knew but too well their invincible attachment to those two places. The plausible pretext he chose, was, the bringing of an aqueduct, about two hundred furlongs off, into Jerusalem; the expence of which he expected should be supplied out of the sacred depository, and demanded accordingly of them, that a tax should be levied for that purpose. However, as he knew this would not fail to provoke the people into a mutiny, he took care to provide against it, by causing a number of his soldiers to mix themselves with the croud, with clubs hid under their coats, to be ready

^p Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 8. & Antiq. ubi supra, cap. iv. ^q Phil. Legat. ad Caium.

upon a signal to fall upon the mutineers. He was hardly seated on his tribunal, before it was surrounded by a vast concourse of the Jews, who exclaimed against his project, while some of the meaner sort, as is usual in such mobs, accompanied their clamours with bitter invectives. Pilate had not heard them long before he gave his men the signal, who immediately fell on the Jews with their clubs, wounded, lamed, and even killed many of them indiscriminately, and dispersed the rest.

**His hellish
way to
suppress it.**

It was now the thirtieth and last jubilee since its first celebration in the land of Canaan, when Christ, in the thirtieth year of his age, came to preach a more glorious and acceptable jubilee, not to the Jewish nation only, but to the whole world. John, the miraculous son of Zecharias, having left the wilderness, where he had spent his younger days, came now to preach repentance, and the kingdom of the Messiah, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and in the high-priesthood of Joseph, surnamed Caiphas. The austerity of his life, and the novelty of his doctrine, drew daily great numbers of Jews to be baptized by him in the Jordan, supposing him to be the Messiah; but he quickly disclaimed that title, assuring them that he was only sent as his precursor, and to point him out to them, as the person who was to baptize them with the Holy Ghost. Jesus came accordingly to the place, soon after, to be baptized among the rest; and John humbly excused himself from that high office; but being at length prevailed on to go into the river with him, upon their coming out of the water, the Holy Ghost visibly descended, and lighted upon him, whilst a voice was heard from heaven, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." The Baptist took that opportunity to manifest him to all that were there present, and to bear this ample testimony of him, that he was the very Christ, and the Lamb of God, who was to take away the sin of the world.

A. D.
30.

Christ enters into his ministry.

As John continued baptizing and preaching in the neighbourhood of Bethabara (C), a great concourse of

*Baptized
and mani-
fested by
John.*

^r Antiq. ubi supra.

* Matth. iii. 13, & seq. Luke iii. 21,

& seq.

* *ibid.* *ibid.* Vid. & Joh. i. 29, & seq.

(C) So called from the Hebrew *beth-habarah*, *the house of passing over*, or *ferry-house*; supposed by some to have had that name from the passage of the Israelites over Jordan; but whether so or not, its name

shows it to have been probably some great ferry, and so very convenient, not only for baptizing, but on account of the concourse of people at such places for receiving the toll.

people,

people flocked to him from all parts, especially in their return homewards from Jerusalem, where they had been celebrating the feast of tabernacles, which happened about the beginning of November. In the course of this year was born to Herod Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, a son named also Agrippa, who was the last king of the Jews, and before whom St. Paul was allowed to plead his cause; and next year was his sister Berenice born, who was also present at the trial, she being sixteen, and her brother seventeen years of age when their father died *.

*Christ calls
some dis-
ciples.*

John the Baptist having given testimony to the Saviour of the world, the two first that became his followers were two of his own disciples; Andrew the son of Jonah, and Simon his brother, to whom he gave the surname of Cephas, or *Stone*. He afterwards called Philip to follow him; and this went and gave notice of him to an honest Israelite, named Nathanael, generally believed to be the same, who is by the other evangelists called Bartholomew; assuring him that they had found the promised Messiah, namely Jesus of Nazareth. These two, therefore, and some others, followed him into Galilee, where they were all invited to a wedding. Here the wine beginning to fail, Jesus, of his wonted compassion, miraculously supplied them with a sufficient quantity. This wonderful change of water into wine, filled the company with admiration, and farther confirmed his new disciples in the opinion that he really was the true Messiah. From Cana he went to Capernaum, a small city on the west shore of the lake Gennezareth, where he made but a short stay, at this time, on account of the approaching feast of the Passover, to which he repaired with his disciples, it being the first festival of that kind he had celebrated since his entrance into his ministry *.

*His first
miracle at
Cana.*

*The temple
profaned.*

Upon his coming to the temple, he found it crowded with people that sold cattle, poultry, and other things used in the Jewish offerings. This practice had likewise introduced a number of money-changers for the use of those who brought foreign coin instead of victims, and whose tables and trade were equally a profanation of that sacred place. It is likely that the priests, who ought to have made them keep their stalls and compters at a greater distance, made a perquisite of their indulgence, and consequently aggravated the abuse. Against them, therefore, Christ chose to exert the first essays of his authority and

*Christ
drives the
traders
from it.*

* Vid. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7. xix. cap. ult. Usser. sub. A. M. 4030, & seq. * John ii. 13, & seq.

zeal, by turning them all out of that sacred building, after having severely reprov'd them for the prophanation of which they had been guilty (D). In the mean time he did not omit giving them many other pregnant proofs of his divine mission, in the many miracles which he worked before them, and which still increased the number of his disciples; but he, who knew their hearts, easily judg'd that many of them would soon turn from him, especially when the sanhedrim and the Pharisaic sect came to denounce their sentence of excommunication against them. However, though that sect was the most inveterate against him, we shall find some of them of a more upright temper, who, making a more equitable judgment of his miracles and doctrine, came to be instructed by him, and became his disciples, though privately, and for fear of their unbelieving brethren *.

Among these was one Nicodemus, a venerable ruler; who, concluding that such stupendous works could not be wrought without the divine assistance, and in confirmation of some new signal doctrine, such as the thinking part of the Jews expected the Messiah to bring with him, came privately one night to have a conference with him about the nature of his mission. Jesus, who took a singular delight to encourage such sincere enquirers †, and knew him to be a doctor of the law, immediately entertained him with the grand point of regeneration, without which he assur'd him it was impossible for a man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. He express'd himself, moreover, in such terms as he might have justly expected to be well understood by him, by comparing it to a new birth, such as the Jews affirm'd to be that of their new profelytes. But Nicodemus, better vers'd, perhaps, in the reigning disputes of his and the other sects, than with such fundamentals of moral divinity, as had been swal-

Nicodemus comes to Christ by night.

Surprised at his doctrine.

* John ii. 23. ad fin.

† Vid. int. al. Mark x. 21.

(D) But, whilst his disciples admir'd his zeal for the house of God, so worthy of the son of David, the dissatisfied Jews were questioning and demanding the signs of his authority; and receiv'd this remarkable answer from him, that they should destroy this temple, meaning that of his body, and he

would raise it up in three days. It was upon this occasion that they, mistaking his meaning, remind'd him of the forty-and-six years it had been building. His disciples, however, understood him much better after he was risen from the dead.

*Converted
by him.*

*His defence
of Christ.*

*Jesus
comes into
Judæa.*

A. D.

31.

*John the
Baptist be-
headed by
Herod.*

lowed by the present polemic contagion, did not at first comprehend his meaning. Our Saviour, therefore, having given him a farther explication of that heavenly doctrine, requested of him to embrace it upon his own authority for the present, assuring him that it was one main purport of his coming down from heaven, to teach it to mankind. He added, that the miracles which he had seen him work, should not be the only proof he would give men of his divine mission, since they should see him shortly lay down his life in confirmation of it; and thus fulfil all the prophecies and types of the Old Testament, and decrees of Divine Providence, by dying a ransom for the redemption of mankind². Nicodemus, who felt the force of all these truths, became his disciple from that night, but without daring to make open profession of it. However, when the sanhedrim once deliberated about putting Jesus to death, Nicodemus had the courage to oppose their design³; and when they had really crucified him, he, and Joseph of Arimathea, another Jewish ruler, were the only two of that high rank who joined to give him an honourable burial⁴.

Jesus left Jerusalem soon after this conference, to go into the other parts of Judæa, where he employed his disciples in baptizing those who received his doctrine. This ministry brought on a dispute between them, and those of the Baptist, who was not yet cast into prison, but was still baptizing a little higher on the Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Salem and Oenon, more towards Galilee. The difference between them, being about Jesus's making a greater number of proselytes than John, was referred to the latter, who quickly decided it in favour of the former, adding this noble testimony of him, that he was from heaven, and was above all, testifying the truths he had seen and heard⁵. John's extreme sanctity having raised him to the esteem, not only of all the Jews, but even of Herod Antipas, the then tetrarch of Galilee; this last often took pleasure in hearing and advising with him; till having ventured to take Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, to his bed, he received so many severe reproofs from that holy person for his incest, that he at last caused him to be thrown into a prison, where he soon after ordered him to be beheaded, through the intrigues of that

² John iii. 11, & seq.
39.

³ John iii. 22. ad fin.

⁴ John vii. 50.

⁵ John xix.

incestuous

incessuous lady, and, to all appearance, much against his own will ^d (E).

All this while Jesus continued preaching in Galilee, and working so many singular miracles, that the fame of them reached to the Baptist in his confinement. John, therefore, supposing his own death to be near at hand, sent two of his followers to enquire of him, whether he was the expected Messiah, not so much for his own satisfaction, as for that of his disciples. They came opportunely to him, whilst he was healing a number of sick, lame, maimed, and blind; so that he only bid them return, and acquaint their master with what they had seen, leaving it to him to explain the matter. Herodias had, in the mean time, tried in vain to persuade the king to dispatch the Baptist: his fear of the people, who looked upon him as an extraordinary prophet, had hitherto outweighed his base complaisance to her. But she soon after compassed that by her hellish policy, which her persuasions had not been able to effect. Herod's birth-day being celebrated with suitable solemnity before a number of his principal officers, and other persons of distinction; she took the opportunity, when they were in the height of their mirth, and the king most probably heated with wine, to send her daughter Salome to dance before him, who performed her part so well, that he promised with an oath to gratify her in whatever she should ask, even to the half of his kingdom. The young princess, who had been tutored by her mother, taking the king at his word, de-

*Herodias's
hellish po-
lity.*

^d Mat. xiv. 1, & seq.

(E) Herod, whose first wife was the daughter of Aretas king of Arabia, had since fallen in love with that of his brother Philip, whom he had seen at his castle, where he had stopped some days in his journey to Rome. Herodias was the daughter of Aristobulus, and grand-daughter of Herod the Great. Herod made no difficulty to discover his passion, and to propose marrying her; to which she consented, upon condition that he divorced his first wife. This last, having received some information of her husband's design, wisely concealed her resentment; and, having obtained his permission to retire for some time to the castle of Machæron, which was then in her father's hands, she, instead of going thither, made all the haste she could to the Arabian court, where, being at length arrived, she acquainted the king with the whole intrigue.

This caused a rupture between Herod and Aretas, and occasioned a war, which lasted till the death of Tiberius, four years after their disagreement.

Q₂

fired

fired the head of the Baptist to be given her instantly in a charger. Herod, surprised at her demand, expressed no small concern at it, whether out of respect to that holy person, or the fear of a tumult. But, at length, the consideration of his oath, and of his guests, having turned the scale, he ordered an executioner to perform her bloody request; which being done accordingly, his disciples, upon hearing of it, came to take away his body, and gave it an honourable burial.

Jesus goes from Judæa into Galilee.

The nobleman's son cured.

Despised by the Nazarites.

His severe reproof to them,

and escape from their fury.

Jesus Christ, hearing of John's imprisonment on account of the great number of disciples that followed him, began, it is likely, to fear, that Pilate would take some umbrage at him upon the same account. This apprehension made him leave Judæa, after a stay of about eight months*, and depart for Galilee; where passing through Samaria, he converted the woman, and afterwards the inhabitants of Sichem. He was well received by the Galileans, who had seen his late miracles at Jerusalem at the last Passover, and preached in their synagogues. Whilst he was at Cana, a nobleman came about a day's journey to him, beseeching that he would come down and heal a son of his, who was at the point of death; and expressed himself in such zealous terms, as sufficiently testified the sincerity of his faith. Jesus therefore dismissed him with these words; "Go thy way; thy son liveth." He obeyed; and, upon his inquiring of his servants at his return, found that he had begun to recover from the very minute in which the promise issued out of Jesus's mouth. He went from thence into his old city of Nazareth; and, entering on the sabbath-day into their synagogue, where the lesson of Isaiah† was given him to read, in which there is a lively description of the Messiah's preaching the gospel, he expounded it of himself, with such powerful and majestic grace, as raised the admiration of the whole audience. But some of them being offended at his extraordinary wisdom, whom they knew to have had so mean an education among them, he reminded them of several other cities in Judæa, and of many persons in Israel, who had rendered themselves unworthy of the divine favours, by the like unreasonable partiality. This reproof was so highly resented by the Nazarites, that they rushed upon him with one consent, and hurried him to the brow of the hill, on which their city was built, with a design to have cast him head-

* Vide Usser. Ann. sub. A. M. 4034.
Luke iv. 16, & seq.

† Isaiah, lxi. 1. Vide

long down; but he escaped through the crowd, and went to dwell at Capernaum, a city situate on the coasts of Zebulun and Nephtalim; where he preached from the same prophet ^s, importing, that those regions of Galilee should in time be called from their native darkness, unto the marvelous light of the gospel. While he preached one day in a synagogue, there stood a demoniac before him, in whom the unclean spirit cried with a loud voice; and, acknowledging him to be the Holy one of God, begged he would not destroy him. Him Jesus put to silence by his powerful word, cast out, and healed the man, to the admiration of the people, who spread his fame throughout all that region; infomuch that, before he had taken a little refreshment at Peter's house, and healed his mother of a long and lingering fever, they had brought from that whole neighbourhood all that were afflicted with diseases, and set them before him. Jesus, according to his wonted compassion, laid his hands on every one of them, and sent them all home healed ^h. *A demoniac cured.* *Heals other diseases.*

Being come to the lake Gennezareth, or Sea of Tiberias, the crowds followed him in such a manner, that he was forced to get into a boat belonging to Simon Peter, who from a fisherman he had called to be an apostle; and bid him launch out a little way, in order to teach the people from thence. As soon as he had done speaking, he bid Peter cast his net for a draught; and was answered, that, though they had toiled all night in vain, yet at his word they would try afresh. They did so, and caught such a large draught, as was like to have sunk the boat. Peter, surprised at it, fell at his feet, and besought him to depart from such a sinner as he was; but Jesus, taking him up, bid him be of good courage; for he would from thenceforth make him a fisher of men ^l. During his abode in Galilee, he continued still confirming his doctrine with such numbers of miracles, that his fame had reached all the neighbouring provinces of Syria and Phœnice, infomuch that many people came from thence to be healed of their infirmities. During his abode at Capernaum, a paralytic, who had heard of his fame, caused himself to be transported thither in his couch borne on men's shoulders; but the house, in which he was, being so thronged that they could get no access, the man was carried up to the top of the house, part of which being untiled, he was let

^s Isaiah ix. 1, & seq. Matth. iv. 14, & seq. ^h Luke iv. 31, ad fin. ^l Luke v. 4, & seq. Mark xvi. 20, & seq. & alib.

down by ropes, and presented to our Saviour. Jesus beheld their faith with pleasure, and addressing himself to the paralytic, bid him be of good cheer; for his sins were forgiven; which expression, according to the Jewish notion, that such infirmities were the effects either of our own or of our parents sins^k, was no more than telling him, that he was healed of his palsy. But the scrupulous Jews, not understanding it in that sense, accused him of blasphemy, in assuming a power peculiar to God; and Jesus, by the immediate cure of the sick man, soon convinced them of their error, and of his being equally empowered to forgive sins, and to cure bodily infirmities^l. It was his custom, on account of the great resort of people that came to hear him, to go out of the city from time to time, and to teach them by the sea side. In passing, he observed a publican sitting at the receipt of custom, name Levi, or Matthew, and bid him follow him (F). Matthew did not hesitate one moment, but left his office and followed him; and, to express the sense he had for his gracious call, he made him a sumptuous feast at his own house, to which many of the same profession were also invited. This gave offence to the scrupulous Jews, who made some severe complaints of it to his disciples; but Jesus soon silenced their clamour, by assuring them, that he was come to call not the righteous, but sinners, to repentance^m.

and cured.

Matthew called.

^k De hoc vide John ix. 2.

v. 18, & alib.

^l Matth. ix. 1, & seq. Luke

^m Matt. ix. 10, & seq.

(F) His being here called the son of Alphaeus has led some ancients into a notion, that he was the brother of James, who is also called the son of Alphaeus: and they have, it seems, been followed in it by the generality of modern Greeks; but there seems to be no foundation for it. The gospel gives us no farther particulars concerning him, saving that he continued a faithful disciple of his Maker; and therefore all we shall venture to add is, that he is universally allowed to have been the first that penned any succinct history of the gospel. He is said to have written

it at the desire of the apostles, and Jewish converts of Palestine, before his departure from it, to go and preach in the provinces allotted to him, about eight or ten years after Christ's resurrection. Eusebius tells us, it was written in the Chaldaic-Syriac tongue, which was then the common one, and in Hebrew characters. As for St. Matthew, he is commonly believed by ancients and moderns to have preached the gospel in Persia and Parthia, and to have suffered martyrdom in Caramania, a province then subject to the Parthians,

After

After several other miraculous works performed during his stay in this place, Jesus departed for Jerusalem, to be present at the approaching festival of the Passover. In this city was a famous pool or reservoir, called in the Hebrew Beth-Esdah (G), whose water being at some particular seasons miraculously stirred, had the virtue of curing the first person that leaped into it, of whatever disease he laboured under. Here Jesus beheld, among the crowds of sick, that waited for the motion, a man who had laboured under a palsy thirty-eight years; but, for want of some charitable hand to throw him into the water, had hitherto been deprived of that benefit. Jesus, moved with compassion at his misery, healed him by his powerful word, and bid him take up his bed, and go to his home. This cure being effected on the sabbath-day, gave fresh offence to the Pharisees, who began to think of putting our Lord to death as a sabbath-breaker. To disculpate himself, and convince them, that works of mercy were so far from being a violation, that they were the proper business of the sabbath, he expressed himself to them in words to this effect; "as my Father worketh hitherto, so do I work;" intimating, that, though God had rested on the seventh day from creating, in memory of which the sabbath had been instituted, yet did he not cease on that day from the work of preservation, which work himself was now imitating, in preserving a number of wretched perishing objects, whose misery claimed his pity and assistance. But the Jews, ever watchful for matter of new accusation, accused him of blasphemy, for having presumed to call God his Father. Jesus in vain remonstrated to them, by many convincing arguments, that he had arrogated nothing to himself, but what his miraculous works evinced his undoubted claim to; assuring them, that they should shortly see greater and more stupendous proofs, such as had never been seen since the creation of the world. He was at length obliged to silence their false accusation, by reminding them, that even the Scripture gives the title of gods to mortal men. "If then," added he, "they be called

Jesus goes to Jerusalem.

Cures a paralytic on the sabbath.

His defence of it censured by Jews.

^a Conf. Ps. lxxxii. 6, &c. John x. 34, & seq.

(G) Probably, as some conjecture, from the words beth-esdah, the *house of mercy*, alluding to the merciful cures which were wrought there on the sick, lame, &c. The Vulgate however read it Beth-zai-

da, which some render the *probatic pool*, on a supposition, that the sheep designed for sacrifice were first washed in it, which sheep so washed were called probatæ.

gods, against whom the sentence of mortality had been pronounced by God himself" (H), why should you reckon me guilty of blasphemy, whom the Father has thus sanctified, and sent into the world, because I call myself the Son of God?"

*Works o-
ther mira-
cles on that
day.*

After his departure out of Jerusalem, he went into one of their synagogues, where stood a man who had a withered hand. He began with asking the Jewish doctors, whether it was lawful on the sabbath to do good or evil, to save or to destroy. To this question they made no reply; but, when he had restored the man's hand, by commanding him to stretch it forth, the ruler of the synagogue, in a transport of indignation, began to censure those objects of pity for offering themselves to be healed on the sabbath, and not rather on any other day of the week.

*His disci-
ples cen-
sured for
plucking
the corn.*

They had been exasperated by another incident which fell under their observation. On the second sabbath after the first, as he passed through some corn-fields, his disciples ventured to pluck the ears, and rub them between their hands to appease their hunger. The Pharisaic crowd, who beheld them with a malicious eye, began to exclaim against their Master for suffering such a manifest violation of the sabbath. Jesus reminded them of the prophet's words, "I will have mercy rather than sacrifice;" intimating, that necessity takes away the rigour of the law; and justified it by the example of David, who, on the like emergency, ventured upon the sacred shewbread, which was prohibited to all but the priests; and not only eat of it himself, but distributed it among his retinue. Their rancour was proof against all that he urged in his own defence or that of his disciples; and his silencing them

*The Phari-
sees si-
lenced.*

• Hof. vi. 6.

(H) This is certainly the meaning of Christ's words here, and not, as ours and other versions render it, *Those unto whom the word of God came*. For the place referred to in the Psalms is, *I have said, ye are gods; but ye shall die like men*. So that, according to the most literal sense of our Saviour's words, they should run thus: *If they are called gods, against*

(not unto) whom the word of God came forth, meaning this sentence of death. Those that are acquainted with the Hebrew idiom, to which the evangelists were used, know that the context must decide the meaning of those particles that are capable of several opposite significations, which the sense alone cannot determine.

by

by such convincing arguments made them only the more inveterate, till they came to a resolution of putting him to death. Jesus, having timely notice of their design, withdrew towards the sea-coasts, whither he was soon after followed by multitudes from all the maritime parts, to whom he still extended his wonted compassion, both by teaching them, and healing their sick. *Plot against him.*

One night, having retired both from them, and from his disciples, he went up to a mountain apart, and spent the whole night in prayer; and on the morrow, calling them together again, he chose twelve from among the rest, to be the more immediate witnesses, preachers, and recorders, of his life and doctrine. To these he gave the title of apostles, which word signifies a messenger or ambassador ^P (1). *Chooses the twelve apostles.*

In the mean time crouds flocked to him from all parts of Judæa, and the neighbouring provinces, attracted by the fame of that divine efficacy by which he wrought the most surprising cures on the sick, lunatic, demoniacs, and other afflicted persons. Among these he continued teaching in fields and deserts, and was ever heard with equal amazement and attention.

Being addressed in behalf of a worthy centurion, whose servant was then very ill of a palsy, Jesus offered to go to his house, and heal him; but, the Roman officer sent him a humble message, in which he acknowledged himself equally unworthy to receive him under his roof, as he

^P Luke vi. 14, & seq. Matth. x. 2, & seq. Mark iii. 16, & seq.

(1) These were 1. Simon, distinguished by the name of whom he surnamed Peter; the Less, and the son of 2. Andrew, his brother; 3. Alpheus, or Cleophas, and of James, surnamed the Greater, Mary, the first cousin, if not an inhabitant of Bethsaida, and the sister of the Virgin Mary, for which reason he is often 4. John his brother, who were called the brother of our Lord; the sons of Zebedee and Salome. These, as well as Andrew, 10. Simon, surnamed The Canaanite, from Cana the place had lately been the disciples; but they of his birth, and Zelotes, probably because he had belonged to that sect; 11. Judas, otherwise called Jude, and brother of Jesus. 5. Philip; and, 6. Bartholomew, supposed the same with Nathanael; 7. Levi, or Matthew, the publican and evangelist; and, 8. Thomas, surnamed Didymus, which signifies a twin; 9. James, had

had

*Heals the
centurion's
servant.*

*Raises a
dead man
at Naim.*

*His pity to
a female
penitent.*

*Cures a
demoniac.*

had been to come and offer his request in person ; but that he wholly depended on his efficacious word for the cure of his servant : " For," added he, " if my authority, small as it is, can yet enforce obedience from those under my command, how much more will thy all-powerful authority be obeyed, wherever thou art pleased to exert it !" His singular faith and humility did not pass unrewarded ; Jesus healed his servant at that instant, and greatly commended his faith, as far surpassing all that he had beheld, even in Israel ; upon which account he took occasion to assure his audience, that many strangers should be admitted from the four corners of the world into his heavenly kingdom, whilst the children of it should be miserably cast out for their disobedience and unbelief. Next day he went to Naim, and, entering the city, met a large croud of people accompanying the corpse of a young man, the only son of a poor widow, in compassion to whom, he raised her son to life.

A Pharisee named Simon, having invited him to take a meal at his house, he was accosted by a woman formerly of a loose character, but now a sincere penitent. She came behind him in the humblest manner, shedding a flood of tears, with which she washed his feet ; and, having wiped them with her hair, began to anoint his head with a costly perfume. A proud Pharisee was shocked at her presumption, supposing, that if his guest were a prophet, he would of course have spurned such a notorious sinner from him ; but Jesus viewed her with a compassionate eye, and dismissed her with an answer as full of comfort, as her heart was of the sincerest repentance.

Upon his return to Capernaum, he was followed by such throngs of people, on account of his miracles, particularly the cure of a poor demoniac, deaf and blind, which he had just then wrought, that his mother and relations, fearing lest he should be stifled, came to disengage him from the multitude. As they were prevented by the croud, from entering, they sent to let him know that they stood without, and desired to speak with him ; when he declared, that none were more nearly related to him than those who heard and practised the word of God. In the mean time, whilst his miracle on the demoniac had extorted an open confession from the better part of the by-standers, the Pharisees, moved with their usual indignation, cried out, that he cast out devils by Beelzebub the

1 Matth. viii. 5, & seq. Luke vii. 12, & seq.

prince

prince of devils. Jesus expatiated upon the folly of supposing Satan so far divided against his own interest: he upbraided them for their malicious and impious suggestions; and added, that, though every sin or blasphemy against the Son of man would, upon due repentance, be forgiven, yet that against the Holy Ghost should find no forgiveness either in this or the next world^r. Here the Pharisees asked him for a more convincing sign of his divine mission; but he told them, that, since those he had already shewed were not able to convince them, there should be no other or greater given them than that of Jonah; for, as that prophet was three days and nights in the fish's belly, so should the Son of man be as many days in the bowels of the earth^s.

From thence he went to the sea-shore, followed by great multitudes; and, going into a boat, began to preach in parables, which the audience always understood. When he had finished his discourse, he ordered his disciples to get him a ship to cross the sea of Galilee, into the territories of Philip the tetrarch, Herod's brother.

Being embarked accordingly, he withdrew into the stern, and there fell asleep; when such a furious tempest arose, as had well nigh overset the vessel. The disciples alarmed at their danger, waked him, and exclaimed, "Master, save us; else we perish." Jesus, seeing them in such consternation, blamed their want of faith; then, with his powerful word, rebuked the wind and sea, which immediately subsided; soon after this miracle, they landed on the other side, in the country of the Gergasenes^t (K).

Here he was met by two demoniacs, one of them so very fierce, that no chains could confine him; they chose their habitation among the tombs, and made it unsafe to pass that way, till the sight of Jesus brought them trembling at his feet, where the devils began to acknowledge him to be the Son of God, and besought him not to torment them before their time. When he asked the most furious of the two, what was his name, he answered,

^r Matth. xii. 31, & seq. Mark iii. 28, &c. ^s Matth. xii. 38. Luke xi. 29. ^t Matth. viii. 23, & seq. Mark iv. 36, & seq. Luke viii. 22, & seq.

(K) So the Greek manuscripts of St. Matthew have it. Those of the other evangelists call them Gadarenes: some read Gerasenes; which variation makes it very difficult to know the situation of this canton, or of the city from which it took its name.

Legion,

Legion, implying that a multitude of those evil spirits had taken possession of his body. These therefore besought him, that he would permit them to migrate into the neighbouring herd of swine; which request being granted, the whole herd was immediately seen to rush headlong into the sea, to the number of two thousand, whilst the two patients were restored to their health and senses.

*Raises the
ruler's
daughter,*

*and cures
a woman
of a bloody
flux.*

Upon his return to Capernaum, he was addressed by the ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter, about twelve years of age, was then expiring. Among the crowd that followed him to the house, was a poor woman, who had laboured a long time under an hæmorrhage, and consumed her substance in seeking for the help of physicians. She had such a strong faith in the world's Saviour, that she thought the bare touch of his skirt would afford her an immediate cure; and this she really obtained: but, notwithstanding his being so thronged by the multitude, he knew, by the virtue gone out of him, that somebody had touched him, and inquired of his wondering disciples, who it was. The woman fell trembling at his feet, and owning herself the object of his miraculous power: "Daughter, (said he) be of good comfort; thy faith hath made thee whole." The damsel having expired in the interim, Jesus, who beheld with pity the father's grief, bid him not fear, but firmly believe; and, entering the house, ordered the mourners to cease their lamentation, since the child was only asleep; but, whilst these derided him, he, with Peter, James, John, and the maiden's father, ascended to the upper room; and, taking her by the hand, bid her arise; a command which she immediately obeyed. This miracle was soon blazed abroad, to the great increase of his fame, notwithstanding the precautions he used to prevent its being known.

*Comes to
Nazareth.*

He soon left Capernaum, in order to revisit his native city Nazareth; and, in his way thither, cured two poor blind men. He went, as usual, into their synagogue, and preached to them with such eloquence, as astonished the whole audience; but they, remembering the meanness of his education and parentage, were offended at his presumption. This invincible obstinacy, on their part, prevented his working any signal miracles there. He contented himself with healing such sick persons as offered themselves in his way, and departed, never to visit them again.

▪ Matth. ix. 18, &c. Mark v. 22, &c. Luke viii. 41, & seq.

*Sends his
apostles to
preach.*

We are now come to the third year of our Saviour's public ministry, which he began with making a progress through all the cities of Galilee; where, beholding with his usual compassion, the multitudes that followed him every-where, and how few the labourers were in comparison of the plentiful harvest in view, he sent his twelve apostles, to preach also through all that country. He endowed them with his own miraculous gifts, commanding them to be dispensed with the same gratuitous liberality as that with which they were received; at the same time forbidding them to encumber themselves with any worldly conveniencies; but enjoining them to depend upon Providence for a supply and reward worthy their charitable labour. With these excellent gifts and instructions they departed, whilst Jesus tarried still at, or in the neighbourhood of Capernaum, where he heard, about this time, the news of the Baptist's death. Hither his disciples soon after returned, and, with no small joy, acquainted him with the success of their late mission ^v.

*Herod's
fear about
Christ.*

Herod had only laid his fears asleep by the death of his troublesome monitor, which were soon awaked at the fame of Jesus, whom he supposed to be that prophet risen from the dead, whilst others took him for Elias, or some other of the ancient prophets. This jealousy obliged him to withdraw with his disciples into a desert place, whither he was followed by a great multitude, whom he taught in the wilderness. The day being far spent, and victuals scarce, Jesus, unwilling to send them away fasting and faint, made the people sit down in a convenient place; and, having blessed his provision, which consisted in all of five barley-loaves and a few small fishes, multiplied and distributed it among them; and, after they had all eaten to satiety, his disciples were ordered to gather the fragments, which filled twelve baskets, over and above what had been eaten by the multitude, amounting to five thousand men, besides women and children. This stupendous miracle confirmed them in the opinion that he was the promised Messiah; so that they were now consulting to make him king by main force; but, as soon as he perceived their intention, he resolved to convey himself far enough out of their reach ^x. He therefore bid his disciples cross over the lake towards Bethsaida, whilst he staid to dismiss the people. Whilst his disciples were on the water, he with-

*Feeds five
thousand
with five
loaves.*

^v Matth. *ibid.* & seq. Mark vi. 29.
& seq. ad 17.

^x John vi. 5,

*Walks on
the sea.*

drew into a retired place on the mountain, to spend some part of the night in prayer. The wind being then contrary, and very fierce, hindered them from reaching the shore; but, whilst they were rowing and toiling in vain, Jesus came towards them, about the fourth or last watch of the night, walking on the boisterous waves, a sight at which they uttered a hideous cry, supposing that they had seen what the Jews call a mazik or spectre¹. Jesus soon dissipated their terror, by assuring them, that it was he; but Peter, between doubt and surprize, answered him, "Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water;" and, being permitted, ventured into the sea. A sudden gust of wind having swelled the surges, and his faith beginning to fail, he found himself in danger of sinking, and cried out to his Master for help. Jesus stretched forth his hand, upbraided him with want of faith, and helped him into the boat, where he also entered, and a calm soon ensued². At his landing, he was again met by innumerable multitudes, who brought to him their diseased from all parts to be cured. Great part of this multitude, however, consisted of those whom he had miraculously fed, and were now come with a view of farther temporal advantages; but Christ rebuking them for their fordid motive, and explaining the spiritual nature of his mission, so disgusted them, that they immediately forsook him.

*Third Pas-
sover after
Christ's
entrance
into his
ministry.
The Pha-
risees try
to intangle
him.*

*Are put to
silence.*

These things happened a little before the third Passover after his entrance into his ministry; for the evangelist hints³, that this festival was at hand; but whether Jesus went up to it, or staid in Galilee, is no-where expressly mentioned.

The feast being over, the Scribes and Pharisees sent some of their spies to watch his words and actions, in order to collect some matter of accusation; when they blamed him and his disciples for eating with unwashed hands, contrary to the traditions of the ancients, and the constant custom of the Pharisaic sect, Jesus retorted upon them the hypocrisy of cleansing the hands, dishes, and other vessels, whilst their hearts were left in all their filth of rapine, deceit, and other real defilements. He explained the mischiefs arising from too close an adherence to those traditions, a great part of which, though plainly opposite to the divine law, were yet preferred to it in point of authority and observance. He demonstrated the im-

¹ Vide Auct. Tzeror, Hammor, & Hebr. Comment. in Psal. xci.

² Matth. xiv. 24, & seq. Mark xi. 46, & seq. John vi. 16, &c.

³ John vi. 4.

piety of some, and stupidity of others of those traditions; such as those that absolved a man who swore by the temple, but not him that swore by the gold of the temple; or him that swore by the altar, though not him that swore by the gift that was on it; though it was the temple that sanctified the gold, and the altar that sanctified the gift. These severe reflections irritated these Pharisaic spies the more, as they appealed to the capacity of the meanest of his audience, and could not but inspire the people with a singular contempt for those expounders of the law, as well as with a great veneration for himself.

To avoid, therefore, the persecutions which were likely to be raised against him from that quarter, he withdrew towards the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and entered into a house privately; but it was soon beset by a great number of sick, who came to be cured. Among these was a Canaanitish or Syrophœnician woman, who yet addressed him with the title of Lord, and Son of David, earnestly intreating him in behalf of her daughter, who was tormented with a devil. Jesus at first seemed so far to overlook her, that his disciples begged of him either to grant the suit, or send her away. Jesus telling her that it was not fit to deprive the children of their bread, to cast it unto dogs; she threw herself at his feet, and humbly reminded him, that the whelps were permitted to feed on the crumbs that fell from their master's table. Jesus commended her singular faith, and pronounced her daughter healed; the woman, highly satisfied, returned home, where she found her daughter sitting on the bed perfectly recovered*.

*Heals the
Syrophœ-
nician's
daughter.*

Shortly after this excursion, Jesus went more eastward towards the head of Jordan, and took a progress through Decapolis (L), where, among other miraculous cures, he gave speech and hearing to a man born deaf and dumb; insomuch that the astonished multitude cried out, "That he had done all things well, and made the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak." He was followed by the multitude from thence into some desert mountain, where he tarried three days, teaching them, and healing all their sicknesses. As they had brought no provisions, Jesus, pitying their case, once more exerted his miraculous

* Matth. xv. 21, & seq.

(L) A canton in Palestine, capital of which was Scythopolis; it was mostly inhabited by Gentiles.
so called from its ten cities, situate some on this, and some on the other side Jordan, the

power

*Multiplies
the seven
loaves a-
mong four
thousand.*

power in feeding their bodies. Finding his disciples had still seven loaves, and a few fishes, he multiplied both into a sufficient quantity to satisfy four thousand men, besides women and children; and seven baskets were filled with the fragments! Crossing the Lake of Tiberias towards the south-east parts of Magdala or Dalmanutha^b, he was accosted again by some of the Pharisees and Sadducees, who came to ask a sign; to whom having answered, as formerly, that they should have no other but that of the prophet Jonah, he sailed back, and left them to make the application.

*The Jews
opinion of
Christ.*

*Peter's con-
fession.*

Arriving in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi, he began to question his disciples what the Jews commonly thought of his person and character. Being answered, that he was supposed by some to be John the Baptist, by others Elias, or some other prophet; he asked them, what their own opinion was. Simon declaring they believed him to be the Messiah, the Son of God, Christ surnamed him Peter, or *Rock*, and promised upon that rock to build his church. But he charged him, and the rest of his colleagues, not to let it be so much as whispered abroad, that he was the Messiah or Christ, till he should be risen from the dead^c (M). But as he had given such a foretaste of his sufferings and death, as could not but make a deep impression on their minds, considering that they had always looked upon him as the restorer of the kingdom of Israel, and continued to do so even after his resurrection^d, he thought fit to give some of them a specimen of his future glory.

*Transfi-
gured upon
the Mount.*

Peter, James, and John he conducted to an exceeding high mountain, generally believed to have been Mount Tabor, or Thabor, and was there transfigured. This change happened, whilst he was at prayer^e, when they

^b Matth. xvi. 1, & seq. Mark viii. 10, & seq. ^c Luke ix. 18, & seq. & alib. ^d Acts i. 6. ^e Luke ix. 28, & seq.

(M) From this time, finding their faith so well founded, he began to open a mystery to them, which they little dreamed of, but which it was high time for them to be acquainted with; namely, that of his sufferings and death at Jerusalem. Peter, thunderstruck, as it were, at such an unexpected

discovery, could not forbear crying, "Lord, far be it from thee, that ever any such thing should befall thee;" but he presently received such a severe rebuke from him, as gave him to understand, that he was but a novice in the doctrines of man's redemption and self-denial.

suddenly

suddenly beheld a lustre darting from his face, outshining even that of the sun. His garments became whiter than snow. Moses and Elias appeared also in their glorified state, and conferred with him about the sufferings and death he was shortly to undergo at Jerusalem^f. The three apostles were confounded at the divine splendour that surrounded them; and Peter, in a kind of ecstatic surprize, cried out, "Lord, how good is it for us to be here! Let us make three tabernacles, one for you, one for Moses, and the third for Elias." Then they heard a voice from heaven, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him." At these words they remained prostrate on the ground, struck with wonder and amazement, till their master came, and raised them up; when, upon their looking about, they were surprised to find him alone, and in his usual dress and appearance^g.

As they descended to rejoin the rest of their company, Jesus gave Peter, and his two associates, a strict charge to conceal the vision, till he was risen from the dead. These last words caused a fresh question among them, what the expression of his rising from the dead should mean; for, it seems, they could not yet persuade themselves of what he had so lately told them concerning his death at Jerusalem. However, they took care not to speak of his transfiguration till after his resurrection. By that time they had reached the foot of the mountain, where a great multitude, and among them some Pharisees, waited for them, and had wrangled with those disciples whom Jesus had left behind; before he could enquire into the occasion of their dispute, a man, pressing through the croud, fell prostrate at his feet, and implored his assistance in the behalf of his son, who was miserably tormented with a dumb demon, by whom he was sometimes hurried into the fire, and at other times into the water. This miserable object had been brought to the disciples; but they could give him no relief. Jesus, upbraiding both his disciples, and the whole Jewish generation, with their want of faith, ordered the child to be brought before him; and, whilst he was in the strongest convulsions and agonies, assured the sorrowing father, that if he could believe, the cure of his son would be easily performed. The father immediately cried out, "Lord, I believe; supply my unbelief:" and Jesus, rebuking the evil spirit, he fled with hideous cries, leaving the boy breathless on the

*Comes
down from
the mount.*

*Dispute be-
tween the
Pharisees
and Christ's
disciples.*

^f Conf. Ps. cxxxviii. 2, & Philip. iii. 9.
& seq. Mark vi. 2, & seq. Luke ix. 28, & seq.

^g Matth. xvii. 1,

Heals a demoniac.

ground; inſomuch that the by-ſtanders believed him dead. But Jeſus, taking him by the hand, raiſed him, and delivered him to his father, perfectly cured. As ſoon as they had withdrawn themſelves from the aſtoniſhed multitude, his diſciples begged of him to know the reaſon why they had in vain attempted to caſt this devil out? He answered, that all their diſappointments were owing to want of faith; but that this particular miſcarriage was owing to their neglect of faſting and prayer^h.

Foretells his crucifixion and reſurrection.

As they were moving towards Capernaum, freed from the croud, Jeſus took this opportunity to ſpeak to the twelve concerning his approaching death; and to aſſure them, that he ſhould be betrayed into wicked hands, to be crucified; but that he ſhould riſe again on the third day. But they ſeem to have been ſo prepoſſeſſed with a notion of an earthly kingdom, that, inſtead of deſiring him to explain farther to them the myſtery of his croſs, they were rather debating how he was likely to diſpoſe of the new dignities, which they had more immediately in view. This diſpute laſted till they arrived at the city, where the collectors aſked them, whether their Maſter did not pay the uſual tribute: and Peter answered in the affirmative. Jeſus, however, plainly hinted that tribute was due only from ſtrangers, and not from the children, or thoſe who are free-born. Nevertheless, added he, to Peter, to prevent giving any offence on that account, "Go and caſt thy hook into the lake; and in the mouth of the firſt fiſh thou takeſt, thou wilt find a piece of money; pay that for thee and meⁱ."

Pays the tribute.

Reproves the ambition of his diſciples.

When Peter returned, Jeſus aſked them what they had been diſputing about in their way thither; whiſt they, conſcious of their ill-timed ambition, held their peace. But he, who knew their thoughts, taking a child in his arms, expreſſly told them, that the only way of becoming great in his heavenly kingdom, was to be like that little child in innocence and humility. He proceeded to expatiate on the virtues of charity, and forgiveness of injuries, which he recommended in the moſt earneſt manner to their practice and cultivation: and directed them in what manner to admoniſh offenders, before they ſhould be condemned and cut off from ſociety.

After a ſhort ſtay at Capernaum, the feaſt of tabernacles drawing near, ſome of his relations, who were the moſt backward to believe him, obſerving how the fear

^h Matth. xvii. 14, & ſeq. Mark ix. 14, & ſeq. Luke ix. 37, & ſeq.

ⁱ Matth. ibid. 22, & ſeq. Mark & Luke ubi ſupra, ad fin.

of the Jews had made him avoid going into Judæa ^k, took upon them to tell him, that if his design was to be known to the world, he ought to shew himself at Jerusalem to the great concourse of people that would be there assembled at the feast, instead of hiding himself in those obscure corners of Galilee. Jesus, instead of reproving their temerity, only took occasion to remind them, that they, indeed, had nothing to fear there from the Jews; but that it was otherwise with him, against whose life the heads of that nation were more busily plotting at this time than ever. He therefore told them that they might go thither as soon as they pleased; but, as to himself, he would take his own time. He staid not long, however, after them; but went thither in the privatest manner, for fear of awaking the jealousy of his enemies (N).

Goes to the feast of tabernacles.

Before he reached Jerusalem, he was pleased to appoint another college of disciples, to the number of seventy, answering to the number of the elders chosen by Moses to be his assistants ^l, as that of the twelve apostles answered to the twelve tribes of Israel. These he sent also by two and two, and with the same instructions, and miraculous power, which he had given to the twelve apostles; with this difference only, that the latter were permitted to go to any city of Israel, but the former only to those particular places, where he himself designed to come after and preach ^m. He appeared publicly in the temple about the latter end of the feast, teaching openly, and displayed such intimate acquaintance with the sacred books, that they could not forbear asking one another in a kind of amazement, whence a man of so mean an education could ever attain to so much knowledge. When Jesus heard this

Appoints seventy disciples

Teaches in the temple.

^k John vii. 1, & seq.
^m Luke x. 1, & seq.

^l Vide Exod. xviii. pass. Deut. i. 9.

(N) In his way thither he chose to go through some parts of Samaria, and sent one or two of his disciples to prepare a lodging for him at one of their towns on the road; but these, according to their usual rancour, understanding that he was going to Jerusalem to the approaching feast, refused to give him any entertainment; a refusal which so exasperated his company, that James and

John, the sons of Zebedee, styled Boanerges, were for bringing down fire from heaven to consume that ungodly place. But Jesus gave them so severe a rebuke, as made them sensible how diametrically opposite such a revengeful and murdering spirit was, to that meek and charitable one, which brought him from heaven to save mankind.

reasoning, he assured them, that his doctrine was not from men, but from heaven; and that if any of them were sincerely disposed to do the will of God, they would soon be convinced of the truth of what he said. Whilst some admired his courage, in speaking such bold truths at the hazard of his life, and affirmed his miracles proved him to be the true Messiah; others objected to the known meanness of his birth and parentage. To these he answered, that whatever they might know of his earthly pedigree, they were wholly ignorant of his heavenly descent. He enforced his doctrines by such irrefragable proofs, that a great number of them publicly professed their belief in him; which success, when the Jewish magistrates knew, they sent some of their officers to take him into custody. But, as his time was not yet come, instead of following their instructions, they came back filled with admiration, and told those chiefs, that they never heard a man speak like him" (O).

Among

" John vii. 71, & seq.

(O) The Pharisees, exasperated to hear such numbers of the multitude, and particularly the officers sent to seize him, declare themselves so openly in his favour, were loud in their investigations, alleging, that none of their learned rabbies or rulers, or indeed any but an ignorant mob, had believed in him. Here Nicodemus, who was his disciple, though secretly, reminded those hot-headed zealots, that the law did not permit them to condemn a man in that rash and merciless manner, and without hearing what he had to say in his own defence.

Jesus went that night out of the city, and retired towards the mount of Olives; and returned again early in the morning, and taught in the treasury of the temple, where the Scribes and Pharisees brought an adulteress before him, said to be taken in the very act. They

pretended to have a desire to know what he thought was to be done in this case, that they might find some accusation against him, such as either his too great severity, if he condemned; or, if he did not, his too great indulgence, and disregard to the law; or, in either case, his assuming a judicial power. Jesus, who easily perceived their malicious design, stooped down, and made as if he did not hear them; but was writing something with his finger on the ground. But being pressed to declare his mind, he rose up, and told them, that he who was free from sin should cast the first stone, and then returned to his former attitude. This unlooked-for answer filled those holy hypocrites not only with wonder, but with such shame and remorse, that they withdrew, one after another, and left the woman alone with him. When Jesus

Among other tenets, he declared that he himself was the true light of the world, and that those who followed him were free from darkness. This expression incensed the Pharisees afresh; and they treated him contemptuously, as bearing testimony of himself; but were answered, that they indeed were peculiarly famed for complimenting one another; but, as for him, he had the testimony of Moses and the prophets, of John the Baptist, and, above all, that of his heavenly Father, of which the stupendous works, which he wrought before them, were undeniable proofs. "But," added he, "this will more evidently appear after ye have lifted me up on the cross; for then shall my disciples find themselves truly freed from that yoke and thralldom, under which the rest of the world groans." The Pharisees replied, that they being Abraham's children, it was out of his power to make them freer than they were, since they had never been in bondage to any; but Jesus told them, that if their actions were to determine whose children they were, their pride, avarice, persecuting and murdering spirit, and their perverse opposing of all saving truths, rather proved them the children of the devil, and the slaves of sin, than the free-born offspring of a righteous Abraham. The Jews re- criminated, by calling him a Samaritan, and a demoniac; and he retorted the charge with great power. Then, turning to his audience, "This I assure you of (said he) that he who obeys the divine law which I am preaching unto you, shall never die." This doubtful expression raised new arguments, and extorted fresh invectives from the Jews, who attempted to stone him; but he as often miraculously conveyed himself without the reach of their resentment.

*Pharisees
offended at
Christ.*

*His severe
reproof of
them.*

In his way to Galilee, he stopped at a certain small village called Bethany, situate on the farthest part of the Mount of Olives, where he was entertained by Lazarus and his two sisters, Martha and Mary.

*Entertain-
ed by Mar-
tha and
Mary.*

From Bethany he proceeded to Galilee, where he went about teaching in every synagogue, and other convenient places, and still confirming all he advanced with new

*Teaches in
Galilee.*

• John viii. 12, & seq. 30, & seq.

Jesus stood up, and found all her accusers gone, he dismissed her with this mild reproof, "Go thy way, and sin no more;" and then resumed his discourse to his audience (1).

(1) John viii. 1, & seq.

*Heals an
old decre-
pit woman.*

miracles^p. Perceiving in the synagogue a poor decrepit woman, whom old age and sickness had so bowed down, that she had not been able to raise herself up during the space of eighteen years, he called her to him; and, having laid his hands on her, pronounced her free from her infirmity.

*Cures a
man that
was born
blind.*

After frequent peragations through Galilee and Judæa, he repaired to the feast of the dedication of the temple, instituted by Judas Maccabæus. He chanced on a sabbath-day to meet in the street a man that was born blind, concerning whom his disciples asked him, whether the sins of his parents, or his own, had brought that calamity upon him. Jesus answered, that neither his own nor his forefathers sins were the cause of his blindness; but that God suffered such things to happen for the greater manifestation of his unlimited power. So saying, he spit upon the ground, and anointed the blind man's eyes with the moistened earth, and bid him go and wash himself in Siloam's pool. The patient obeyed, and obtained his sight, to the no small admiration of all that saw him, who could hardly persuade themselves that he was the same person, whom they had known so long deprived of his eye-sight. The news of this wonderful cure soon reached the sanhedrim, whither the man was also brought, and carefully examined; but, upon his acquainting them with the circumstance of Jesus's anointing his eyes with the clay made with spittle, a great dissension arose among them; one side affirming this action to be a breach of the sabbath, and the other asking them, how they could suppose it possible for a sinner and sabbath-breaker to work such an extraordinary miracle. To be satisfied of the truth of the fact, they ordered the man's parents to be brought before them, who, upon examination, owned him to be their son, and to have been born blind; but pretended to be ignorant how he had received his sight. Upon their receiving this farther evidence, they called the young man in again, and bid him ascribe the glory of his cure to God alone; for, as to the person who had wrought it, they knew him to be a sinner and a cheat. The young man at length took the liberty to plead in his defence; and to remind them, that since the creation of the world no such cure had ever been wrought on a man born blind; and that it was consequently not only above the power of such a hateful sinner, as they represented him, but even

^p Luke xi. & xii. pass.

above the power of any but a true prophet sent from heaven. They were still more exasperated to hear themselves reproved by a man whom they accounted altogether born in sin; and, after a severe and contemptuous rebuke, ordered him to be turned out of the assembly⁹.

We shall omit a great number of his excellent sermons, parables, strenuous struggles with the incredulous Jews, and frequent persecutions from the Pharisees and Sadducees, and proceed to specify that celebrated miracle, which determined the sanhedrim at length to put him to death. We mean the raising of his friend Lazarus from death to life, after he had been four days buried.

Jesus had designedly conveyed himself at some distance from him, during the time of his sickness; and had at last acquainted his disciples with his death, adding, that he would now go and raise him up to life. Upon his approaching Bethany, Martha went to meet him at some distance from the place, and complained to him with tears, that if he had been there, her brother would not have died. Jesus comforted her with the promise of his rising again; but she, understanding it of the last resurrection, earnestly entreated that he would now use his never-failing intercession with God to have him restored to life. Having obtained a promise to this effect, she went in haste to call her sister, who came accordingly, accompanied with a great number of Jews, who supposed she was going to vent her tears at her brother's grave. Jesus having ordered the grave-stone to be removed, Martha cried out, "Lord, by this time he stinketh." But he addressing himself to Heaven in a pathetic prayer, exclaimed, "Lazarus, come forth." At this summons he came forth accordingly, bound, as he was, in his funeral dress, from which he was immediately loosed¹.

The sanhedrim was soon acquainted with this transaction, and in no small concern how to put an effectual stop to this increase, both of his fame, and of the number of his disciples. For, as they argued; if we suffer him to work such signal miracles, all men will believe in him; the consequence of which they feared would be, that the jealous Romans "would come and destroy both their spot and nation." At length Caiaphas the high-priest stood up, and spake to this effect: "You seem to know nothing, nor to consider, that it is expedient, one man should die to prevent the ruin of a nation;" little think-

A. D.
34.

The sanhedrim condemn him.

He raises Lazarus from the dead.

The Jews consult to put him to death.

Caiaphas prophesies that Christ should die for the world.

⁹ John ix. per tot. ¹ Ibid. xi. 1, & seq. ¹ John xviii. 14, & seq.

ing that he was then inspired from above, and was delivering the will and decrees of Heaven, that Jesus should suffer death, not for the Jewish nation only, but for all the faithful, which were to be gathered together in him, from the four corners of the earth. For, being high-priest that year, it pleased God to give him the spirit of prophecy, to utter this great and comfortable truth, and thereby farther to manifest the accomplishment of the divine oracles concerning the Messiah's dying for the sins of the world. His advice was readily embraced, and, after they had resolved on his death, they were easily determined to cut off Lazarus also, the sight of whom daily increased the number of believers.

Jesus retires into a wilderness.

But Jesus, who knew his own appointed time, as well as the result of their last consultation, withdrew into a small city called Ephraim, in the neighbourhood of the wilderness of that name^t, and there continued with his disciples till the approaching feast of the Passover. He left this retreat six days before that feast, to go up to Jerusalem; and took Bethany in his way, where Lazarus and his sisters entertained him and his disciples at supper.

Comes to Bethany.

Whilst they were eating, Mary, to shew her extreme regard to their guest, came and anointed his feet with a precious ointment of spikenard, whose fragrancy filled the whole house. Whilst the disciples were wondering at her profuseness, Judas, whom we observed to have been their purse-bearer, could not conceal his indignation; and asking why the ointment was not rather sold, and the money given to the poor, the rest of the twelve seemed also in some measure displeased^u, till Jesus severely rebuked him, and excused her generous action, as an anticipation of his burial-rite; adding, that the memorial of it should be preserved to her honour, as far and as long as the preaching of his gospel should reach or endure^v.

Mary anoints his body.

Christ goes forth to Jerusalem.

Next day Jesus, knowing his time to be just at hand, repaired to Jerusalem, whilst his disciples, to whom he had foretold all the circumstances of his future sufferings and death^w, accompanied him with heavy hearts. When they were come to Bethphage, upon Mount Olivet, within a mile of Jerusalem, Jesus directed two of his disciples to a place where two roads met, and bid them bring from thence a she-ass, with a young colt by her, that had

^t Vide 2 Sam. xviii. 6, & seq. ^u Conf. Matth. xxvi. 8. Mark xiv. 4. & John xii. 4. ^v John xii. 7, & seq. ^w Vide Matth. xx. 17, & seq. Mark x. 31, & seq. Luke xviii. 31.

never been backed. They brought the ass and colt accordingly; and having spread a garment upon the latter, set Jesus on it, and accompanied him to Jerusalem, in triumph, attended by multitudes; some of whom strewed the way with their garments, and green boughs, crying out "Hosannah; blessed is the Son of David, and blessed is the King of Israel, who cometh in the name of the Lord (P)!"

Jesus repaired immediately to the temple, and again expelled all the pedlars from that sacred place; whilst the wondering populace continued their acclamations of "Hosannah to the Son of David!" to the great scandal of the Pharisees, who exerted all their influence to disperse the

*Monday
before his
passion.*

(P) Thus was that famous prophecy of Zechariah fulfilled; "Fear not, O daughter of Sion: behold, thy king cometh to thee, just, humble, and meek, and riding on the foal of an ass." The multitudes still increasing as they went on, the Pharisees, who beheld the sight, and heard those acclamations, with no small indignation, drew nearer to him, and earnestly desired him, that he would command at least his disciples, if not the whole croud, to be silent. But Jesus rather chose to silence their own envy, by assuring them, that, if those should hold their peace, the very stones would cry out, and proclaim the divine Author of so many glorious miracles. But he took a much more effectual method to suppress the pomp and noise of that mock-triumph, as well as the Hosannahs of the multitude, which he but too well knew would in a few days be changed into the blasphemous cry of, "Away with him, crucify him!" for, as he drew nearer to Jerusalem, the sight of that rebellious and

unhappy metropolis having revived in his mind the more dreadful prospect of that approaching ruin, which was now hastening upon it, and which he himself had more than once foretold to his disciples, it was then a proper time to damp their untimely joys, by reminding them of it; and here it was that the dismal scene, having quite disarmed him of his anger and resentment, made him break out into the following compassionate expostulation, mixed with a flood of tears: "Oh that thou hadst but known, at least in these thy latter days, the things that would have conduced to thy peace! but now are they hidden from thee; and now the sad appointed time draws near, when the enemy shall surround thee with trenches, and inclose thee on every side, butcher thy children within thy bosom, and level thee with the ground, so that not a stone shall be left standing upon another, because thou wouldst not know the time of thy visitation (2)."

(2) Conf. Luke xix. 37, & seq. & John xii. 12, & seq.

multitude.

*A voice
heard from
heaven.*

*Christ fore-
tells his
own death.*

Tuesday.

*Curses the
fruitless
fig-tree.*

multitude. But Jesus exposed their malice and obstinacy by such strong arguments, and severe parables, that they would doubtless have laid hold on him, had they not been over-awed by the multitude¹. Understanding that a number of Greeks, who had come to the feast, were desirous to see him, he caused them to be admitted, and entertained them with a discourse on his own sufferings. In conclusion, he exclaimed, "Father, glorify thy name!" and was answered by a voice from heaven, "I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again." The people mistook the voice, some for that of an angel, speaking to him, some for what they called the bath-col (Q), and others for a clap of thunder; till he assured them, that it was a real voice sent from heaven, not for his, but their sakes; and to warn them to make a right use of that light, or irrefragable evidence, which he had afforded them, lest they should bring upon themselves a judicial blindness. "For, added he, when I am once lifted up, alluding to his death upon the cross, I shall draw all men unto me²."

Jesus, to avoid the croud, withdrew with his disciples for that night to Bethany; and next morning they returned to Jerusalem. In his way he observed a fig-tree afar off, full of leaves indeed; but, upon his approaching nearer, perceiving no fruit, he cursed it, and it presently withered. Jesus had scarce entered the temple again, when the Scribes and Pharisees began to insist upon his giving them some fresh proofs of his mission and authority; they were referred to the testimony of John the Baptist, which they neither could deny without danger, nor own without condemning themselves. The next that attacked him were the Sadducees, armed, as they thought, with such a puzzling question against the resurrection, as all his learning could not elude. It was of a woman, who, having been married, according to the Mosaic law³, to

¹ Matth. xxi. 24, ad fin. ² John xii. 30, & seq. ³ Deut. xxv. 5,

(Q) This word, which literally signifies *the daughter voice*, or *daughter of the voice*, is what the Jews have substituted to the gift of prophecy, after this last had been extinct in Zechariah and Malachi, the last of the prophets. For though they allow, that several eminent men

among them have been since endowed with it, yet they looked upon them in an inferior view to the former, who received theirs by immediate inspiration, whilst these had it chiefly by the help of the bath-col,

seven brethren, who had died at length without having any children by one of them. They asked him, therefore, if there was any resurrection, whose wife she must be, since they all had her to wife.

"Do ye not therefore err," said he, "because ye know not the Scriptures, nor the power of God?" Implying, that their denial of the resurrection proceeded from their either not acknowledging, or, if they did, from their not properly considering the sense of the Scriptures, and the extent of the Divine Power. For, said he to them, the state of the blessed after the resurrection, is not to be measured by the exigencies of this life. Here marriage is necessary to keep up the race of mankind; there they will, like the angels in heaven, be free from such appetites, where their life will be wholly spiritual. He, in his turn, proposed a question to them concerning the Messiah, namely, "Whose son they thought he was to be." To which they answered with one accord, "The son of David." "If so," said he to them, "how came David to call him Lord by the Spirit," saying, "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand? How then think ye he could be at once his Lord and his son?" They were so much confounded at this deduction, that they troubled him with no farther interrogations^b.

Sadducees put to silence.

The future state described.

In the mean time, Jesus, knowing his time to be just at hand, and recollecting how often the twelve had quarrelled among themselves about precedency; he, in order to give an effectual check to their unreasonable ambition, and to leave them a lasting memorial of the contrary virtue, rose up from the table, and began to wash their feet^c. Peter could not at first be prevailed upon to suffer such condescension; but Jesus told him, that though he could not perceive the reason of it now, he should be made sensible of it in time. Peter, however, still persisting in his refusal, was commanded immediately to submit, under the penalty of forfeiting all his right and title in Christ; which terrible threat frightened him into compliance. After Jesus had performed his humble task, he addressed himself to the twelve in words to this effect: "Ye rightly call me Lord and master; for such I really am: if then you have seen me, for your example and encouragement, condescend so low as to wash your feet, know and remember, that those who pretend to be my disciples, must never think themselves above performing the lowest office of

Washes his disciples feet.

His exhortation.

^b Matt. xxii. 42, & seq. Mark x. 35. Luke, &c.
Luke xxiii. 24.

^c Vid.

Recommends charity.

charity to one another. It is by such acts of mutual and sincere love, that men will know, and I acknowledge you for mine. A new command I leave with you, that as I have loved you, and did not think my life too dear a price to save you, so ye also love one another, and stop at no difficulty or discouragement, where the good of your fellow-creatures, especially fellow-christians, calls for your charitable assistance. Upon these conditions I leave you my peace, such a peace as neither the world can bestow on you, nor any thing make you capable of tasting the sweet influence of, but the divine virtue I am recommending^d.

Describes the day of judgment.

That these injunctions might make the stronger impression on them, he concluded the whole with a description of the last day, when every man should receive the reward of his deeds done in this life, according as they were either good or evil.

Wednesday.

Whilst he was thus instructing his disciples^e, the sanhedrim were holding their consultations how to lay hands upon him, at some proper season, when the multitude should be out of the way. As they, therefore, feared doing it during the approaching festival, lest they should cause some insurrection among the people, Judas came to their relief, and offered to betray him, in the most private manner, for a certain reward, which they gladly agreed to, and immediately paid.

Judas betrays him.

Thursday.

Thursday being come, on which Jesus was to celebrate his last and most solemn Passover, he directed two of his disciples, by a special token, to a house in Jerusalem, where they should prepare all things for it; and he followed them thither, with the rest of the twelve, towards the evening. Whilst they were eating, he told them with some concern, that one of them should betray him, pointing to Judas; that Peter, who had always appeared the most zealous, should thrice deny him, before the crowing of the cock; that the rest should all forsake him that very night; and he reminded them of some prophecies in which these things were written concerning the Messiah. At the conclusion of the supper he took the bread, and, having broken and blessed it, distributed it among them, saying, "Take, eat; this is my body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me." Then taking and blessing the cup of wine also, he said, "Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the new testament,

Christ's last supper. Sacrament instituted.

^d John xiii. 3, & seq.

^e John xv. xvi. xvii. pass.

which

which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sin." He then assured them, that the traitor's hand, which was shortly to betray him, was just ready to deliver him up to death; when all these things that were written of his being numbered with the transgressors would have their full accomplishment ^f. The whole ceremony was closed, as usual, with a proper hymn; after which, Jesus having again exhorted his disciples to continue stedfast in their faith and reliance on him, and recommended them to the protection and care of his heavenly Father, ordered them to follow him over the brook Kedron ^g.

Whilst they were on the road to a place called Gethsemane, Judas stole away from them, and, and went to the high-priest's palace to get a sufficient number of people to come and surprise Jesus in his retirement. Christ, on the other hand, having entered the garden, where he usually resorted, bid some of his disciples stay and watch near the entrance of it, whilst he conducted Peter, James, and John to a separate part, that, as they had been the witnesses of his transfiguration, they might now bear testimony to his agonies and sorrow. Accordingly, his human nature feeling the most violent struggles between flesh and spirit at the apprehension of his future sufferings, he threw himself prostrate on his face, and with the utmost fervency, mixed with the most submissive resignation to the heavenly will, prayed, that, if it were possible, the dreadful cup might pass from him. He repeated the same prayer twice, and the vehemency of his struggle threw him into an agony and bloody sweat, insomuch that there was an angel sent on purpose to comfort and strengthen him under the trial ^h. By this time the traitor Judas, at the head of his armed gang, was far advanced into the garden, whilst the disciples were fallen into a sound sleep. Jesus, therefore, having awakened them, went forward to meet his enemies; Judas, who led the van, came to offer him the treacherous kiss, which was to be the signal to the rest; who thereupon surrounded and made sure of his person. Peter, drawing his sword, struck off the ear of one of the high-priest's servants; but was severely rebuked by his master, who, by a miraculous touch, healed the wounded person, and then suffered himself to be bound, and led away, as a malefactor, without any mark of resentment. Mean while his disciples forsook him, and fled, according to his prediction; and the soldiers

*Enters the
doleful
garden.*

*His agony
and prayer.*

*Is betrayed
and apprehended.*

^f Matth. xxvi. 26, & seq. Mark xiv. 18, & seq. Luke xxii. 1, & seq. & c. ^g John xvi. & xvii. pass. ^h Luke xxii. 40, & seq.

conveyed

conveyed their prisoner first to Annas, the late high-priest, and father-in-law to Caiaphas, who was now in possession of that dignity¹.

Tried before the sanhedrim.

Here they found the sanhedrim sitting, though at that late time of night; and waiting for Jesus, who being brought before him, the high-priest began to ask him several questions concerning his doctrine and disciples, in hopes to find either some heresy in the one, or rebellion in the other. Jesus contented himself with referring him to his followers, whom he had always taught in the most public manner, and who were therefore fittest to bear witness against him, if he had taught them any thing amiss. For this answer, just and modest as it was, an officer struck him a violent blow on the face; and Jesus, having given him a gentle reproof for his rashness, stood before them with astonishing patience, and humble silence, whilst the instruments of the sanhedrim were busy in collecting evidence to put him to death. They produced two men, who deposed, that they had heard him boast, that he would destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days; but their evidence jarring a little in some particulars, as the expression of Jesus was figurative, they dared not condemn him upon it; but were forced to have recourse to another expedient, which was, to make him turn his own accuser. Caiaphas, therefore, rising up, adjured him by the living God to answer directly to the supreme court, whether he was the Christ, the Son of God, or not. Upon his readily answering in the affirmative, and adding that they should hereafter be convinced of it, when they beheld him sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven, the high-priest rent his cloaths, and pronounced him guilty of blasphemy. The court having unanimously declared him guilty of death, and ordered him to be brought early next morning to receive sentence, they left him to the mercy of the guard, who made it the cruel diversion of that night to use him with the vilest indignities².

Adjured by the high-priest.

Condemned.

Whilst this melancholy scene was acting, Peter and John, having recovered themselves from their fright, had got admittance into the hall, eager to know what was likely to be determined concerning their Master. Peter, being thrice challenged for one of his disciples, as often denied the charge; and, rather than not be believed,

¹ Luke xxii. 54. Matth. xxii. 57. John xviii. 12, & seq. * Matth. xxvi. 57, ad fin. Mark xiv. 53, ad fin. Luke & John. Vid. & Isai. l. 6.

bound his asseveration with an oath. The cock crowing put him in mind of Jesus's prediction; when he burst into tears, and quitted the hall, under all the torments of shame and compunction ^l.

Denied by Peter.

As for Judas, he was so stung with remorse, that entering the sanhedrim, he threw the reward of his treachery down before them, owning himself the vilest of wretches for having betrayed an innocent person; but they, regardless of his sorrow and despair, bid him look to it; upon which he went and hanged himself ^m. The judges, however, thinking it unlawful to replace those thirty pieces of silver in the treasury, because they were the price of blood, agreed to buy a potter's field with them, for a burying-place for strangers; and in so doing they fulfilled an old prophecy ⁿ.

*Friday.
Judas's
remorse,*

The sanhedrim having finished their process against Jesus, he was conveyed before the Roman tribunal, and there accused of perverting the people, raising seditions, setting up for a king, and forbidding tribute to be paid to Cæsar. Pilate asking him whether he was really a king, Jesus readily answered him in the affirmative; but added, at the same time, that his kingdom was not of this world^o: the governor, after some other interrogations, declined giving judgment, and declared he could find nothing criminal in the person they had accused.

*Jesus
brought
before Pi-
late.*

*Answer to
him.*

*Pronounced
innocent by
him.*

The Jewish rulers still persisting in their charge, which they repeated with great vehemence, Pilate urged Jesus to answer; but he would not answer one word. His accusers proceeded with their invectives, declaring, that not content with having infected Galilee, which was his own country, he had filled Jerusalem and all Judæa with sedition. Pilate understanding that he was of Galilee, which belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, ordered him to be immediately sent to that tetrarch, who was come to Jerusalem to the feast. Herod desired to see him work some miracle; but Jesus, liberal as he was of them to the poor and afflicted, disdained to gratify the curiosity of Herod, or even to silence the malice of his enemies; nor would he so much as vouchsafe him an answer to any of his questions. Herod, therefore, ordered the guards to carry him back to Pilate, who being loth to take his life, proposed to inflict upon him some lighter punishment. He even reminded them that it was customary to forgive a criminal on such festivals; but they insisted upon his par-

*Sent to
Herod.*

*His invin-
cible silence
before him.*

*Brought
back to
Pilate.*

^l John xviii. 25. & seq. Matth. Luke, &c. ^m Matth. xxvii. 5.
ⁿ Vid. Zech. xi, 12, 13. ^o Matth. xxviii. 18.

doning

*Barabbas
preferred
to him.*

*Jesus
scourged
and mock-
ed.*

*Accused of
blasphemy.*

*Bears his
cross to
Mount
Calvary.*

doning Barabbas, a murderer, who was under condemnation, and ordering Jesus to be crucified.

Pilate, since he could not convince their reason, resolved to try if he could excite their compassion; and ordered Jesus to be sent to the pillar, and severely scourged; an order which was executed with every circumstance of barbarity. After the soldiers had untied him, they threw a ragged purple robe about his body, set a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand; and, whilst some bowed the knee to him in mockery, and saluted him king of the Jews, others buffeted, and used him with the utmost insolence and inhumanity. Pilate caused him to be brought forth, in this sad and deplorable appearance, not doubting but the sight would have melted them into pity and remorse. But he little knew the temper of the Jews. The very people, who but six days before followed him with their loud Hosannahs, could not now behold him in that abject state, without crying out with greater vehemence, "Away with him, crucify him!" Pilate refusing to comply with their demand, alleging that he found no fault in him; the priests and elders began to accuse him of blasphemy: "We have a law (said they) which condemns him to death for calling himself the Son of God." Pilate questioning him upon this new charge, and reminding him that it was in his power to condemn or release him; Jesus observed, in his turn, that all his boasted power came to him from above; and that he should, therefore, be accountable for his abuse of it, though the greater guilt should fall on those who had delivered him up into his hands. These last made such an impression on the governor, that he seemed determined against putting him to death: but the priests and rulers exclaiming with one accord, "Thou art not Cæsar's friend, if thou lettest a man go, who, by assuming the royal title, and forbidding to pay the usual tribute, has declared himself his open enemy;" he thought he could no longer resist their demand without bringing his loyalty to Cæsar in question. He, therefore, having washed his hands, and declared himself guiltless of the blood of that innocent Person, delivered him up to be crucified, and released the seditious murderer according to their desire^p.

The Roman soldiers led him back to the hall, where they stripped him of his mock royalty, and put on him his own garments: having laid his cross on him, they led

^p Vid. Matth. xxvii. per tot. Mark xv. pass. Luke xxiii. per tot. John xviii. & xix. pass.

him, with two other criminals out of the city, to a place called in Hebrew, Golgotha, and by the Romans, Calvary, to be crucified. His body, exhausted with watching and sufferings, beginning to sink under its weight, they compelled a Cyrenean Jew, named Simon, to help to bear his cross. Beholding some women melting into tears at the sight of his deplorable condition, he bid them rather weep at the more dismal prospect of their future ruin, when their calamities would make them with their wombs had been barren, and their breasts incapable of yielding any nourishment to a generation, whose infidelity would shortly render them the sad objects of the divine vengeance, and the scorn and hatred of the world ⁹.

*Prophecy
against the
Jews.*

It was now about the sixth hour of the day, or noon, when they came to the place, where they offered him some wine, mixed with myrrh, which, when he had tasted, he refused to drink. They then stripped him of his cloaths, and extending his body on the cross, fastened him to it with nails, driven through his hands and feet, whilst he was earnestly praying to his Father to forgive them a deed which they committed through ignorance. At the same time were crucified two malefactors, one on each side of him, according to that oracle, which foretold his being numbered with transgressors ¹.

*Jesus cruci-
fied be-
tween two
thieves.*

Whilst Jesus was suspended on the cross, taking notice of his mother who stood weeping, accompanied by his beloved disciple, with Mary Magdalen and some other women, he recommended her to the care of that favourite disciple, intreating them to shew to each other from thenceforward the endearing duties of mother and son; and John took her to his own house ². In the mean time a horrid darkness overspread the face of the earth (R), and all

*A strange
darkness,
and other
signs.*

⁹ Luke xxiii. 27, & seq.

²⁸ Luke xxii. 37. xxiii. 33.

¹ Conf. Isai. liii. ult. & Mark xv.

² John xix. 25, & seq.

(R) This darkness was the more miraculous because it happened in the time of the opposition of the two luminaries, when consequently there could be no eclipse of the sun. For it must be observed, that the Passover began in the full moon; besides, the total darkness of the sun's eclipses lasted but at most twelve or fifteen minutes, whereas this is recorded to have lasted three full hours. The famous astronomer Phlegon affirms, that in the 4th year of the 202d olympiad, which is supposed to coincide with the death of Christ, there was such a total eclipse of the sun at noon day, that the stars were visible. Tertullian appeals to the public

*Christ ex-
pires on the
cross.*

all the spectators were seized with terror and amazement. Some returned to Jerusalem, smiting their breasts, and proclaiming him a righteous man, whilst the rest, more hardened, stood in a kind of mournful silence, expecting the event. At the ninth hour, Jesus being quite spent with pain and anguish, cried out, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachtani (S) ;" then tasting the mingled vinegar, which was offered to imbitter his last gasp, he recommended his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, and in an agony of prayer yielded up the ghost (T).

It was now past three of the clock, the time in which the evening lamb was daily offered up; and this was the eve of their sabbath, and of one of their grand festivals. That the solemnity of it therefore might not be sullied by the hanging of the three bodies on the cross¹, they begged of Pilate, that he would order their legs to be broken, and their bodies to be taken away: but Jesus being found already dead, they broke not his legs; yet one of the soldiers struck his lance into his side, which immediately discharged a mixture of blood and water. These last cir-

¹ De hoc vide Deut. xxi. 22, & seq.

records of the heathens, for the truth of this surprising phenomenon; and Suidas introduces Dionysius the Areopagite, then at Heliopolis, in Egypt, saying to his friend Apollonphanes, on the subject of this unnatural darkness, "Either the Author of nature suffers, or sympathizes with the sufferer."

(S) Or, which is more probable, repeated the whole twenty-second psalm, of which those are the title, or first words, and in which there are the most lively strokes of all the remarkable particulars of his passion.

(T) Immediately upon his expiring, the frame of nature fell, as it were, into convulsions: the earth quaked, the rocks were cleft asunder, the graves opened, the dead a-

rose; and the veil which covered the most holy place, was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, uncovering thereby those holy mysteries of the Mosaic dispensation, which had now in his death their full accomplishment; in token of which he broke out in his last agonies with those signal words, "It is finished." Here the centurion and infidel soldiers, observing his meek and pious exit, and the miraculous circumstances which attended it, were struck with such admiration and dread, that they confessed him to be the Son of God. Not so did the Jewish priests and elders, who remained inflexible in spite of all these prodigies, and pursued their malice without the least relenting.

cumstances

circumstances happened not without a peculiar direction of Providence, not only as they fully assured us of his being really dead, but as they verified two signal prophecies concerning him; the one, that not a bone of his should be broken^o; and the other, that they, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, should behold him whom they had pierced^x.

Whilst these things were transacting on Mount Calvary, Joseph of Arimathea, a wealthy Jewish ruler, and secret disciple of Jesus, went to Pilate, and obtained leave to bury his remains. He had a garden adjoining to the place, in which was a new tomb in the rock, where he deposited his Master's body. In the mean time, the jealous Jews went to Pilate, and acquainted him, that Jesus had formerly boasted that he would rise again on the third day. They therefore represented that it was highly necessary to have his tomb well guarded, lest his disciples should privately steal him away, and then give out, that he was really risen, a circumstance which would make the last mistake more dangerous than the first. Pilate agreed to what they asked; and, to prevent any imposition of that kind, told them, "Ye have a guard; go ye therefore, and make every thing as sure as you can." So they went, and set a guard at the door of the sepulchre^y.

*Christ
buried.*

*His tomb
sealed and
guarded.*

In the dawn of the third day, those pious women, who had prepared a costly mixture to embalm his body, not dreaming of his so sudden resurrection, made their way towards the place, where they had seen him deposited. They do not seem to have known any thing of a guard being set over it: their great concern was only how to roll the ponderous stone from the entrance. But that obstacle was already taken off by a miraculous earthquake, which had likewise put the guards to flight; so that at their arrival they found the stone rolled on one side, and an angel, clothed in resplendent array, sitting upon it. Their surprize was still greater, when they heard the heavenly messenger reprove their officious, but untimely piety, in words to this effect: "Why seek ye the living among the dead, forgetful of what he often repeated to you, that he was to suffer death, and to rise again on the third day? Behold the place where he was laid, and from which he is risen; and go and acquaint his disciples with it, and tell them, that he will meet you in Galilee, according to his promise." They forthwith obeyed the injunction, in a trans-

*The angel's
speech to
the women.*

^o Vide Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12, & alib.
xii. 10. Conf. cum John xix. 36, & seq.
62, ad fin.

^x Zechar.
^y Matth. xxvii.

port of joy and admiration : but, the disciples being still slow of faith, looked upon this information as the effect of fancy and delusion ².

Peter and John go to the sepulchre.

Two of them, however, had the curiosity to run to the sepulchre : John, who was the youngest of the two, went first ; and, stooping down, found that the body was really gone ; but, Peter went into the place along with that beloved disciple, and, to their surprize, they found the grave-cloaths, and the napkin, not hastily and confusedly thrown by, but neatly folded up separately ; upon which they began to entertain some hopes, and returned to acquaint the rest with the news. Whilst they communed together on this interesting subject, Mary Magdalen, who had staid in the garden, to search whether the body had not been removed to some other place, came hastily to them, and assured them, that the Lord had appeared to her there. But neither could this farther confirmation dispel their sorrow or unbelief ; till Jesus at length appearing among them, pronounced a gracious " All hail ;" bidding them be of good comfort ; for he was alive again, and, according to his promise, would shortly meet them in Galilee (U).

Christ appears to M. Magdalen ;

to two disciples going to Emmaus.

That evening two of the disciples going to a village called Emmaus, distant about sixty furlongs, or eight miles, north-west of Jerusalem, were discoursing with each other about the strange transactions of the day, when Jesus overtook them, and, without making himself known, asked them the cause of their melancholy looks. Cleophas, one of the two, in a kind of surprize, that he should seem so great a stranger to the transactions of the last week, began to give him an account of what had happened ; par-

² Matth. xxviii. 1, & seq. Mark xvi. 1, & seq. Luke xxiv. 1, & seq. John xx. 1, & seq.

(U) In the mean time, the frightened guards, leaving the garden with the utmost speed and confusion, went to acquaint the chief-priests and rulers with what had happened ; upon which a council was immediately called ; here one might reasonably expect they would either have yielded to so much evidence, or, at least, suspended all farther resolutions, till they had made a

full inquiry into the fact. But, they chose, at any rate, to suppress the truth : they bribed the watch to give out, that his disciples had stolen him away whilst they were asleep. Upon which, they went and spread abroad that report, which was readily swallowed by the greatest part of the Jews, and passed current among them for many years.

particularly,

ticularly, the vision, which the women had seen at the sepulchre; concluding with a kind of complaint, that though they had hitherto looked upon Jesus as the future deliverer of their unhappy nation; yet it being now three days since they had seen him expire on a shameful cross, their hopes were almost at an end, notwithstanding the report of his resurrection, and its being in some measure confirmed by some of the apostles, who had been that morning at the sepulchre. Here Jesus took occasion to blame their want of faith, not only in him, but in the Scriptures, where both his sufferings and death, resurrection and glory, were so plainly foretold, and to give them a full exposition of them from the first to the last. By this time they had reached the village, where he made a shew as if he designed to go farther; but they had been so comforted by his discourse, that they intreated him to spend that night with them. He went in accordingly; and, sitting down at table, began with the breaking of the bread, as he had been used to do; upon which they knew him, and he immediately vanished. This surprising discovery, added to the warmth which their hearts had felt, whilst he expounded the Scriptures on the road, would not suffer them to tarry longer there; but they went immediately to communicate their joy to the rest, then gathered together at Jerusalem, who acquainted them at the same time with his having appeared unto them also ^a.

*Expounds
the Scrip-
tures.*

Disappears.

All these circumstances, far from convincing them hitherto, had served only to make them believe that they had only seen some spirit in his likeness. They seemed still more confirmed in this conjecture, when, being at supper, with the gates fast, for fear of the Jews, he surprised them with his presence, and gave them his usual salutation, "Peace be to you." To convince them, therefore, of their mistake, he commanded them to draw near, examine his pierced hands and feet, handle his body, and satisfy themselves, that he was no spirit or phantasm, but their real risen Lord and Master. Whilst they were still fluctuating between joy and doubt, he reminded them of his former promises, explained those oracles to them, in which these things were presignified of him, renewed his former commission and power to preach and confirm his gospel, and left them for that night, full of joy and wonder, to collect and compare the several transactions of that glorious day ^b.

A. D. .
33.

*Appears to
the apostles
at supper.*

^a Luke xxiv. 13, & seq.
xx. 19, & seq. & alib.

^b Luke xxiv. 34, & seq. John

*Appears to
Thomas ;*

Thomas, one of the eleven apostles, called Didymus, happened to be absent at this transaction ; so that, when the rest informed him of it, he plainly told them, that he should never believe it, till he had thrust his fingers into the prints of the nails, and his hand into his wounded side. Eight days after, being the twelfth of April, Jesus appeared again unto them, when Thomas was there, and invited him to take that full demonstration, which he had so insisted on ; but, being now fully assured without it, he fell at his feet, and confessed him to be his Lord and his God : upon which he was dismissed with this gentle reproof, " Thou believest, Thomas, because thou hast seen ; but blessed are they that have not seen, and yet believe ."^a Some days after, they all left Jerusalem, and went according to his appointment into Galilee ; where he appeared again unto them, and, after his usual salutation, said unto them, " All power is given me in heaven and earth. Go, therefore, and preach to all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c ."^b Seven of them having gone to the sea-side to fish, namely, Peter, John, James, Thomas, Bartholomew or Nathanael, and two others not named, having toiled all night in vain, Jesus manifested himself again to them in the morning, by the kind and known token of a beneficial miracle ; and, after they had dragged their loaded net to the shore, condescended to eat and drink in their company.

*to seven
others.*

Having commanded Peter to feed his flock, he predicted the martyrdom of that apostle, and bid him follow him to a certain place. Peter perceiving that he was also followed by John the beloved disciple, seemed to take umbrage at this favourite, and asked if John too was to attend him. Jesus replied with marks of displeasure, " If I will have him tarry till I come, what have you to do with it ?" This answer was interpreted into a declaration that John should not die, but remain upon earth till the general resurrection.

*Appears to
them forty
days.*

Thus did Christ, after his resurrection, manifest himself, either to his whole church, or to some of them more particularly, during the space of forty days, discoursing familiarly with them of his spiritual kingdom, dispelling their doubts, allaying their fears, and comforting their hearts with the prospect of an eternal life to crown their painful and arduous race. At length, the appointed time of his departure drawing near, he gathered them together,

^a John xx. 24, & seq.

^b Matth. xxviii. 16, & seq.

to the number of about five hundred *, and led them into a retired part of a mountain, where he again gave them fresh assurances of his never-failing love, care, and protection; to the end of the world; renewed his commission and miraculous powers to them, together with a promise of a plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit to direct and fit them for their glorious work, the conversion of mankind †.

Having finished his discourse, he bid them return to Jerusalem, where he would meet them before his ascension, as he accordingly did; and ordered them to remain there till they had received the promised Comforter, by whom they should be endowed with power from above, answerable to their high commission. Great need they still had of such a divine director, since these last words filled them again with hopes, that their Master was now going indeed to restore the kingdom of Israel. Jesus was here again obliged to check their ambition and curiosity; but referred the further display of this important point to that promised heavenly instructor. And now, having finished his glorious work, he led them forth toward Bethany, to the mount of Olives; where, in their full view, he ascended to heaven, leaving his blessing upon them, and the comfortable assurance, that he was going to prepare a place for them in his own kingdom. Whilst their eyes were fixed still towards him, two angels appeared in bright apparel, and said unto them, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up to heaven? The same Jesus, whom you have now beheld ascending thither, shall in the like manner come down again from thence" (W).[†]

Promises the Comforter to them.

Ascends into heaven.

The

* 1 Cor. xv. 6. † Mark xvi. 17, ad fin. xvi. ver. ult. Luke xxiv. 46, ad fin. Acts i. 6, & seq.

Mark

(W) It will not be amiss to close this history of the Saviour of the world with the testimony which we find concerning him in Josephus; who, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, chap. 4. expressly says, "At the same time, there was one Jesus, a wise man, if at least he may be called a man, who was a great worker of miracles, and a teacher of truth to all that were desirous to learn it, and had a great number of disciples, both of Jews and Gentiles. This was (or as St. Jerom read it, *credebatur, was believed to be*) the Christ, whom Pilate, through the envy of the heads of our nation, caused to be crucified; but this did not hinder his disciples from cleaving stedfastly to him. He was seen by them three days after his death, according to the prophecies concerning him. The Christian sect subsists to this

S 4

day;

*Christ's
disciples
tarry at
Jerusalem.*

*Choose a
new mem-
ber to suc-
ceed Judas.*

*The Holy
Ghost de-
scends on
the apos-
tles;*

The disciples returned immediately to Jerusalem, where they spent their time in prayer, fasting, and such other exercises as were most likely to qualify them for the reception of the promised Comforter. They were about a hundred and twenty persons, probably exclusive of the women, among whom was the Virgin Mary ^b. The place they used to assemble in, was a large upper room, where, a few days after their Master's ascension, Peter addressed himself to the rest, and reminded them how necessary it was, before they entered upon their grand commission, to choose a new member into the apostolic college, from among those who had been conversant with Jesus from John's baptism to that present time, to fill up the vacancy which the traitor Judas had made in their number. The proposal being approved, two candidates were offered, namely, Joseph, surnamed Justus and Barsabas (who is supposed by some to be the brother of James the Less, and, by others, the same with Barnabas); and Matthias, who was one of the seventy disciples. After a short prayer to the Discerner of all hearts, to direct them to the person whom he had made choice of, they cast their lots, and Matthias was chosen into the apostolic ministry ^c.

When fifty days from Christ's resurrection were expired, a term which ushered in the grand feast of Pentecost, whilst the disciples were all assembled at their usual place, suddenly there was heard a mighty sound from heaven; a vehement wind filled the room, and there appeared cloven tongues of fire sitting upon their heads. They were

^b Acts i. 14.

^c Acts i. 15, ad finem.

say; they call themselves by his name, and acknowledge him for their head."

This passage, however, is said to be surreptitious, as neither St. Justin nor Tertullian make any mention of it; and yet it is quoted by St. Jerom and Eusebius. The principal objection against it is, how Josephus could express himself in such a manner concerning Christ, and yet live and die a Jew. To which may be added another difficulty; to wit, how he could acknowledge him the promised Messiah, after he had

once complimented the Roman emperor with that title. Those who want to see what has been written on the subject, may consult the following authors: Euseb. Ecles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 11. Huet. Demonstr. Evang. prop. sect. 11. Arnold. Dissert. de Loc. sup. an. 1661. Prid. Calmet. But those, who believe it to have been foisted in by some pious Christians, will find it still much more difficult to account how they could get it inserted in all future copies, and suppress all the old and genuine ones,

all

all filled with the Holy Ghost, inspired with the knowledge of foreign tongues, and endowed with all other supernatural gifts, to qualify them for the conversion of mankind. They set themselves immediately about this great work, Jerusalem being then filled with people, from all parts of the world, both Jews and proselytes, who flocked thither, as usual, to that grand solemnity. These, curious to know the particulars of that wonderful event, came to them in great crouds, and were beyond measure surprised to hear such poor illiterate Galilæans express with such energy, the most sublime mysteries of the gospel^k. Whilst some, struck with amazement at what they saw and heard, were questioning what the issue of such a prodigy would be; others ascribed their raptures to some excess of new wine, which they supposed the apostles had drank that morning. Which notion, when Peter understood, he first exploded the supposition, by reminding them, that it was but the third hour of the day, or nine of the morning; whereas the Jews never eat or drank till after that hour, when the first public prayers were over; and then proved to them from the Scriptures, that there was nothing in this extraordinary change, but what had been plainly foretold by one of the prophets^l. From that subject, he proceeded to those other oracles, which had presignified the death and resurrection of Christ, the true Messiah; all which he explained with such powerful eloquence, that three thousand of his audience were immediately converted to his doctrine^m.

*who are
endowed
with the
gift of
tongues.*

Peter and John, repairing to the temple as usual, at the evening hour of prayer, healed a poor cripple, who sat begging at the gate. This incident drew immediately a great concourse of people about them, to the place called Solomon's porch; where Peter assured them, that they had wrought the miracle by no other power than that of Jesus Christ, whom their elders and rulers had through ignorance condemned to the cross. He concluded with such a powerful discourse on the danger of an obstinate and ungrateful unbelief, and on the unspeakable benefits of a speedy faith and repentance, that five thousand more were added to the number of their convertsⁿ (X).

*An old
cripple
healed.*

But

^k Acts ii. 8, & seq.

^l Joel ii. 28, & seq. conf. cum Isai.

xxix. 19. & seq. xlv. 3, & seq. cum Acts xi. 15, & seq. ^m Acts

ii. 37, ad fin. ⁿ Acts iii. 1, & seq.

(X) Thus did this new not in the number only, but church of Christ daily improve, in the zeal and fervour, holiness

*Peter's
speech to
the sanhe-
drim.*

*Apostles
forbid to
preach
Christ.*

*Inspired
with fresh
zeal.*

But the opposition of the priests and rulers against Christ's religion did not expire with the death of its divine author. This new and signal miracle on the lame man, the number of converts it drew after it, the zeal, boldness, and eloquence, of the apostles, all contributed to awaken their fears, and put them upon fresh means to suppress what they called this new and dangerous sect. The apostles, and the cripple, being brought before them, Peter demonstrated to them from the Scriptures, that Jesus was that chief corner-stone, which was long since foretold to be rejected by the builders^o, and was now become the foundation of the new covenant, since there was no name given under heaven, by which men might be saved, but that of Jesus Christ, crucified indeed by them, but raised again by his own victorious power. The sanhedrim, afraid to use violent means, or to inflame the admiring multitude, contented themselves for the present, with forbidding them to preach any more in that name; to which injunction Peter replied, "We have received a contrary command from God, and you may easily judge which of the two ought to be obeyed^p."

At his return to his colleagues, having acquainted them with what had passed, they joined unanimously in prayer to God, to strengthen their faith, courage, and miraculous power, that they might boldly go on in their ministry, and preach his crucified Son notwithstanding all opposition and discouragements; upon which they felt their upper room violently shaken, and their hearts inspired with such zeal, that neither threatenings nor persecutions, racks, tortures, nor deaths, could put a stop to their preaching.

^o Psal. cxviii. 22.

^p Acts iii. & iv. passim.

ness and charity, of its members; beginning now a kind of heavenly life upon earth, disclaiming all property, selling all they had, and cheerfully laying it at the apostles' feet, to be distributed to the relief of their brethren; and being even in their worldly goods, as well as in their hearts and affections, so perfectly united, that they became the wonder

of the world, even of their enemies. Thus were the divine oracles fulfilled, the promises of Christ performed, and his church miraculously planted and propagated by that heavenly Spirit; to continue under his direction to the end of the world, maugre all the oppositions of Jews and Gentiles (1).

(1) Matth. xvi. 18.

The

The sanhedrim, finding their admonitions ineffectual, began to think it time to try some severer means; and to that end ordered them to be seized, and cast into a common gaol. But, before the next morning, an angel had opened the prison-gates, and sent them back to resume their ministry and preaching. By that time the council was met to determine something concerning them, word was brought, that the prisoners were escaped by some miracle; as the prison-gates had been found closely shut. Whilst they were debating about this new prodigy, the news came, that they were preaching as usual in the temple. Being again apprehended, and asked by Caiaphas, wherefore they had transgressed the command of the sanhedrim, they boldly answered, that, since obedience ceased to be due to magistrates as soon as it began to contravene that which was due to God, they had strictly followed their duty in preaching the resurrection of Christ, and the remission of sins through him, and giving the same irrefragable proofs of those saving truths, which they themselves had experienced ^a.

Imprisoned, and miraculously released.

The sanhedrim in great perplexity.

This candid answer, which gave them to understand, that they were not to be frightened into a base compliance, raised the indignation of the council to such a degree, that they were just ready to vent it in some severer manner, when Gamaliel (Y), one of their members, a person of greater coolness, and a learned Pharisee, stood up, and moderated their resentment for the present, by reminding them, that if this counsel were merely human, it would soon be crushed, as many others of the like nature, which he named, and they knew had lately been; but if it was of God, it was vain, as well as impious, in them to oppose it. "Wherefore," concluded he, "my opinion is, that we let these men alone, and wait the event, lest we should be found at length to contend with an almighty power." His counsel was readily agreed to, and the apostles, being called in, after having received a severe rebuke for their contumacy, were dismissed, and joyfully rejoined their colleagues (Z).

Gamaliel's advice to them.

About

^a Acts iii. iv. passim, & v. 17.

^r Acts iv. ver. 33, ad fin.

(Y) This was the person at whose feet St. Paul had been brought up.

(Z) About this time the tetrarch Philip, the brother of

Herod, died at Julias, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, from the death of Herod the Great. As he left no heirs of his own body, his tetrarchy was

Seven deacons chose.

About the same time the apostles ordained seven deacons from among the number of believers, to be overseers of the ministry in the relief of the necessitous members.

St. Stephen's defence.

One of these was Stephen, a man of extraordinary learning and zeal, and full of the Holy Ghost, who wrought such wonders among the people, that he gave great umbrage to the Jews. Being accused before the sanhedrim, and having leave to speak for himself, he began his defence with a historical deduction of the true worship of God, exclusive of the Mosaic rites; which last he shewed, by authentic proofs, were to be done away, to make room for a more spiritual religion under the promised Messiah. This speech was interpreted into blasphemy, for which he was condemned to death, and was stoned accordingly, Saul at this time, a great enemy to Christianity, assisting zealously on this occasion. Authors are not agreed about the exact year of his death; but most of them, after Usher, Pearson, and others, place it about this time, that is, about a year after that of his divine Master.

*A. D.
34.*

Stephen stoned.

*The Christians persecuted.
A means of propagating the gospel.*

The death of this protomartyr was soon followed by a more grievous persecution against the Christian converts, which yet Providence turned into the means of propagating the gospel far and wide, by the dispersion of a great number of them, who, after Stephen's death, left Jerusalem and Judæa, according to our Saviour's advice, "When you are persecuted in one city, flee into another." Few beside the apostles staid at Jerusalem, whilst the rest went and preached, some at Samaria, some at Cyprus, and others elsewhere, but still among the Jews; for the time for the conversion of the Gentiles was not yet come. During this persecution, Samaria having received the gospel by the preaching of Philip, the apostolic college at Jerusalem deputed thither Peter and John, who imparted the Holy Ghost unto them by their prayer, and imposition of hands. Simon Magus, a forcerer, observing the wonderful efficacy of this last ceremony, would have purchased the same power of the apostles at a large sum; for which profane proposal Peter sharply rebuked him, and after-ages have branded his memory by giving that new and unheard-of sin the name of Simony.

The Samaritans converted.

About the beginning of the next year, L. Vitellius, being sent by Tiberius proconsul of Syria, came to Jeru-

* Acts vii. 58, & seq. † Matth. x. 23. ‡ Acts viii. 4, & seq.

was resumed by Tiberius, and Syria, then under the government of Flaccus Pompeius, was annexed to the province of Judæa and Samaria, and Jerusalem.

Jerusalem about the feast of the Passover, where he was honourably received by the magistrates of that metropolis, and remitted to the inhabitants the whole duty of the fruits that were set to sale. He likewise put all the pontifical habits, which used to be kept in the fortrefs of Antonia, under the custody of a Roman officer, into the possession of the Jewish high-priest, to be kept and disposed of at their pleasure. He likewise deposed Caiaphas from the pontifical chair, and raised Jonathan, the son of Annas, or Ananus, to that dignity; then departed for Antioch, his capital *. Soon after this transaction a tumult happened at Samaria, in which Pilate acted with such despotism and cruelty, as paved the way to his own ruin. A certain impostor had persuaded the Samaritans, that, if they would repair to their sacred Mount Garizzim, he would direct them to the sacred vessels which Moses had formerly buried in that place. The credulous people came armed in shoals to him, and encamped before a village called Tirathaba, waiting for orders to join them, till they could make a sufficient body to go up and take possession of the pretended treasure. Pilate, who had timely notice of their design, sent a strong body of horse and foot, who attacked them with such fury, that they killed a great number of those deluded wretches, took many of them prisoners, and dispersed the rest; then he ordered those of the best rank and quality to be beheaded without mercy or delay. The Samaritans had immediately recourse to Vitellius, and complained of the massacre, assuring him, at the same time, that their assembling in arms was not with a seditious view, but to secure themselves from the intolerable oppressions of the Jewish governor. Vitellius, who was well acquainted with his cruel and rapacious character, upon this complaint, dispatched his friend Marcellus, to take the government of Judæa upon him, and sent orders to Pilate to repair immediately to Rome, there to answer the accusation of the Samaritans, before Cæsar's tribunal. Pilate was forced to obey; but, being detained by contrary winds, Tiberius died before he could reach Rome. This deposition, which was but the forerunner of much greater evils to that cruel oppressor, happened in the tenth year of his tyrannic government † (A).

During

* Conf. Jos. Antiq. lib. xv. 14. & xviii. 6. † Antiq. ibid. cap. 5.

(A) The *Acta Pilati*, or government, have been so altered and sophisticated by the hands through

*Vitellius
and Herod
come to Je-
rusalem.*

*Tiberius
succeeded
by Caius.*

During these transactions in Judæa, Herod had been carrying on his unsuccessful war against Aretas; and Tiberius, vexed at the success of the latter, had sent express orders to Vitellius to invade his country, and either to take him prisoner, or send his head to Rome. Vitellius, in his march into Arabia, designed to have passed through Judæa; but was diverted from it by the Jewish magistrates, on account of the Roman standards. Upon this condescension Herod and he came to Jerusalem, where they were highly honoured, and offered the usual sacrifices, and removed Jonathan from the high-priesthood, to give it to his brother Theophilus^y. Here they received the news of Tiberius's death, and Vitellius staid to receive the oath of fidelity from the people to the new emperor Caius^z. By

^y Antiq. ibid. cap. viii. Vid. & Dio. lib. lix. Legat. ad Caium.

^z Vid. Philo.

through which they passed, that we can say nothing positive on the subject. What relates to our Saviour, Tertulian and Eusebius have recorded to this effect.

“ Pilate to Tiberius, &c.

“ I have been forced to consent, at length, to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, to prevent a tumult from the Jews; though it was very much against my will. For the world never saw, nor probably will, a man of such extraordinary piety and uprightness. But the high-priest and sanhedrim fulfilled in it the oracles of their prophets, and of our sibyls. Whilst he hung on the cross, a horrid darkness, which covered the earth, seemed to threaten its total end. His disciples, who pretend to have seen him rise from the dead, and ascend into heaven, and acknowledge him for their God (1), still subsist; and by their excellent lives, shew themselves the worthy disciples

of so extraordinary a Master. I did what I could to save him from the malice of the Jews; but the fear of a total insurrection made me sacrifice him to the interest and peace of your empire, &c.”

There is nothing in all this that can appear inconsistent with the character of such a governor as Pilate was, if we except his saying there, that Christ's death had been foretold by the prophets and sibyls; but Joseph of Arimathea, when he went to beg his body, might in all likelihood inform him of the one, and the other he might either know or be told by some of his own people. As for the rest, the fear he was in of being called to an account for his unjust sentence, might make him the more diligent in sending such a favourable relation of the transaction, as would most effectually prejudice that capricious emperor in his favour.

(1) These last particulars are only in Tertul. & Euseb.

this time Artabanes having succeeded Aretas in Arabia, Vitellius entered into an alliance with him near the Euphrates; where Herod gave them a magnificent entertainment under a stately pavilion, which he had reared for that purpose, near the banks of that river. The Roman general sent immediately an account of this transaction to the emperor, and was surprised to find, by his answer, that Herod had acquainted him with all the particulars of it; for which anticipation he bore him a mortal hatred ever after*.

All this while the Christian church increased to a surprising degree, not only in Judæa, but in all other parts of the world; to which the apostles themselves, after having left James the Less bishop of that of Jerusalem (B), dispersed

*James left
bishop of
Jerusalem.*

* Joseph. & Dio. ubi supra.

(B) That he was made bishop of Jerusalem, and that this metropolis was made the first Christian see, we have not from any sacred writers, but from the fathers and ancient tradition. It is supposed that both St. Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee, gave him the preference of being the first bishop, on account of his being so nearly related to Christ. For he was the son of Cleophas or Alpheus, the brother of the blessed Virgin, therefore his first cousin, and hence called his brother, according to the Hebrew custom.

This his preference is farther confirmed by his being mentioned by the apostle before Peter and John, who are there called the two other pillars of the church; and especially by his sitting as president at the first council at Jerusalem, when the question about the circumcision of heathen converts was condemned.

Some apocryphal writings were attributed to St. James, but were condemned by the

church, which receives none but the epistle that bears his name, and which he is supposed to have written a little before his death, which happened about the year of Christ 62; when his great sanctity having rendered him obnoxious to Ananias the son of Ananias the high-priest, mentioned in the gospel, he drew him into the following snare. He sent for him, to declare to the mistaken people what they ought to think of Jesus, concerning whom they had, he pretended, conceived some wrong notion. For the better conveniency of his being heard, he was placed in some gallery, or high balcony of the temple, where the people from below inquired of him concerning the crucified Jesus; to which the good old bishop answered, "That Jesus, whom you crucified, sits now at the right hand of God."

The chiefs, hearing this declaration, cried out "The Just," alluding to his surname, is also in the delusion, and ordered

*The apostles
disperse
themselves.*

dispersed themselves, either about or soon after this time. It is not our province to follow them out of Judæa, or even to enter into many transactions of theirs within it, which have no concern with the Jewish history; such as their councils held at Jerusalem, their converts, miracles, and ordination of bishops; those particulars regarding only the first propagation and planting of the Christian church, we shall refer our readers for them to those Christian annalists, historians, and other authors, who have written on the subject, which are too numerous and too well known to need being mentioned.

*Marullus
succeeds
Pilate in
Judæa.*

*Agrippa
promoted
by Caius.*

*His former
poor condi-
tion.*

The Jews, soon after the death of Tiberius, received a new governor from Rome, instead of Pontius Pilate, named Marullus, or rather Marcellus, to whom the care of Judæa had been committed after Pilate's deposition. At the same time Caius Caligula gave his old friend Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great, the tetrarchy of his late uncle Philip, and added to it that of Abylene in Syria, which had formerly belonged to Lyfania. Agrippa, whom St. Luke calls by the common name of Herod^b, had been brought up at Rome with Drusus the son of Tiberius; and, by his extreme generosity, or rather profuseness, had secured many friends at court; but they were of the courtly mould. For, after Drusus's death, the emperor having removed all the friends of that young prince from him, left they should revive the memory of his son, Agrippa found himself reduced to the greatest extremities, much in debt, and almost friendless. In this condition he repaired to Judæa, and shut himself up in a castle in Idumæa, resolving, through shame, vexation, and misery, to starve himself to death. His wife Cyprus, the daughter of Phasael, wrote to his sister in his behalf; and these two furnished him with some present subsistence, but too little for a prince of his extravagant temper. To this Herod, Herodias's husband, added some farther favours, made him a magistrate of Tiberias, and assisted him with small sums. But this kindness was soon at an end; and Herod having one day upbraided him

^b Acts xiii. 1, & seq.

dered him to be thrown head-stones, whilst he prayed to long to the ground. His fall, God for them. At length one of them came and killed him they overwhelmed him with (2).

(2) Euseb. ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. 23.

with

with it at a banquet, Agrippa, who could not brook the affront, retired to Flaccus governor of Syria, where he had not staid long before he disoblged him, and was forced to retire again into Italy^c. After many other misfortunes he was, at length, through the ill offices of one of his freed-men, thrown into prison, and loaded with chains, by Tiberius. He continued in this miserable condition till that prince's death, when Caius, with whom he had formerly contracted an intimate friendship, sent for him from his prison to his own palace, arrayed him in purple, exchanged his iron chain for one of gold of the same weight, put a diadem on his head, and gave him the two tetrarchies above mentioned, with the title of king. Agrippa did not, however, take immediate possession of his new dominions; but continued about a year longer at Rome with the new emperor. He obtained, at length, leave of him to go and visit his Jewish territories, and took Egypt in his way. He embarked at Puteoli, at the end of July, and came a few days after in sight of Alexandria. The magnificence of his entry into that city, though he chose to make it in the night, to avoid its being too much observed, drew the envy of the Alexandrians, who could not behold this upstart Jewish king in such splendor, without offering several indignities to him, though at a distance; and Flaccus, their governor, who was no lover of the Jews, not only winked at their insolence, but beheld it with a secret pleasure. He was likewise there informed of the indirect means which Flaccus had taken to render the Jewish nation odious to the emperor. All which particulars made him willing to leave the place as soon as possible.

A. D.
41.

Raised from his imprisonment and chains by Caius. Embarks for Judaea.

Affronted at Alexandria.

He was no sooner settled in his kingdom, than he sent a detail to the emperor, of the cruelties which Flaccus had committed. In consequence of this information, Caius dispatched Bassus immediately to seize that bloody governor, and bring him to Rome, where he was stripped of all his riches, banished into an island of the Archipelago, and at length put to death.

Flaccus's cruelties punished.

In the mean time Herod Antipas, who had formerly treated Agrippa with such contempt, could not now behold his glory without envy. His wife, a haughty woman, could not brook that he should be contented with the bare title of tetrarch, whilst her brother was raised to that of a king; and did not cease importuning him until

Herod Antipas's ambition,

^c Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7.

*and envy
against
Agrippa.*

*Accused to
Caius.*

Banished.

*A. D.
39.*

*Caius or-
ders his
statue to be
erected in
the temple.*

*The Jews
oppose it.*

he took a journey to Rome, to obtain the same title from the emperor. She even accompanied him thither, in hopes that her presence would greatly influence that monarch; but Agrippa, who was timely acquainted with their ambitious designs, had taken care to send thither one of his freedmen, named Fortunatus, to accuse Herod of being concerned in Sejanus's late conspiracy, and, as a proof of it, to mention the arsenals which he had filled with arms sufficient to furnish seventy thousand men. As soon, therefore, as Herod was admitted into the presence of the emperor, Fortunatus presented him with Agrippa's letter. Caius having read it, asked Herod whether he had really such a great magazine of arms. He was forced to confess it; upon which he was stripped of his tetrarchy, and sent into banishment to Lyons in France. Caius understanding, however, that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, offered to pardon her, and to procure her the payment of all the sums she had lent her brother; but she refused his generosity, and, as she had been the cause of her husband's disgrace, chose to accompany him, and to share his fate; upon which Caius gave both his tetrarchy, and all his treasure, to Agrippa, after Herod had enjoyed the former forty-three years^d.

In the mean time Caius, having ordered his statue to be erected in the very sanctuary of the temple, sent orders to Petronius, then governor of Syria, to see it executed, and to have a number of troops ready to prevent any obstruction from the Jews. Petronius, who knew their zeal, as well as the impetuosity of his master, could not obey such a command without some dread; and, to gain time, sent for the best statuarys and materials from distant parts, whilst he gathered his army into the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. This last precaution having alarmed the nation, he was forced to disclose the orders he had received; upon which he was addressed by all the heads of the Jews, who in the humblest manner assured him, that they would sooner hazard the loss of all that was dear to them, even their lives, than suffer their temple to be thus profaned. The governor strove to bring them to compliance, by reminding them of the danger of their opposing, or of his not obeying the emperor's command, and that their resistance would be interpreted into downright rebellion. They answered him, that the prayers and sacrifices they offered daily for the emperor

^d Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 9. Vid. & Dio. lib. ix. Philo, ubi supra.
were

were a sufficient token of their loyalty. "However, added they, we are so far from rising in arms upon this occasion, that we will suffer ourselves to be butchered in the most cruel manner; and this will be all the resistance you will meet from us if you persist in your design."

Aristobulus intercedes for them.

Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa, accompanied with some of the royal family, came to Petronius, and begged that they might have leave to try to mollify the emperor by an embassy, and that he would second it with a letter to Caligula, in their behalf. Petronius at length consented to write to the emperor, but forbade them to send any embassy, or let their reluctance be so much as suspected at the Roman court. He wrote accordingly to the emperor, that he had met with difficulties in the execution of his orders, through want of proper hands; and that the statue, which he designed should be a master-piece of its kind, was not yet reared, because he feared the taking so many men from their other labours, would bring a scarcity on the land, and lower the tribute; with such other reasons, which, instead of appeasing, greatly exasperated the emperor. He was just reading the letter, and in the height of his resentment, when king Agrippa, who was then at Rome, came into his presence. This prince was greatly surprised to see such a mixture of passions in his looks and gestures, and began to fear he had either offended, or been in some way misrepresented to him; when Caius, who easily observed his disorder, broke the secret to him in words to this effect: "Your Jewish subjects are strange creatures, to refuse to acknowledge me for a god, and to provoke my resentment against them: I had commanded the statue of Jupiter to be set up in their temple, and they have, it seems, opposed it, and raised a kind of insurrection."

Petronius excuses his delay.

Agrippa addresses the emperor in favour of the Jews.

Caius's reproof to him.

At these words Agrippa fell into a swoon, and was carried off to his own palace, where he continued in that condition till the third day, when, having taken a little sustenance, he wrote a pathetic letter to the emperor, in favour of his countrymen, declaring that, for his own part, he should not outlive the profanation of the sacred temple, which would undoubtedly complete the ruin of the Jewish nation*. Caius began to relent, when he read the letter; and Agrippa, who drew a good omen even from his not answering it, took the liberty to invite him to a sumptuous entertainment, which Caius, who really

Agrippa's pathetic letter to him.

Stratagem to obtain his suit.

* Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 11. Vide & Legat. ad Caium.

loved him, easily accepted. Here the Jewish king, having warmed his guest with wine, began to extol the great and signal favours Caius had heaped upon him; and, by his encomiums and expressions of gratitude, found means to get a new promise of whatever he should ask. To this promise Agrippa answered, "Since it is your pleasure to add this new favour to all the rest, I will beg for such an one as will at once be an irrefragable proof of your goodness to me, and draw a plenty of heavenly blessings upon your own head; and this is, that you shall lay aside your resolution of setting up the statue in the temple of Jerusalem." This petition, which shewed unfeigned love for his country and religion, even at the hazard of his life, had such an effect on the emperor, that he wrote immediately to his governor, that, if his statue was not already set up, he should desist; inasmuch as he had altered his design, out of friendship to Agrippa. However, the levity of his temper soon made him repent of his complaisance; and he designed to have made a second attempt. At the same time his resentment against Petronius being kindled afresh, he sent him an order to dispatch himself; but Caius was assassinated time enough to prevent either of these orders from taking effect ^f.

Caius's orders countermanded.

Agrippa's policy at Rome. Claudius's friendship to him.

Agrippa, who was still at Rome, did not a little contribute to the succession of Claudius; in consideration of which exertion, this last confirmed to him all Caligula's grants, gave him Judæa, Samaria, and the southern parts of Idumæa, entered into a solemn alliance with him, and made several edicts in favour of the Jews. At his request, he bestowed the kingdom of Chalcis on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law; Agrippa had the honours of the consulship, and Herod those of the prætorship, conferred upon them; both were intitled to enter into the senate, and to pay their compliments to the emperor in Greek, a ceremony which was usually performed in the Latin tongue. All these grants were engraved on copper, and set up in the Capitol; thus was Agrippa raised to a great height of glory, his territories extending to the farthest limits of the dominions possessed by his grandfather Herod the Great, and his power and credit with the senate exceeding the interest of that monarch, even when at the highest pitch.

Agrippa comes to Judæa.

After the accession of Claudius to the empire, he returned to his kingdom, where he shewed a more extra-

^f Antiq. ubi supra. Sueton. in Caligul.

ordinary attachment to the Jewish religion, than any of his predecessors had expressed; and began with the solemn performance of the vow of Nazareat; after which he caused the golden chain, which Caius had given him, to be hung up in one of the most conspicuous parts of the temple, to be a monument to posterity of the instability of human affairs. He deposed Theophilus from the high-priesthood, and gave it to Simon Cantharas the son of Boethus. He divested him of it soon after, to bestow it on Jonathan, the son of Annas, who had already enjoyed it after Caiaphas; but Jonathan modestly refused it, telling the king, that he thought himself sufficiently honoured to have once enjoyed that dignity; upon which it was given to his brother Matthias †.

Agrippa was not only a zealous observer of the Jewish religion, but likewise an excellent prince, delighting in acts of generosity and clemency. He had been at an immense charge in building, beautifying, and fortifying, a new quarter on the north side of the city, which he called Bezetha, or the new city, and in procuring the emperor's leave to surround it with a strong wall. Had he obtained permission, that metropolis would have been rendered impregnable; but Vivius Marfus, who had this year succeeded Petronius in the government of Syria, represented, in such lively colours, the danger of the design, which had already been partly executed, that Claudius immediately sent him an order to desist.

His character.

A. D.
43.

Upon his return to Jerusalem, he deposed Matthias, the son of Annas, from the high-priesthood, and gave that dignity to Elionæus the son of Cithæus; and, as he was very fond of pleasing the Jewish nation, he began to persecute the Christians, who till then seem to have been very quiet at Jerusalem ever since St. Paul's conversion. The first who fell a victim to his popular zeal, was James surnamed Boanerges, whom he caused to be beheaded. The pleasure which this action gave the Jews, encouraged him to imprison Peter also, with a design to cut him off immediately after the feast, which was that of the Passover. Peter was therefore strongly guarded, having four quaternions of soldiers at his prison door, and fastened hands and feet with chains to his dungeon; but the prayers which were put up for him by all the Christians in and about Jerusalem, obtained for him a miraculous deliverance. For, on the very night before his designed martyrdom, an

Beheaded James the Less.

Peter miraculously delivered.

† Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 5, 6, 7.

angel awaked Peter out of a sound sleep, freed him from his fetters, opened the prison-door, led him safe through some of the streets of the city, and left him to seek for some safe asylum; which he accordingly found, after he had acquainted some of the brethren with his miraculous deliverance ^b.

*Agrippa's
magnificent
appear-
ance at Ca-
jarea.*

Soon after this disappointment, Agrippa returned to Cæsarea, where he designed to have exhibited public games in honour of Claudius Cæsar; and was attended thither by a numerous train of the most considerable persons, both of his own, and of the neighbouring nations. He appeared early on the second morning of the festival at the public theatre, in a costly suit artfully wrought, so that the sun-beams, darting upon the silver ground of it, were reflected with such an uncommon lustre, that the people beheld him with a kind of divine respect. He addressed himself in an elegant speech to the deputies of Tyre and Sidon, who had been some time in disgrace, and were now come to beg his pardon, and the continuance of his favour to their respective nations. Here the ambassadors, prompted perhaps by some of his court sycophants, gave a great shout, crying out, that it was the voice of a god, and not of a man; and practised some attitudes that favoured of adoration. The king, too sensible of the people's praise, approved, instead of checking, their impious flattery; upon which the angel of the Lord smote him with a dreadful disease ⁱ, under which having lingered five days, he expired in all the misery that can be expressed or imagined (C). He left a son of the same name, then but seventeen years old, who had been brought up at Rome; also three daughters, Berenice married to Herod, aged sixteen, and Mariamne and Drusilla, both young and unmarried, though contracted, the former to Julius Archelaus, the son of Chalcias, and the latter to Epiphanes the son of Antiochus king of Comagene. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his

A. D.
44.

*Dreadful
death.*

^b Acts xii. per tot.
xix. cap. 7.

ⁱ Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin. Antiq. lib.

(C) The sacred historian says, that he was eaten of worms (1); and Josephus, that he was seized with such violent pains in his heart and bowels, that he could not but reflect on the baseness of his flatterers, who had but lately complimented him with a kind of divine immortality.

(1) Acts xii. 23.

reign. Claudius intended to bestow the kingdom on his son, according to a former promise; but was dissuaded from it by his courtiers, on pretence that he was too young to be trusted with the care of such a nation; upon which Judæa became again a province of the empire, and Cuspius Fadus was sent governor of it, with this particular order, that he should act nothing in concert with Mar- sus; that he should severely punish the inhabitants of Cæ- sarea, and Sebaste or Samaria, for the indignities they had offered to the memory of the late king (D); and that he should send the troops that were kept in Judæa away into Pontus. But he was soon after persuaded to let them remain where they were; a circumstance which proved a source of new troubles and miseries^k. It was about this time that the famine foretold by Agabus, a Christian prophet^l, began to rage; when the new churches planted at Antioch, and other places, sent the believers at Jeru- salem a liberal supply, by the hands of Paul and Barna- bas; whilst Helen, queen of Adiabene, is said to have re- lieved the Jews, and afterwards the Christians.

*Judæa
made a
province
by Clau-
dius.*

*A famine
in Judæa.*

Fadus, upon his arrival in Judæa, found it necessary to suppress the banditti, who were by that time grown very numerous and powerful; and also to quell an insurrec- tion which the Jews had raised against the inhabitants of Philadelphia, the same city with Rabbah, the ca- pital of the Ammonites^m. In the mean time Claudius, having recalled Marfus out of respect to the late king, had sent Cassius Longinus into that government, who came immediately to Jerusalem, and insisted upon having the pontifical vestments put into his possession, in order to be kept, as formerly, in the fortress of Antonia. The Jews, surprised at this new demand, begged leave that they might send a deputation to the emperor; but did not ob- tain it from that governor, till some of the heads of the nation had put their sons as hostages into his hands. The

*Fadus sent
into Ju-
dæa.*

A. D.
45.

^k Antiq. ubi supra,
lib. xx. cap. 1, & 2.

^l Acts xi. 27, ad fin.

^m Antiq.

(D) These most ungrateful wretches, not content with making the greatest rejoicings at Agrippa's death, and black- ening his memory with the vilest outrages, had pulled down the statues of his three

daughters from the theatres, and other public places, and carried them into their public stews; where they prostituted them in such a manner, as is unfit to be mentioned (2).

(2) Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 1.

ambassadors applying to Claudius, and seconded by the young Agrippa, obtained a grant, that those sacred robes should be kept in possession of the high-priest, in the manner Vitellius had granted it six years before. At the same time Herod, king of Chalcis, obtained of that emperor the superintendency of both the temple and sacred treasury; together with the authority of naming whom he would to the pontifical dignity; in pursuance of which power, he deposed Cantharas, and raised Joseph, the son of Cami, to the high-priesthood. After Herod's death, young Agrippa obtained the same grant for himself, and enjoyed it till the time of the Jewish war^a.

*Theudas,
an impostor,
causes
an insur-
rection.*

During Fadus's government there arose an impostor, named Theudas (E), who drew great numbers of the de-luded Jews after him, bidding them follow him beyond Jordan, and promising that he would divide the waters of that river, as Joshua had done, by his single word. Cuspius sent some troops of horse and foot against him and his followers, killed some of them, took others prisoners, and, amongst them, Theudas himself, whom he caused to be beheaded, and his head was brought to Jerusalem. This, according to Josephus, is the most remarkable incident that happened during Fadus's government: he was soon after succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Jew of sacerdotal race, and nephew to the famous Philo, often mentioned in this work^o. One of his first exploits was the crucifying James and Simon, the sons of Judas, surnamed Galilæus, head of the Gaulonitish sect. About the same time Herod, king of Chalcis, having deposed Joseph, the son of Cami, gave the high-priesthood to Ananias, the son of Zebedeus, and died soon after, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius. That emperor gave his kingdom to young Agrippa, in prejudice of Aristobulus, the eldest son of the deceased.

*Ventidius
sent gover-
nor of Ju-
dæa.*

Ventidius Cumanus succeeded Alexander in the govern-ment of Judæa; and it was in his time that those troubles began, which ended in the ruin of the Jewish nation. The great concourse of people, which their festivals brought to Jerusalem, obliged the Romans at such times to keep a guard before the gates of the temple, to pre-

^a Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 1, & 2.

^o Bel. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 11.

(E) We must take care not to confound this Theudas of Josephus with another men- tioned by St. Luke, and said to have appeared just after the death of Herod the Great.

vent tumults. It was now the Passover, when one of the Roman soldiers upon duty had the impudence to expose his nudity to open sight: this indignity raised the resentment of the Jews to such a height, that they complained of it to Cumanus, and in an insolent manner told him, that the affront was offered by his order, not only to the nation, but to God. He tried at first to appease them by fair means, but finding them grow tumultuous, he ordered his troops to assemble at the place. At sight of these, the multitude fled in the greatest fright and confusion, insomuch that upwards of ten thousand were stifled to death in their flight, by running over one another in the narrow passages that led to and from the temple. Soon after this disaster, another happened in Samaria, where some Galilæan Jews, going to one of the feasts, were insulted, and one of them killed, and the rest went to complain to Cumanus against the Samaritans; but he refusing to do them justice, the complaint was brought before Quadratus, governor of Syria, who sent both parties to Rome, and Cumanus with them, to answer for themselves (F). The Samaritans were found guilty, and condemned to die, Cumanus was sent into banishment, and Celer, one of his tribunes, who had been involved in the same guilt, condemned to be dragged through the streets of Jerusalem, and then put to death.

Jews insulted by a Roman soldier.

A. D.
48.

Samaritans severely punished.

A. D.
54.

In the following year, Claudius Felix, brother of Pallas, the emperor's chief favourite, being then in Judæa, succeeded Cumanus in the government of it, under whom the Jewish affairs became more and more desperate. The land swarmed with robbers and banditti, false prophets, and pretended miracle-mongers, who were still blowing the coals of discontent and sedition; so that there passed scarce a day in which there was not some dreadful execution, made upon some of those miscreants^a. To these

^a Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 4, & 5.
cap. 12.

^a Bell. Jud. lib. ii.

(F) They were all sent in chains thither, though they were the heads of each of the contending nations. Those among the Jews were Annas and Jonathan, who had been both high-priests, Ananias the present pontiff, and his son the captain of the temple, or rather

chief of the Levites, who were the keepers of it, with some others. Those of the Samaritans were likewise considerable persons, and these joined interest with Cumanus; but the credit of young Agrippa at the Roman court easily turned the scales in favour of the Jews.

*The sicarii
commit
horrid cru-
elties.*

*False Mes-
siah.*

*Felix's
vile cha-
racter.*

*Causes Jo-
nathan to
be murder-
ed.*

we may join the sicarii, or assassins (G), who committed the most horrid murders and butcheries, under covert and pretence of zeal for their religion and liberties. Among the false prophets, and pretended saviours, by whom that infatuated nation was seduced, was one who came from Egypt, and had drawn about thirty thousand men after him, by the large promises he made to them of a speedy deliverance. He and his followers were, however, soon dispersed by the Roman troops; but one was no sooner silenced, than there started up another, so that the most violent remedies rather inflamed than assuaged their seditious disease. Felix did not exert his cruelties on the rebellious alone, but on all others indiscriminately, whom his avarice or resentment marked out for destruction. This barbarity obliged the good old priest Jonathan, who had been most instrumental in procuring him the government, to expostulate often with him, and to complain of his ill conduct. Felix at length, unable to bear his just censures, hired one Doras, a person in whom Jonathan put great confidence, to assassinate him; and the fact was perpetrated accordingly. This murder passing unpunished, proved the source of an infinite number of other assassinations, which were committed every where, the temple not excepted: the Jewish chiefs, and even the pontiffs, made no scruple to hire assassins, to rid themselves of their enemies.

Drusilla, Agrippa's daughter, had been contracted to Epiphanes; but he refusing the circumcision, her brother gave her to Azizus, king of Emesa; who consented to that ceremony out of love to her, she being one of the finest women of that age. But, as her virtue was far

(G) These were another sort of robbers, who came and mixed themselves among the crouds and assemblies, with short daggers under their cloaks, and stabbed all that came near them in open day and then were the first to cry out murder! They not only, by this vile method, rid themselves of their enemies, but would hire themselves to murder any others for a small sum. So that it became extremely dangerous to go into any places of public resort.

They are supposed to have originated from the Gaulonitish faction, which began near fifty years before; and, in spite of all the severities which the Romans made them feel, still kept up their seditious spirit, and daily increased in number. They were afterwards better known by the name of Zealots, and under that specious title committed such unheard-of crimes, as hastened the total ruin of their city and nation.

enough

enough below her beauty, Felix, who was become enamoured of her, easily persuaded her to forsake her husband, and to be married to him, though a pagan, and one of the worst of that kind (H). He was himself, perhaps, made more sensible of it than ever, when the apostle St. Paul was brought before him, and uttered that discourse on justice, temperance, or chastity, and a judgment to come; which threw him into such a fit of remorse and trembling, as made him cry out, "It is enough: go thy ways for this time; and, when I am more at leisure, I will send for thee." Felix afterwards sent for him more than once; but it was rather in hopes of a bribe from him, than a desire of being made better acquainted with those important truths, which he had heard; so that, after near two years, finding himself disappointed, and ready to be recalled from his government, he chose to leave his prisoner in bonds, to ingratiate himself with the exasperated Jews.

Marries Drusilla.

A. D.
60.

St. Paul brought before him.

He was accordingly succeeded by Portius Festus, who upon his coming found the nation in the most distressed situation; and, which was still worse, the very priesthood had begun a civil war among themselves ever since the last year of Felix's government, the occasion of which seems to have been the frequent depositions of the pontiffs, and their pretensions to a greater share of the tythes than the inferior priests could afford. Agrippa had the year before deposed Ananias, and put Ishmael in his room: there were still several more such discarded pontiffs alive, who

A. D.
62.

Festus succeeds Felix.

A civil war among the priests.

* Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 12, & seq.
Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 7.

* Acts xxiv. pass. &
† Acts ubi supra, ad fin.

(H) Her two sisters did not prove much more virtuous than she. Berenice the eldest, and formerly married to her uncle Herod king of Chalcis, being become a widow, was shrewdly suspected of holding an incestuous intercourse with her brother Agrippa. To suppress that suspicion, she married Ptolemon king of Pontus, and of part of Cilicia; but she soon after broke off with him, and, by her loose behaviour, confirmed the reports that had been spread concerning her unlawful

intrigues. Her husband, on the other hand, who had embraced Judaism on her account, was no sooner forsaken by her, than he returned to his paganism.

Mariamne the youngest had been married early to Archelaus, the son of Chelcias or Elchias, probably of the Herodian family; but she likewise forsook him to marry one Demetrius, an Alexandrian Jew, one of the richest and most considerable of that city, who was then their atabarca or chief.

all

*Horrid
murders,
committed
by them.*

*Festus's se-
verity a-
gainst them,
and others.*

*Paul
brought
before
Festus,*

*and Agrip-
pa.*

*Agrippa
displeases
the Jews.
Builds a
palace to
overlook
the temple.*

all pretended to have the same income of the tythes, which they enjoyed with that dignity. The rancour rose at length to such a height, that each party used to be accompanied with a troop of the ficarii, and, upon every rencounter, attacked each other, killing all that opposed them, filling both city and country, and sometimes even the very temple, with blood. Festus was therefore forced to begin his government with the greatest severity, in order to suppress these disorders. The severe examples he made of their leaders, impostors, and of the most mutinous of the rebels, was what took up the greatest part of his time and labour during his short government.

Three days after his arrival in Judæa, he went to Jerusalem, where Ananias, the late high-priest, and the rest of the Jewish chiefs, came to demand justice against Paul, who was still kept prisoner at Cæsarea. As soon, therefore, as he was returned thither, he caused him to be brought before him; and after a full hearing of both sides, especially of the prisoner's defence, pronounced him innocent of any capital crime. But his enemies still insisting that he was worthy of death, and Festus being willing to oblige them with a second trial at Jerusalem, Paul took hold of the privileges which the law gave him, to appeal to Cæsar; and thus prevented the effects of their farther malice. Agrippa, and his sister Berenice, being come to Cæsarea to compliment the new governor, and having expressed a desire of seeing this celebrated prisoner, Festus, who knew that prince to be thoroughly versed in the Jewish laws and customs, readily agreed to have him brought once more to the bar. Here Paul, being permitted to speak for himself, made such a defence, that Festus acquitted him of every fault, except that of having turned his brain with too much learning. Agrippa, however, owned himself almost convinced by what he said; and, after some private conference with the governor, it was declared, that he might have been released, if he had not appealed to Cæsar.

In the mean time Agrippa, who came often to Jerusalem, and had a lodging near the temple, of which he had the superintendency after his uncle Herod, formed a design of building a palace there, of such a height, that he could oversee all that was done in the innermost court of the temple. The Jews were the more displeased at this intrusion, because Festus and the Romans frequently

came and viewed their service from this new building; for which reason they raised a partition-wall high enough to cover that sacred place, which the king and governor taking as an affront, ordered it to be pulled down. The Jews, after much opposition, obtained leave at length to send deputies to Rome; and these, by the intercession of Poppæa, obtained a grant from the emperor for keeping up the wall. Ishmael, the then high-priest, being at the head of this embassy, was, for his laudable zeal, deposed by Agrippa, who bestowed that dignity on Joseph, surnamed Cabbis, the son of the late pontiff Cantharas. Josephus adds, that Poppæa detained Ishmael and Chelcias as hostages at Rome^x.

Ishmael deposed.

Festus dying towards the latter end of this year, Nero nominated Albinus to succeed him; in the mean time, Agrippa having given the high-priesthood from Cabbis to Ananus, a proud Sadducee, this last took that interval before the arrival of the new prætor to call a council, and to have James the apostle and bishop of Jerusalem, and some other Christians, condemned and put to death. Upon the governor's arrival at Alexandria, complaint was made to him of this presumptuous and unlawful step. Albinus repented it, and sent the new pontiff a very threatening letter. Agrippa, who feared the consequence of his anger, took care to depose him, and to put in his room Jesus, the son of Damneus. Judæa gained nothing by the change of either governor or pontiff. As for the former, he was more cruel and rapacious than either Felix or Festus; and yet he was still, in one respect, better than his successor, in that he endeavoured, at least, either to hide or to colour his ill actions by some pretext or other.

Albinus succeeds Festus in Judæa. St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, martyred.

His first care was to suppress the sicarii, robbers, and banditti, which were now grown more numerous, and bolder than ever. He punished with the utmost severity as many as fell into his hands, and the rest became more desperate. They ventured one night, during one of their feasts, to enter the city, and carry off Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the late high-priest, who was secretary of the temple, and to send his father word, that they would not release him, till he had procured the enlargement of ten of their associates, whom Albinus kept in prison. Ananias, who was very opulent, bribed the rapacious governor to consent to this exchange; but his compliance was

Albinus suppresses the sicarii.

Ananias's ill timed complaisance.

^x Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 7. ad fin.

*Outrages
committed
by the ri-
val pon-
tiffs.*

*The dis-
banded
workmen
turn fca-
rii.*

**A. D.
64.**

*Dreadful
warnings
to the
Jews.*

attended with very bad consequences; for he was forced still to redeem some near relation at the same price, as often as any of the banditti fell into the governor's hands⁷.

Agrippa having given the high-priesthood from Jesus, the son of Damneus, to Jesus the son of Gamaliel, those two pontiffs provided each of them a strong escort of armed men, and committed the vilest outrages; not only against each other, but against the inferior sort, who were often plundered of all they had, and reduced to the lowest misery.

About this time the temple being quite finished, and eighteen thousand workmen at once discharged, a proposal was made to employ them in taking down an old stately gallery of the temple which was in danger of falling, and rebuilding it anew; but that prince, considering the expensiveness and length of the work, absolutely refused it, and told the Jewish chiefs that they might employ those hands in paving the city with white stones; but that proposal not being agreed to, the greatest part joined themselves with the banditti, for fear of starving. Albinus, after a two years government, was recalled by Nero, and succeeded by Gessius Florus, the last and worst governor that ever Judæa had⁸. His rapines, cruelties, and connivance at the practices of the banditti, were so open and barefaced, that he was looked upon by the Jews more as a bloody executioner sent to butcher, than as a magistrate to govern their nation. His design was to provoke them to such open rebellion, as might either give him the brutish pleasure of seeing them destroy each other, or prevent his oppressions, murders, and other misdeeds, from being enquired into. He succeeded but too well in it; and a war was kindled accordingly, through his means, which ended not but with the total ruin of the Jewish nation. This great event is so very well known, that we shall not enter into a detail of the particulars, which would be inconsistent with the nature of this work (I).

Judæa

⁷ Antiq. cap. 8.

⁸ Ibid. cap. 9. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

(I) About four years before this war broke out, and about seven before the siege of Jerusalem, whilst the Jews still enjoyed some kind of peace, a country fellow, named Jesus, came to the feast of tabernacles, and cried without ceasing; "Wo to the city! Wo to the temple! A voice from the four corners, a voice against Jerusalem, a voice against the nation! &c." in this lamentable strain he ran through all the streets

Judæa being thus distracted within and without, and groaning more than ever under a tyrant, who openly promoted those mischiefs he should have remedied; great numbers of Jews forsook it to seek an asylum among foreign nations, whilst those that staid behind applied themselves to Cestius Gallus, governor of Syria, who was at Jerusalem at the Passover, beseeching him to pity their wretched state, and free them from the tyranny of a man who had totally ruined their country. Florus, who was present when these complaints were preferred against him, made a mere jest of them; and Cestius, instead of making a strict enquiry into his conduct, dismissed them with a bare promise, that Florus should behave better for the future. Meanwhile, he gave directions for computing the number of Jews that were at Jerusalem, by that of the lambs offered at the festival, in order to send an account of it to Nero; and by that computation the whole was found to amount to two millions five hundred and fifty-six thousand. Josephus thinks they rather amounted to three millions *.

Number of the people.

Soon after this transaction, the contest between the Jews and Syrians about the city of Cæsarea, which had been kept in suspense ever since the time of Felix (K), being at length decided in favour of the Syrians, the de-

A. D.
67.

Beginning of the war.

* Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 13, & alib.

streets of the city night and day; and on the sabbaths, and other festivals, was heard to speak those words louder, and in a more dismal tone. Neither threats, nor the most severe punishments could make him desist, or utter a groan or complaint, or any other words than those dreadful woes, till he saw his predictions begin to be fulfilled by the siege of the city, when he cried out in a more shrill accent, "Wo also to myself!" and was in that instant killed by a stone thrown by the besiegers (1).

(K) This contest, in which the Jews maintained, that Cæ-

sarea belonged to them, because it had been built by Herod; and the Syrians pretended, that it had been always esteemed a Greek city, since even that monarch had reared temples and statues in it; grew to such an height, that both parties came at last to blows, and took up arms against each other. Felix, at length, sent some chiefs of each nation to Rome to plead their cause before the emperor, where it hung in suspense till this time, when Nero decided it in such a manner as caused this insurrection.

(1) Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 12.

*Agrippa
insulted by
the Jews.*

*Jews ter-
ribly per-
secuted.
Horrid
slaughters
made of
them in
other
places,
and at Je-
rusalem.*

*Berenice
intercedes
in vain.
Florus's
brutishness
to her.*

cree was no sooner brought to Judæa, but, as if it had been agreed, that this should be the signal for a revolt, the Jews every where resolved to take up arms; and thus began the war in the second year of Florus's government, in the twelfth of Nero's reign, the seventeenth of that of Agrippa, and the sixty-ninth of Christ^b. Agrippa, who was in Jerusalem at the beginning of this revolt, strove in vain to assuage the fury of the people by a long and elaborate speech, as well as by other proper means; they listened to him, till he came to insist on their submitting to Florus, until a new governor could be obtained from Rome. This proposal exasperated them to such a degree, that they began to pelt him with stones, and forced him to leave the city, which was immediately in a flame. Florus beheld all this confusion without lending the least help to quell the sedition, though earnestly entreated by the Jewish heads. Agrippa sent them indeed three thousand men; but what could they now do against such an enraged multitude as were then up in arms? The evil soon spread all over the kingdom; and though the Jews were every where the sufferers, yet did not their desperate rage abate in the least. Nothing was now to be seen but robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelty and carnage. The Jews, on their part, spared neither Syrians nor Romans, but retaliated their cruelties wherever they prevailed. The Cæsareans fell suddenly on the Jews of their city, and massacred twenty thousand of them; two thousand were murdered at Ptolemais, and fifty thousand are said to have been slaughtered at Alexandria. At Jerusalem, Florus caused his troops one day to plunder the high market, and to kill all they met; and they murdered accordingly three thousand five hundred persons, men, women, and children. Among those whom they brought prisoners to him were some men of quality, who had been even honoured with the Roman knighthood; yet this dignity did not save them from his cruelty; on the contrary, he caused them to be scourged before his tribunal, and then crucified^c.

Berenice, who had staid at Jerusalem after her brother, spared neither prayers, messages, nor visits, to mollify the brutal prætor, till at length she was likely to have lost her life, and with great difficulty reached her palace before she was overtaken by his instruments of barbarity. Yet,

^b Conf. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. ult. & Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 14. Ibid.

not discouraged by this attempt, she went barefoot to him the very next day, threw herself at the foot of his tribunal, and, in the most submissive terms, entreated him to put a stop to the shedding of so much blood. The brutal tyrant did not so much as vouchsafe her the least token of common respect, so that she ran a second risk of being torn in pieces before she could get home^d. In his letters to Cestus he threw all the fault on the Jews, who it must be owned, were a perverse and incorrigible generation, inasmuch that Cestus knew not well whether to believe the governor or his accusers, at the head of which last were Agrippa and Berenice.

In the mean time a great number of assassins having joined the rebels, drove the Romans out of the fortresses of Massada, Antonia, and the towers of Phasaël, Mariamne, and others. Then they set fire to the palaces of Agrippa, Berenice, the high-priest Ananias, and his brother Ezechias; and these two last, who had hid themselves from their fury, being discovered, were murdered without mercy. Menahem, one of the sons of the late Judas, chief of the Gaulonites, had put himself at the head of the sicarii, who now called themselves Zealots; and, being come to Jerusalem, was chosen chief of the insurgents; but was soon after massacred by them, with a great number of his men. His nephew Eleazar succeeded him as chief of the Zealots, and besieged the Romans so close in their castle, that they at length capitulated, on condition of being allowed to retire with their lives; but, notwithstanding this agreement, he caused them all to be massacred on the spot, though it was on the sabbath^e. This treachery was retaliated on the Jews of Scythopolis, or Bethshean, who had offered the Greeks of that city to stand by them against their brethren, who were besieging them. But their sincerity being suspected, they retired into a neighbouring wood, where they were massacred in the night, to the number of thirteen thousand. The truth is, there was no trusting professions on either side; and the whole nation was involved in anarchy.

By this time the revolted Jews had carried their conquests beyond Jordan, and had taken the fortresses of Machæron and Cyprus; which last they rased to the ground, after having put all the Romans to the sword; so that Cestius Gallus, who had hitherto stood aloof an idle spec-

The Zealots beat the Romans.

Put all to fire and sword.

Chose Menahem their chief.

Succeeded by Eleazar.

Scythopolitans basely massacred.

^d Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 15.

^e Ibid. cap. 17, 18, 19.

*Cestius
marches a-
gainst the
revolters.*

*Jews arm
themselves
against
him.*

A. D.
69.

*Treacher-
ous beha-
viour to
him.*

*Forced to
retire into
the inner
cincture of
the temple.*

*Cestius de-
feated.*

tator of all these devastations, began to think it high time to take more vigorous measures. He marched into Judæa with a powerful army, burned all the towns and villages in his way, massacred all the Jews he could find, and encamped before Gibeon (L), about the feast of tabernacles. The people at Jerusalem no sooner heard of his approach, than they forsook the solemnity, though it was on the sabbath, they armed themselves, and came out against him with such fury, that, in all likelihood, they would have defeated him, had not his foot been timely succoured by his cavalry. As they had seized all the passes, he was forced to stay three days near Bethoron, where Agrippa joined him, and assisted with his troops, his person, counsel, and good offices. He tried once more to bring the Jews to some temper, by sending two of his chief captains to offer them a pardon, and some terms of peace; but the revolters, instead of hearkening to their proposals, killed one of them, and wounded the other, who narrowly escaped with his life. This outrage, which was highly condemned by the more moderate Jews, caused a dissension between them, which Cestius failed not to improve, by advancing suddenly against them, and pursuing them almost up to Jerusalem. He staid three days at Scopus, a small mile from it, to try whether their fright would make them relent; then advanced towards them in order of battle on the thirtieth of October, and threw them into such consternation, that they abandoned all the outer quarters of the city, and retired into the inner cincture near the temple. Cestius set fire to the former, and resolving to besiege the latter, took up his head-quarters in the royal palace.

Had the governor vigorously pushed on the siege, he might have put an effectual end to the sedition; but that wretched nation was reserved for greater evils; and the siege was on a sudden shamefully raised, at the instigation of some of Cestius's generals, whom Florus had cor-

¹ Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 20, 21, & seqq.

(L) This city, the capital of the ancient Gibeonites, was distant about fifty stadia, or seven little miles north of Jerusalem.

Cestius's army consisted of the whole twelfth legion, two thousand men picked out of the

other legions, six cohorts of foot, four of horse, besides three thousand horse and six thousand foot sent him by Agrippa and Antiochus, and four thousand from Soemus; in the whole about twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse.

rupted;

rupted; a circumstance which gave new life to the insurgents. They pursued him to his camp at Gibeon, harassing him in the rear, whilst those that occupied the passes attacked him in flank. After a loss of four thousand foot, and four hundred horse, with great part of their baggage, his army being assisted by the intervening night on the eight of November, happily passed through the narrow streights of Bethoron, and escaped[†]. The Jews, after this success against the Syrian governor, deliberated about the proper means to carry on the war against the Romans; and, choosing some of their bravest chiefs to command in the several cantons and fortresses of Judæa, Josephus the writer of these wars, a Jewish priest, of considerable rank, was appointed governor of the two Galilees. Joseph the son of Gorion, and the high-priest Ananus, had the government of Jerusalem; and to Eleazar, the chief of the revolvers, was assigned that of Idumæa; then they departed to take care each of his particular command. All this while their reigned such a dissension among the Jews, that great numbers of the better sort, foreseeing the sad effects of the Romans' resentment, forsook the city. The Christians retired into Pella, a small city on the other side Jordan, in the tetrarchy of Herod, whither the war did not reach^h.

Escapes with loss.

Jews and Christians leave Jerusalem.

Whilst the new-chosen governors were employed in putting their respective cantons in the best posture of defence, Nero received advice of all these preparations, as well as of the ill success of Cestius against the Jews; and Vespasian, who had already signalized himself in Germany and Britain, being then with the emperor in Achaia, was nominated to march with all speed against Judæa with a powerful armyⁱ. He repaired accordingly to Syria, gathered all his forces, and those of his auxiliaries, among whom Agrippa did not fail to meet him at the head of a considerable reinforcement of his own, whilst Titus was sent by his father to fetch the fifth and tenth legions from Alexandria into Judæa^k. It is likely, Cestius did not long outlive his disgrace, for we hear no more of him; and the Jews, elated at his defeat, if not also at his death, resolved to besiege Ascalon. Antony, who commanded in the place, came out against them, and killed ten thousand: they made a second attempt, and their loss was doubled. Niger, who headed them, fled into a tower, to which Antony set

Vespasian sent into Judæa.

A. D.
67.

Jews defeated by Antony.

[†] Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 23, 24.
ⁱ Lib. iii. cap. 1.

^k Cap. 2, & 3.

^h Ibid. cap. 25, & seq.

fire, and, not doubting but he was burnt in it, left the place; but, when the Jews returned three days after, to bury their dead, they found him in a cave under-ground, where he had saved himself from the flames¹.

*Vespasian
enters Ju-
dea.*

Vespasian in the beginning of the next year, having sent Placidus to succour the inhabitants of Sephoris against the Jews, advanced towards Ptolemais with Agrippa; and was there joined by Titus, at the head of another body of troops, with whom he had marched thither even in the very depth of winter. Their whole force of horse and foot, consisted of sixty thousand men, all excellently disciplined, with which they entered Galilee, and, having burnt Gadara, advanced to besiege Jotapa. Josephus, governor of that province, having timely notice of their design supplied the place with stores, and defended it with great bravery forty-seven days; but it was at length taken by assault, when the garrison were put to the sword. Not one Jew escaped to carry the dreadful news, they were all either murdered, or made prisoners. Forty thousand are said to have been slain; and Josephus was among the prisoners. He had hid himself in a deep cavern, but was at length discovered, and by Vespasian's generous offers and intreaties prevailed upon to surrender (M): having leave to speak

*Jotapa
taken by
Vespasian.*

*Josephus
surrenders
himself.*

¹ Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 2, & seq. pass.

(M) This cavern was cut into the rock by the side of a well, and well stored with provision; and there Josephus found forty of his own men. He went out the first night to see whether there was any possibility of escaping; but finding none, he resolved to abide there as long as he could. He was discovered on the third day by a woman; and Vespasian, who had a great desire to see him, sent two of his tribunes to promise him his life and friendship. Upon his refusal to surrender himself, the Roman general sent a third, named Nicanor, an old acquaintance of Josephus; but he returned likewise without him: the Romans were for burning

him and his men out of it, but were hindered by their brave general.

At length finding it dangerous to resist any longer, he proposed to the rest to accept of Vespasian's generous offer; for which they upbraided him with treachery and baseness, and threatened to kill him, if he presumed to stir out. He tried once more to demonstrate to them the unlawfulness of self-murder, which he saw them fully bent upon; he was forced at last to propose to them to draw lots, who should kill the next, and so on, till the last man; which being agreed to by the rest, Providence so ordered it, that there were but two left, Josephus, and one more; so that

Speak, he addressed himself to Vespasian to this effect.

"My message to you being from the God of heaven, is of much greater concern to you, than the disposal of me as your prisoner; or sending me to the emperor; and, as a Jewish commander, I should have preferred death to this surrender, had it not been to deliver his divine commission. The interval between Nero's end, and your succeeding him, is so small, that I already look upon you as emperor; and your son Titus as your happy successor. Keep me only as your prisoner; and, if you find I have abused God's name in promising you the empire of the world, then punish me with the severest death." Vespasian took him at his word, used him with great respect and generosity; but caused him to be kept close prisoner, having a design to make some farther use of him in his war against the Jews^m. This prediction of the Jewish historian to the Roman general is likewise confirmed by Suetoniusⁿ and Dio Cassius^o. As soon as the news of Jotapa's being taken reached Jerusalem, the Jews, who heard also, that Josephus had been killed in it, made the greatest lamentations for him for a whole month; but when they understood that he had surrendered himself prisoner to the Romans, they began to look upon him as the base betrayer of his country, and to persecute him with the most irreconcilable hatred and disdain.

His speech to Vespasian.

Kept close prisoner.

Whilst Vespasian was besieging Jotapa, Trajan had been sent to form that of Japha, in the neighbourhood, and took it on the twentieth of June, but complimented young Titus with the honour of it, who came accordingly upon the last assault. Upon their entering the place, the Japhians maintained a bloody and obstinate fight in the streets, during six whole hours; but, being at length overpowered, all the men were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away prisoners^p. The Samaritans, who had assembled upon Mount Garizzim, with a design of defending themselves, having been closely blocked up by Cerialis, at the head of a Roman detachment, were ready to perish for want of water. Many died of thirst; and those who refused to surrender, were all butchered to a man^q. Joppa, which had been lately

Japha, and other cities, taken.

Samaritans defeated.

Joppa taken.

^m Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 12, 13, & 14. ⁿ Suetonius in Vit. Vespas. ^o Dio. Cass. lib. lx. ^p Bell. Jud. ubi supra, cap. 11. ^q Ibid. cap. 12.

that being loth either to kill length persuaded him to a surrender, or be killed by him, he at

laid waste by Cestius, being again repeopled by a great number of seditious Jews, who infested the countries about, Vespasian sent some troops to take it, an exploit which they soon achieved. Above four thousand Jews endeavouring to escape the massacre, by betaking themselves to their ships, a sudden tempest drove them back, so that they were all either drowned, or put to the sword. Tarichea and Tiberias were reduced (N): the former of these, being situate on an eminence, by the lake of Gennezareth, was besieged by land and water, and made a desperate defence, till a dissension happened within; which being overheard by Titus, who commanded at the siege, the town was taken by storm, and all the rebels were condemned to die †.

Galilee reduced.

After the reduction of those two places, all the other cities of Galilee submitted to the Romans, except Gischala and Gamala, and the mountain of Itabyr. Agrippa had invested Gamala, which was situate opposite to Tarichea, on the same lake, and carried on a siege of near seven months; but, now the Romans were forced to come to his assistance. He tried, however, by a speech to persuade the inhabitants to surrender, before they were reduced to greater straits. The only answer they made was with stones from their engines, one of which wounded him in the arm. The Romans, provoked to behold the little regard which those wretches paid to their monarch, made such a desperate assault, that they had got possession of the town; but, being inferior in number, they were soon driven out of it with considerable loss. The assault was renewed with greater fury, and as obstinately opposed by the besieged, who put the Roman courage and strength to the severest proof they had as yet undergone. At length three stout Romans having beaten down one of the towers, the army entered in at the breach, and put all they met to the sword, to the number of four thousand. But a much greater number perished by their

Agrippa insulted before Gamala. Romans repulsed.

The people put to the sword.

† Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 15, & seq.

(N) These two cities belonged to Agrippa, but had revolted; the latter was divided; some of the citizens being for peace, were opposed by the seditious party. Vespasian sent some officers to persuade them to submit; but they were driven back, and forced to flee for their lives; for which he would have burnt the city; but the peaceable citizens having represented their case to Agrippa, he interceded for them, and obtained their pardon,

OWN

own obstinacy, throwing themselves down from the rocks, walls, and using other violent means for their own destruction. During this siege Placidus being sent to take Itabyr, drew the Jews down into the plain by a pretended flight, then facing about defeated them, and got possession of the mountain *.

Itabyr taken.

After this siege, Vespasian sent his son Titus to form that of Gischala; and this last, who was now beginning to relent at the great slaughter made at Gamala, earnestly exhorted the inhabitants to prevent, by a timely surrender, involving themselves in the same fate. The citizens were inclinable to take his advice; but a seditious Jew named John, the son of Levi, head of the faction, opposed it, and, having the mob at his command, overawed the whole city. That day being the sabbath, this wretch begged of Titus to forbear hostilities till the morrow, and then he would accept of his offer; but in the interim, fled to Jerusalem, where he committed an infinite deal of mischief. The citizens next day surrendered themselves, and told the Roman general of John's flight, begging of him, that he would spare the guiltless, and punish the factious alone. He granted their request, and only sent some of his horse after the fugitives. But John had reached Jerusalem, before they could overtake him; they killed, however, near six thousand of his followers on the road, and brought back three thousand women and children prisoners. The reduction of this last place having completed the conquest of Galilee, Titus rejoined his father at Cæsarea, where their troops had some respite before they undertook the siege of Jerusalem †.

Gischala besieged.

The town taken.

The Jewish nation by this time was divided into two very opposite parties: one of these foreseeing, that this war, if continued, must end in the total ruin of their country, were for putting an effectual end to it, by a speedy submission to the Romans: the other faction, which sprung from the Gaulonitish incendiary, and breathed nothing but war, confusion, and cruelty, opposed all peaceable measures with an invincible obstinacy. This party, which was by far the more numerous and powerful, consisted of men of the vilest and most profligate character that ever history recorded. They were proud, ambitious, cruel, rapacious, and committed the most horrid and unnatural crimes, under pretence of religion. In a word, they acted more like devils incarnate, than men,

Two parties in Judea.

A character of the Zealots.

* Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 7, & seq.

† Ibid. cap. 4.

who had any sense left of humanity (O). The contrary party were obliged to rise up likewise in arms in their own defence against those incendiaries, from whom, however, they suffered unspeakably more, than they did even from the exasperated Romans.

A. D.
70.

*Their bor-
rid butch-
eries.*

*Opposed by
the late
high-priest.*

*John of
Gischala's
treachery.*

The Zealots began to exercise their cruelty in robbing, plundering, and massacring all that opposed them in the countries round about; then entered Jerusalem with Zechariah and Eleazar at their head. Here they were at first strenuously opposed by the late high-priest Ananus (P), whose zeal, upon this occasion, Josephus highly commends. That pontiff made a pathetic speech to the people, exhorting them to take up arms against those factious villains, who had by this time seized upon their temple, and made it their garrison, from which they sallied out to commit the most horrid outrages. He easily persuaded them to follow his advice. They went and armed themselves, and returning in a strong body, made a vigorous attack upon the insurgents. The engagement was fierce and obstinate on both sides, and lasted a considerable time. At length Ananus forced them from the outer cincture of the temple, whence they retired into the inner, where he held them closely besieged. We have taken notice of a demagogue, John of Gischala, who had fled from this last place to Jerusalem, and was at the

(O) They covered, however, their brutality with the specious title of zeal for the glory of God, affirming every where, that it was offering the greatest dishonour to him, to submit to any earthly potentate: and that this was the only motive that induced them to take up arms, and to bind themselves under the strictest obligations, not to lay them down, till they had either totally extirpated all foreign authority, or perished in the attempt (1).

This dreadful dissension was not confined to Jerusalem, but had infected all the cities,

towns, and villages of Palestine. Even houses and families were so divided against each other, that, as our Saviour had expressly foretold in the dreadful picture he made of this final war (2), a man's greatest enemies were often those of his own family and household (3).

(P) He had been deposed about six years before, and succeeded by several others. Matthias, the son of Theophilus, was now in that dignity, to which he had been raised a year or two before by king Agrippa.

(1) Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 6. & lib. v. cap. 1, & seq. (2) Matt. xxiv. pass. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. 5, & seq. (3) Matth. x. 36. Luke xii. 52, & seq.

head of the mutineers: this wretch, under pretence of taking the interest of the peaceable party, was actually betraying them to the Zealots^u. Ananus, not suspecting his treachery, sent him to offer the besieged some fair terms of accommodation; but, instead of executing his commission, he persuaded them to hold out, and call the Idumæans to their assistance.

Invite the Idumæans.

On that night there happened such a dreadful storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and a violent earthquake, that the Zealots from within the inner court, sawed the bolts and hinges of the temple-gates without being heard, forced the guards of the besiegers, sallied into the city, and admitted the Idumæans^x, who had come, in consequence of their invitation, to the number of twenty thousand. These two parties, thus joined and strengthened, began to commit the most horrid butcheries on the opposite side. Twelve thousand persons of noble extraction, and in the flower of their age, were tortured to death, including the brave Ananus (Q), and Jesus the son of Gamaliel. In a word, the rage and cruelty of those Zealots increased to such a pitch of barbarity, that the whole nation trembled at their very name; none dared be seen or heard to weep or lament for the murder of their nearest relations, nor even to give them burial^y.

Horrid butcheries committed.

Ananus and Jesus massacred.

The Idumæans at length inveighing against the massacring such numbers of worthy persons indiscriminately, the Zealots began to set up a kind of court of judicature, to judge those they should think guilty with some shew of justice. Zechariah, the son of Baruch (R), was one of the

* Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 5, 6. x Cap. 7. y Lib. v. cap. 1.

(Q) He was the son of Ananus, mentioned in the gospel: it was he that caused St. James to be cast down from the battlements of the temple, and to be put to death. In other respects he was a brave man, and the only person almost who had courage and conduct enough left to stem the tide, and to restore peace to the nation; it was for this reason that the Zealots cut him off.

(R) This brave and worthy person is, by many Christian commentators, supposed the same with the Zechariah the son of Barachiah, said by our Saviour to have been murdered between the temple and the altar (4). It is, indeed, objected, that he speaks there of him as of a person long since put to death; but it is replied, that he spake prophetically, and, according to the prophetic

(4) Matth. xxiii. 35.

style,

*Zechariah
murdered
in the temple.*

the first tried before this mock court, which consisted of seventy-two persons. They brought a catalogue of accusations against him, which he not only refuted with great ease, but reminded them of their own crimes with such undaunted courage, and in such lively colours, that the consciousness of their guilt made them pronounce him innocent; at which the Zealots were so exasperated, that they murdered him on the spot; then drove his judges out of their seats, as persons unfit for their purpose (S).

After having butchered all the persons of any distinction or character, they began to wreak their rage on the common people. It was a capital crime to have once seemed to oppose them; to be inactive was to be a spy; not to applaud their vilest actions, was to be disaffected; and to be either rich, or suspected to be so, or even having the misfortune of being disliked by them, was crime enough to deserve death². This despotism obliged many of the Jews to forsake Jerusalem, and take shelter under the Romans, though the gates and avenues of the city were so closely guarded, that it was extremely hazardous to retire; and as many as were caught in the attempt, were put to immediate death. All this while Vespasian, who was at Cæsarea, remained an idle spectator of the

² Jos. Bell. Jud. in fin.

style, made use of the present for the future. And it must be owned, that unless these two historians speak of the same person, it will be difficult to find out the Zechariah mentioned in the gospel; the last of those just persons, the shedding of whose blood was to fill up the measure of the Jews iniquities; unless we suppose him, with Mr. Burkit and others, to be the same which is mentioned in the Old Testament (5): he is called there the son of Jehoiada the priest, and was actually murdered in the temple by order of the ungrateful king Joash. How-

ever, we shall not enter into the merit of the controversy, but refer our readers to those who have written upon it, and which the reader will find at the bottom of the page (6).

(S) They threw the body of Zechariah out of the temple down into the deep valley that was by the side of it. The Idumæans, ashamed to act any longer in concert with such bloody assassins, retired into their own country, after having set at liberty two thousand prisoners; and left the Zealots to prosecute their cruelties without any farther restraint.

(5) 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21.

(6) Vid. Grot. Hamm. Le Clerc, Beza, Tremel. L. de Dieu, & Fabric. Apocr. N. T. not. in Protevang. Jacob. Calmet. in Voc. Burk. in Matth. xxiii. 25. & al.

dismal

dismal condition of the Jewish nation. His officers amazed at this unusual inactivity of their general, took the liberty to remind him, what a pity it was he should thus neglect the most favourable opportunity of making himself master of Jerusalem, and all Palestine. Vespasian soon made them sensible, that his continuing thus idle in Cæsarea, was the most probable way of effecting the conquest they proposed, with the least difficulty and hazard of his own troops; since the Jewish strength declined daily in consequence of their intestine broils and massacres, whilst his own men, enjoying so long a refreshment, would be the better able to force them into submission^a. Josephus mentions this speech of the Roman general as prophetic; and, indeed, whoever reads the eleventh and following chapters of Zecharia, will be apt to think that he took his measures from them.

*Vespasian
stays at
Cæsarea.*

Every thing succeeded to his wish. The Zealots, after having massacred, or driven away the opposite party, began to turn their bloody swords against each other. John of Gischala could not brook that any should share the command with him; and, in order to make himself absolute, drew the most profligate of the Zealots into his party. The other chiefs, who opposed him with no small heat, formed another faction; so that they were generally employed in skirmishing with each other, or plundering the poor remains of the people. Whilst this anarchy prevailed in the city, there arose a new gang of sicarii in the country, who, having seized the strong fortrefs of Massada, made it their place of retreat. These plundered, burned, and massacred every where, and carried their booty into that place. They had at their head one Simon, the son of Gorias, a bold ambitious young man, a native of Gelasa, who, to increase his party, caused a proclamation to be dispersed, in which he promised liberty to all the slaves, and proportionable encouragements to all the freemen that should enlist under his banners. This expedient had the desired effect. He saw his party, in a very little time, swelled into a considerable army, and himself respected and obeyed as if he had been a monarch. Many Jews of distinction, as well as others of a meaner rank, were glad to put themselves under his protection from the cruelty of the other parties^b.

*The Zea-
lots divided
into two
factions.*

*Simon head
of the sic-
arii.*

During these transactions in Judæa, Nero was reduced to the necessity of making away with himself at Rome.

A. D.
71.

^a Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 2.

^b Ibid. cap. 3, & seq.

Vespasian,

*Nero's
death.*

Idumæa invaded by Simon.

Betrayed to him.

Put to fire and sword.

Abandoned by the inhabitants.

John defeated by the Idumæans.

Vespasian, who was yet ignorant of his fate, and did not wholly credit Josephus's prediction of his becoming emperor, was employed in making great preparations for the siege of Jerusalem; whilst Simon, at the head of a great army, committed hostilities against the Zealots. These last having notice what great magazines of arms and ammunition Simon had got, in order to invest them, began to think it high time to try to disperse his forces by a vigorous sally. They made the attempt, but were defeated, and put to flight; but Simon, not thinking himself strong enough yet to besiege Jerusalem, went to invade Idumæa, with an army of twenty thousand men. The Idumæans marched against him with twenty-five thousand. A fierce battle ensued, which lasted from morning till night, when victory declared for neither side. But Simon found means, soon after, to have that country betrayed to him by a treacherous Idumæan, who, having got the command of their forces, delivered them up to him, according to agreement. Simon put all to the sword, and, by the conquest of that province, became more dreadful than ever to the Zealots; who from that time did not care to come out against him, but contented themselves with laying ambushes in all the passes; in one of which they took his wife prisoner. They were on the sudden strangely elated at their success, not doubting but they should now easily force him to lay down his arms. But it happened quite otherwise; for Simon no sooner heard the news, than he posted with his army to the very gates of Jerusalem, where he committed such cruelties, and threw the enemy into such a fright, that they were glad to send him his wife again. Thus satisfied for the present, he left them, to go and ruin the sad remains of Idumæa. These miserable wretches, seeing the devastations and butcheries which he committed there, left the country to his mercy, and went to take shelter at Jerusalem; but were pursued by his troops to the very walls of that metropolis^c.

Thus Simon without, and John within, seemed to strive which should outdo the other in cruelties, and in the most unheard-of crimes; whilst those that fell into the hands of either were sure to be butchered without mercy; insomuch that there was now no safe place either in city or country. John had hitherto tyrannized within, at the head of his banditti, with uncommon success, when

^c Bell. Jud. ubi supra, cap. 7.

the Idumæans of his party, who were left in the city, not being longer able to bear his tyranny, revolted against him, killed a great number of his men, plundered his palace, and forced him to retire into the temple. In the mean time the people, having conceived a notion that he would sally out in the night, and set fire to the city, called a council, in which they pitched upon a remedy far worse than the disease; which was, to open the city gates, and let in Simon with his troops, to oppose those of John and his Zealots. Matthias, the high-priest, promoted the design, without troubling himself about the consequences, and was sent to acquaint Simon with the result of their deliberation. Simon was accordingly admitted into the city, where his chief care was to render his authority absolute. To this end he looked indifferently on those that had invited him in, and those against whom he was called, and soon began to exert his authority against them equally, though the former had received him with great honours and universal acclamations, as their deliverer. But ingratitude and breach of faith were crimes of too light a nature to restrain a wretch who had discarded all natural and civil virtues, to abandon himself to the most monstrous vices. He made, however, a bold assault against John and his party; but, being repulsed, he contented himself for the present with keeping them closely besieged in the temple^d.

Simon admitted into the city.

The Romans, on the other hand, had not stood idle all this last year; but, being invited by the inhabitants of Gadara, one of the strongest places on that side of Jordan, had sent Placidus to take possession of the place. He was forced to fight his way through several strong bodies of the rebels who opposed him. He killed about fifteen thousand of them, as they were endeavouring to pass that river, and made a vast number of prisoners in divers encounters. In a word, Placidus exerted himself in such a manner, that he soon reduced all that part of Judæa which lies on the east side of the Jordan, except the castle of Machæron. In the beginning of the spring Vespasian marched out of Cæsarea, and penetrated into Idumæa, plundering and burning every place, except such as he thought expedient to leave with a Roman garrison, to keep the country in awe^e.

Gadara surrendered.

Factions of Jews slain by Placidus.

Idumæa wasted.

Some months were now elapsed since Vespasian received the news of Nero's death, and of Galba's being chosen his successor; upon which he had dispatched his son

Galba succeeds Nero, and is slain.

^d Bell. Jud. cap. 9.

^e Ibid. cap. 3.

Titus to Rome, to compliment the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the reduction of Judæa.

Otho proclaimed.

A. D.
72.

Agrippa desired to bear him company; but the winter not being quite over, and their ships being large, failed to slowly, that they had proceeded no farther than Achaia when they received the news of Galba's being murdered, after a seven months reign, and Otho's being proclaimed in his room. Agrippa resolved to continue his voyage; but Titus, as by some divine impulse, was now come back to rejoin his father at Cæsarea, whither Vespasian had returned after his Idumæan expedition^f. They left Cæsarea on the fifth of June, directing their march towards Jerusalem, and took every place in their way, except Herodion, Machæron, and Massada, whilst Cerealis, one of their chief generals, with a considerable body of troops, was employed in laying waste the Upper Idumæa.

*Vespasian
chosen emperor.
Josephus
set at liberty.*

Whilst Judæa was thus miserably torn with foreign and intestine wars, the Roman empire groaned under equal confusion and calamity. We shall not anticipate the Roman history so far as to enter into the particulars of the murder of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Suetonius compares Rome to a vessel tossed about by contrary winds, and ready at every moment to sink, when Vespasian was happily chosen emperor, and restored a calm to the empire. Josephus now reaped the benefit of his former predictions. That emperor, recalling them to mind, thought it high time not only to give him his liberty, but recompense him for his fidelity with many signal favours (T). As soon

^f Tacit. Sueton. ubi sup. Bell. Jud. ubi sup. cap. 8, & seq.

(T) Vespasian was then at Berytus, where vast numbers of ambassadors came crowding to compliment him on his election, and to offer him the usual crowns, and letters of submission. Here he held a grand council, wherein having highly extolled the courage of the Jewish chief, he related to them how he had foretold his coming to the empire, even during Nero's life. Titus, who was present, and had conceived a great esteem for him, declared that it would be an action worthy his goodness and justice to grant him his liberty, and to restore him to the rank and condition which he enjoyed before his captivity. It being the custom of the Romans to break the bonds of those who had been unjustly detained in them, Vespasian approved his proposal, and caused it to be put in execution immediately. Josephus

soon as Vespasian had received the news that his election was confirmed at Rome, he left the best of his troops with his son Titus, with orders to besiege Jerusalem, and to destroy it utterly; then he prepared himself to return to the capital of his empire.

All this while the Jewish dissensions increased. Eleazar the son of another Simon, a person of the sacerdotal order, and of great sense and courage, found means to form a new party, and to draw a considerable number of John of Gischala's men to him, under pretence that this last was become insupportably tyrannical. With this new party he seized on the court of the priests, and confined John in that of the Israelites. Eleazar kept the avenues so well guarded, that none were admitted to that part of the temple, but those who came to offer sacrifices; and it was by these offerings chiefly, that he maintained himself and his men. John thus found himself hemmed in by two powerful enemies, Eleazar above, and Simon, who was master of the city, below. He defended himself against the former by his engines (U), out of which he continued throwing stones into his court; and when he sallied out against the latter, he set all on fire wherever he could reach; by these means he destroyed great quantities of corn and other provisions, with which they might otherwise have held out a siege for several years. Thus were these three factions ever watching all advantages against each other. Simon had the greatest number of troops, and a large magazine of arms and provisions, his army consisting of ten thousand Zealots, and five thousand Idumæans; but he was the most disadvantageously situated of the three. John had the advantage over him in this last respect, but had only six thousand men, and was forced to get provisions for them by his constant sallies. He was superior to Eleazar in number of men; this last having

Three factions in Jerusalem. Eleazar makes a strong party against John.

Their condition and advantages.

sephus not only gained his liberty, but acquired the reputation of a prophet, and was in high credit in the Roman army ever after (7).

(U) John had luckily found a great quantity of large cedar-trees, which king Agrippa had caused to be brought from Lebanon at a vast charge, to raise

the temple twenty cubits higher. Of this timber he caused towers, and other engines, to be made, in order to besiege his competitor within; and, indeed, he ceased not harassing him, but whilst he was forced to defend himself against Simon, who besieged him from without.

(7) Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 2.

but

but about two thousand four hundred. But he was more strongly situated, and was continually supplied with provisions, by the offerings which the people constantly brought to the temple^z.

*Titus's
army and
allies.*

Such was the distracted state of Jerusalem, when Titus marched against that city. He had four Roman legions under his command. Agrippa, Soemus, and Antiochus (the two former of whom accompanied him in person), and some allied cities, had furnished him with twenty regiments of foot, and eight of horse, besides vast multitudes of Arabs, and a select number of persons of distinction from Italy, and other places; who came to signalize themselves under his standard. Titus ordered the fifth legion to take the route of Emmaus, the tenth advanced by Jericho, the other two legions he led in person^h (X). It was now the beginning of April, and near the feast of the Passover, to which there was a greater resort of Jews this year, than had ever been known, even from beyond the Euphrates (Y).

Titus

^z Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 1.

^h Ibid. fin. & cap. 2.

(X) Josephus, who was an eye-witness of it, because he was still ordered to follow the emperor, gives it us as follows (8) :

The auxiliaries marched first, and were followed by the pioneers, whose business it was to level the ground as they went. After them came the general quarter-masters, who marked out their encampments, and were followed by the baggage of the chiefs of the army, under a sufficient escort.

Titus came next, attended with his guard, and a select number of troops, followed by a body of horse, who marched just before the warlike engines; and after these came the tribunes and chiefs of the cohorts, attended with a chosen number of troops. Then appeared the Roman eagle, surrounded with

the ensigns of the several legions, and preceded by a number of trumpets sounding, and followed by the main body, which marched in rank and file six in a front. Lastly, came the fustlers, handicrafts, &c. attended with a strong guard of soldiers, which closed the whole march. In this order they came to Gophna, which had a Roman garrison; and on the next day to Gibeath-Saul, about thirty stadia, or three miles and a half from Jerusalem.

(Y) The chiefs of the Jews in Palestine had written, it seems, to invite all their brethren, every-where, not doubting but their presence, and great concourse, would contribute to quell the factious within, as well as oppose the Romans without; so that they

(8) Ibid. lib. i, in fin.

A. D.
73.

*Marches
against Je-
rusalem.*

*Titus's
narrow
escape.
Jerusalem
besieged.*

Titus, having approached the city, went in person, to reconnoitre its strength and avenues, attended only with six hundred horse; he seemed even to flatter himself, that, upon his first appearance, the peaceable part of the Jews would open the gates to him; but, to his surprize, they made so sudden and vigorous a sally against him, that he found himself surrounded, in a narrow defile, and cut off from his cavalry; so that he had no other way left to escape their fury, but to make a desperate effort, and fight his way. At length, almost by a miracle, he happily accomplished his retreat, even without receiving any wound, or losing more than two of his men¹. After this narrow escape, he caused his army to draw nearer to Scopas, within seven stadia of the city, in order to besiege it in form, whilst the rebels within were applauding themselves

¹ Jos. Bell. Jud. ibid. ad fin.

came flocking to this solemnity from all parts of the world.

Josephus reckons eleven hundred thousand who died during the siege.

They neither wanted arms, warlike engines, men, courage, nor any thing but experience, to make a brave defence. Their city was strongly situate by nature, surrounded with three stout walls, and many stately and strong towers. The first, or old wall, which, on account of its vast thickness, was looked upon as impregnable, had sixty of these towers, very lofty, firm, and strong. The second had fourteen, and the third, eighty. The former of these, besides its extraordinary height and thickness, was raised on a high and steep mountain, and had a valley beneath it of a prodigious depth. The other two were high and strong in proportion. The circuit of the city was thirty-three stadia, or four thousand one hundred and

twenty geometric paces, near four of our miles.

Besides these vast fortifications, there were several other castles of extraordinary strength, such as those of Hippicos, Phasael, Mariamne, and Antonia; to say nothing of the royal, and some other stately and well-fortified palaces. The temple still exceeded all the rest in strength, both for situation, its walls, towers, and other buildings; and was at least equal to the best citadels then in being (9). Yet how insufficient did all these, and the vast quantities of arms and ammunition, &c. prove, to save a nation, whom the Divine justice had doomed to the most dreadful destruction! Well might Titus, after he had taken the city, and came to view the incredible strength of it, cry out, that God must certainly have fought for him, since no human power or strength was equal to that which they had now overcome.

(9) See Josephus, ibid. cap. 6.

for their late advantage, which they vainly interpreted as a good omen of their future success. The legion, which had come by the way of Jericho, being arrived, he ordered it to encamp on the Mount of Olives, which was parted from the town on the east by the brook Cedron, and where they were on a sudden so furiously assaulted by the besieged, that they were in danger of being cut in pieces, had not Titus come to their rescue.

*The three
factions
within
united.*

*John's
bloody
stratagem.*

*He and
Simon join
against
the enemy,
and then
fight a-
gainst each
other.*

*The siege
begun in
form.*

It was then that the three factions, seeing themselves besieged by so powerful an army, and so brave a general, began to think of laying aside all private feuds, and joining together in a vigorous defence against the common enemy. This union, however, proved but short-lived; for, on the fourteenth of April, which ushered in the Passover, when Eleazar had opened the avenues of his court to the great concourse that came to sacrifice, John of Gischala found means to introduce some of his men with swords hid under their cloaks. These immediately drew their weapons, fell on Eleazar's party, and the rest of the people, filled the court of the priests with blood and horrid outcries, and took possession of the place. By this bloody and impious stratagem the three factions were reduced to two, Eleazar's men being all either cut off, or returned with their chief, to their dependence on John, who had now no enemy but Simon within the walls. From that time this last renewed his hostilities with greater vigour: he now occupied the whole temple, and the Valley of Cedron. Simon had the whole city to range in, in some part of which John had made such devastations, that they served for a field of battle; from which they sallied unanimously against the common enemy, whenever occasion served; after which sallies, they returned to their usual hostilities, turning their arms against each other, as if they had sworn to make their ruin more easy to the Romans. These, in the mean time, were drawing still nearer to the walls, having with great labour and pains levelled all the ground. They overturned houses, pulled up hedges, cut down trees, and split rocks, that stood in their way, from Scopas to the tomb of Herod, and Bethara, or *the pool of serpents*; in which work so many hands were employed, that they finished it in four days^k.

Mean while, Titus sent the besieged some offers of peace: Josephus was pitched upon to be the messenger;

^k Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 7.

but they were rejected with indignation. On the morrow they made a shew of accepting them, insomuch that some of the Romans, believing the Jews in earnest, ventured, contrary to their general's order, to enter the city, and narrowly escaped with their lives. He sent a second time Nicanor and Josephus with fresh offers, when the former received a wound in his shoulder. Titus resolving to give the assault (Y), without delay ordered his men to rase the suburbs, cut down all the trees, and use the materials to raise platforms against the wall. Every thing was now carried on with invincible ardour; the Romans began to play their engines against the city with all their might; and it was by one of those that Jesus, the son of Ananias, who had so long foretold the destruction of the Jewish nation, was killed¹.

*Offers of
peace re-
jected.*

The Jews had likewise their machines upon the walls, which they plied with uncommon fury: they had taken them lately from Cestius, when he retired so shamefully; but they were so ignorant in their use, that they made little execution with them, till they were better instructed by some Roman deserters; till then, their chief success was owing to their frequent sallies; but the Roman legions, who had all their towers and machines before them, made terrible havock. The least stones they threw were near a hundred weight; and these they could throw the length of two stadia, or two hundred and fifty paces. Titus had reared three towers fifty cubits high on the terrace; one of which happening to fall in the middle of the night, greatly alarmed the Romans, who immediately ran to arms at the noise; but Titus, being apprised of the cause, dismissed them, and caused it to be set up again. These towers, being faced with iron, the Jews tried in vain to set fire to them, but were at length forced to retire out of the reach of their shot; so that the battering-rams were now at full liberty to play against the wall.

*The Jews
desperate
defence.*

*The first
wall bro-
ken and
entered.*

¹ Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 7.

(Y) The place where Titus, after having taken a full view round the city, chose to begin his attack, was towards the tomb of the high-priest John, both because it stood on the lowest ground, and because the outer wall was low, and not defended on that side by the middlemost; so that when the breach was made on the former, it was easy for them to penetrate to the latter, and so come up to, and make themselves masters of, the upper city, and next of the temple, by means of the fortress Antonia.

A breach was soon made, at which the Romans entered; and the Jews, abandoning this last inclosure, retired behind the next. This lodgement was effected about the twenty-eighth of April, a fortnight after the beginning of the siege^m.

John's defence of the temple, &c.

John defended the temple, and the castle of Antonia, and Simon guarded the rest of the city. Titus marched close to the second wall, and used his battering-rams against it so successfully, that one of the towers, which looked towards the north, began to shake. The men who were in it, made a signal to the Romans, as if they would surrender; and, at the same time, sent Simon word to be ready to give them a warm reception. Titus, having discovered their stratagem, plied his work more furiously, whilst the Jews that were in the tower, set it on fire, and flung themselves into the flames. The tower falling, afforded entrance into the second inclosure; but Titus, who

The second wall taken.

was bent on saving the city, would not suffer any part of the wall or streets to be demolished; thus the breach and lanes were left so narrow, that when his men were vigorously repulsed by Simon, they had not room to make a quick retreat, by which means a number of them were killed. This oversight was quickly rectified, and the attack renewed with such vigour, that the place was carried four days after their first repulseⁿ.

Famine and pestilence.

The famine raging in a terrible manner in the city, was soon followed by a pestilence; and as these two dreadful judgments increased, so did the rage of the factions, who, by their intestine feuds, had destroyed such quantities of provision, that they were forced to prey upon the people with the most unheard-of cruelty. They forced the houses, and, if they found any victuals in them, they butchered the owners for not apprising them of it; and, if they found nothing but bare walls, which was almost every-where the case, they put them to the most severe tortures, under pretence that they had some provision concealed^o.

Titus, who knew their miserable condition, and was still willing to spare them, gave them four days to cool; during which he caused his army to be mustered, and provisions to be distributed to them in sight of the Jews, who flocked upon the walls to see the distribution; and it is thought, that even the most flagitious among the Zealots were so affected at the sight of it, that they would have

^m Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 8, & 9. ⁿ Ibid. cap. 10. ^o Ibid. cap. 11.

agreed to a surrender, could they have depended upon that pardon, which their horrid deeds made them quite despair of obtaining. Josephus was sent to speak once more to them, and to exhort them not to run into inevitable ruin, by obstinately persisting in the defence of a place, which could hold out but a very little while, and which the Romans looked upon already as their own. His stubborn countrymen, after many bitter invectives, began to dart their arrows at him: yet, not at all discouraged, he went on with greater vehemence; but all the effect his remonstrance produced, was only that it prevailed on great numbers to steal away privately to the Romans, whilst the rest became only the more desperate and resolute to hold out to the last extremity.

*Josephus's
speech to the
besieged.*

To hasten therefore their destined ruin, Titus caused the city to be surrounded with a strong wall, to prevent either their receiving any succours or provision from abroad, or their escaping his resentment by flight (Z). There was now nothing to be seen through the streets of Jerusalem, but heaps of dead bodies rotting above-ground, walking skeletons, and dying wretches. As many as were taken by the Romans in their sallies, Titus caused to be crucified in sight of the town, to strike terror into the rest; but the Zealots gave it out, that they were those who fled to him for protection. Titus being informed of this misrepresentation, sent a prisoner with his hands cut off to undeceive and assure them, that he spared all that voluntarily came over to him; a declaration which encouraged great numbers to accept his offers, though the avenues were closely guarded by the insurgents, who put all to death who were caught going on that errand^p. Even those who escaped safe to the Roman camp, were butchered by the soldiers, from a notion that they had swallowed great quantities of gold; insomuch that two thousand of them were ripped up in one night^q. When Titus was apprised of this barbarity, he would have condemned all the perpetrators to death; but they proved so numerous, that he was forced to spare them, and contented himself with sending a proclamation through his camp, that as

*The city
immured.*

*Horrid
butcheries
within and
without.*

^p Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 12, & seq.

^q Ibid. cap. 15.

(Z) This wall, which was ed in three days; by which near forty stadia, or five miles one may guess at the ardour of in circuit, was yet carried on the besiegers to make them- with such speed, and by so selves masters of the city. many hands, that it was finish-

many as should be suspected thenceforward of that horrid villainy, should be put to immediate death. All this while the defection increased still more, through the inhumanity of the faction within, who made the miseries and dying groans of their starving brethren the subject of their cruel mirth, and exercised upon their bodies every species of wanton barbarity.

False prophets set up.

When they found, that neither their guards nor severities could prevent the people's flight, they had recourse to another stratagem, equally impious and cruel; which was, to hire a pack of vile pretenders to prophecy, to go about and encourage the despairing remains of the people to expect a speedy and miraculous deliverance; and this imposture proved a more successful expedient with that infatuated nation, than their other precautions^r (A). It was at this melancholy juncture, that an unhappy mother was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating her own child.

A mother eats her own child.

When this shocking incident was known in the city, it excited universal horror and consternation. The inhabitants considered themselves as forsaken by the Divine Providence, and expected the most terrible effects of his anger against the poor remains of their nation; insomuch that they began to envy those that had perished, and to wish their turn might come before the expected catastrophe. Their fears were just; since Titus, at the hearing of this

^r Jos. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 7.

(A) Nothing could be more dreadful than the famished condition they were now reduced to. The poor, having nothing to trust to but the mercy of the Romans, or a speedy death, ran all hazards to get out of the city; and if in their flight, and wandering out for herbs, or any other sustenance, they fell into the hands of any of Titus's parties, sent about to guard the avenues, they were unmercifully scourged and crucified, if they made the least resistance.

The rich within the walls were now forced, though in a private manner, to give half,

or all they were worth, for a measure of wheat, and the middling sort for one of barley. This they were forced to convey into some private place in their houses, and to feed upon it as it was, without daring to pound or grind, much less to boil or bake it, lest the noise or smell should allure the rapacious Zealots. Not that these were reduced to any real want of provisions, but they had a double end in this barbarity, the starving what they cruelly styled all useless persons; and the keeping their own stores in reserve.

inhuman

inhuman deed, swore the total extirpation of city and people. "Since," said he, "they have so often refused my offers of pardon, and have preferred war to peace, rebellion to obedience, and famine to plenty, I am determined to bury that cursed metropolis under its ruins, that the sun may never shoot his beams on a city where the mothers feed on the flesh of their children; and the fathers, no less guilty than they, choose to drive them to such extremities, rather than lay down their arms." In like manner did that good-natured general expostulate with the Deity for the other cruelties which he saw and heard were committed in that wretched metropolis, especially at sight of vast numbers of dead bodies, which, for want of burying room, they were forced to throw down from their walls into the adjacent valleys; taking heaven to witness, that he was innocent of all those horrid calamities which that insatuated nation had brought upon themselves.

Titus swears the total ruin of the city.

About the end of July, the Romans, having repeated their attacks with fresh vigour, made themselves masters of the fortress Antonia; a circumstance which obliged the Jews to set fire to those stately galleries, which joined it to the temple, lest they should afford an easy passage to the besiegers. About the same time Titus, with much difficulty, procured materials (B) for raising new mounds and terraces, in order to forward the siege, and save, if possible, the sad remains of that structure; but his pity served only to render those obstinate wretches more and more desperate. Titus at length caused fire to be set to the gates, after having had a very bloody encounter, in which his men were repulsed with loss. The Jews were so terrified at this conflagration, that they suffered themselves to be devoured by the flames without lending a helping hand, either to extinguish them, or to save their own lives. About the same time, Matthias the high-

Fort Antonia taken.

Gates set on fire.

* Bell. Jud. in fin. † Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 5. & seq. ‡ Ibid. cap. 9.

(B) The greatest part of those that had served hitherto for the siege, were either consumed, or rendered unfit for service. The suburbs, and adjacent parts of Jerusalem, which abounded with the most beautiful gardens, orchards, and greatest variety of fruit and other trees, had been already stripped of all their or-

naments for the same use, and were now reduced into a wilderness. Titus therefore could not carry on his works with the same speed and vigour, because he was forced to send his men for timber, and other materials, at a great distance, even so far as ninety stadia, or between eleven and twelve miles off.

*Matthias
put to death.*

priest, who had encouraged the people to introduce Simon into the city, met with a suitable requital from that monster of cruelty, being first tortured, and then condemned to death, together with three of his sons, the fourth having happily conveyed himself out of reach. The pretence was, their holding correspondence with the Romans. The reverend old pontiff only begged, as the last favour, that he might be put to death before his sons; but was denied both that request, and the common rites of burial. Ananias, with about seventeen persons of rank and merit, were put to death^{*}; besides many more, for having been caught weeping for their deceased friends. All this while Josephus did not cease exhorting them to surrender. He represented the dreadful consequences of an obstinate resistance, and assured them; that it was out of his mere compassion to them, that he thus hazarded his own life to save them from destruction. In the midst of his remonstrance, he received one day such a wound in his head by a stone from the battlements, as laid him senseless on the ground. The Jews sallied out immediately to seize his body; but the Romans proved too quick for them, and carried him off[†].

*Josephus
wounded.*

*The temple
plundered.*

By this time the two factions within, having plundered rich and poor of all they had, fell upon the treasury of the temple, whence John took a great quantity of golden utensils, together with those magnificent gifts which had been presented to that sacred place by the Jewish kings, by Augustus, Livia, and many other foreign princes, and converted them all to his own use. The repositories of the sacred oil, which was to maintain the lamps, and of the wine, which was reserved to accompany the usual sacrifices, were likewise seized upon, and applied to common use; and the last was used to intoxication. All this while, not only the Zealots, but many of the people, were still under such infatuation, that though the fortress Antonia was lost, and nothing left but the temple, which the Romans were preparing implements to batter down, yet they could not persuade themselves, that God would suffer that holy place to be taken by heathens, and still expected some sudden and miraculous deliverance. When Josephus was sent for the last time to upbraid the recreant John for his obstinately exposing that sacred building, and the miserable remains of God's people, to sudden and sure destruction; he only answered him with

*The besieged
still in-
situated.*

^{*} Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 15.

[†] Ibid.

the bitterest invectives, adding, that he was defending the Lord's vineyard, which he was sure could not be taken by any human force. Josephus in vain reminded him of the many ways by which he had polluted both city and temple; and in particular of the seas of blood which he had caused to be shed in both those sacred places, and which, he assured him from the old prophecies, were a certain sign and forerunner of their speedy surrender and destruction. John remained as inflexible, as if all the prophets had assured him of a deliverance. However, a great number of the people were so moved by Josephus's discourse, that they fled presently after to the Romans, and amongst them some persons of rank and figure, particularly Joseph the son of Cabbi, and Jesus the son of Damneus, who had been both high-priests. Titus gave them a gracious reception, and sent them to Gophna, a place situate between Samaria and Lydda, till the conclusion of the war; but he was forced to send for them back, to contradict a report, which the rebels had spread, of their having been put to death^a.

Josephus's speech to them.

Some of the besieged escape to the Romans.

At length Titus, foreseeing the inevitable ruin of that stately edifice, which he was still extremely desirous to save, vouchsafed to speak to them with his own mouth, and persuade them to surrender. But looking upon this condescension as the effects of his fear, rather than generosity, they only grew the more furious upon it, and forced him at last to come to those extremities, which he had hitherto endeavoured to avoid. That his army, which was to attack the temple, might have the freer passage towards it through the castle Antonia, he caused a considerable part of the wall to be pulled down, and levelled; but it proved so strong, that it took him up seven whole days, by which time they were far advanced in the month of July.

Titus willing to save the temple.

It was on the seventeenth day of that month that the daily sacrifice ceased for the first time, since its restoration by the brave Maccabite chief, there being no proper person left in the temple to make the offering. Titus exhorted John to set up whom he would to perform that office, rather than suffer the service of God to be set aside; and then challenged him and his party to come out of the temple, and fight on a more proper ground, and thereby save that sacred edifice from the fury of the Roman troops^a. These remonstrances producing no effect, the

The daily sacrifice interrupted.

^a Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 16.

^a Ibid. cap. 4.

besiegers

*Romans
out-witted.*

*Fire set to
the temple
gates.*

*Titus calls
a council.*

*Jews re-
pulsed.*

besiegers set fire again to the gallery that yielded a communication between the temple and the castle Antonia. The Jews had already burnt about twenty cubits of it in length; but this second blaze, which was likewise encouraged by the besieged, consumed about fourteen more; and what remained standing was easily overthrown. On the twenty-seventh of July, the Jews, having filled part of the western portico with combustible matter, made a shew of retiring, at which some of the forwardest of the Romans scaled up to the top; then the Jews setting fire to the combustibles, the flame blazed up with such fury, that many Romans were consumed, and the rest, venturing to leap down from the battlements, were crushed to death^b.

Next day, Titus having set fire to the north gallery, which inclosed the outer court of the temple, from fort Antonia to the valley of Cedron, gained an easy admittance into it, and forced the besieged into that of the priests. He tried in vain for six days to batter down one of the galleries of the precinct with an helepolis: he was forced to mount his battering-rams on the terrace, which was raised by this time; and yet the strength of this wall was such, that it eluded the force of these also. When they found that neither rams nor sapping could succeed, they attempted scaling; but were vigorously repulsed in the attempt, with the loss of some standards, and a number of men. At length Titus set fire to the gates, which, being plated with silver, burnt all that night, whilst the metal dropped down as it melted. The flame soon communicated itself to the porticos and galleries, which the besieged beheld without offering to stop it; but contented themselves with sending volleys of impotent curses against the Romans. Next day Titus, having given orders to extinguish the fire, called a council, to determine whether the remainder of the temple should be saved or demolished. That general was still inclined to spare it; but a great majority declared for its destruction. They alleged that it was no longer a temple, but a scene of war and slaughter, and that the Jews would never be at rest, as long as any part of it was left standing; but when they found Titus bent on preserving so noble an edifice, against which, he told them, he could have no quarrel, they all submitted to his opinion. It was determined to give a general assault on the tenth day of August: on the preceding night, the Jews made two desperate sallies on the Ro-

^b Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 6.

mans; in the last of which these, being timely succoured by Titus, drove them back into their inclosure^c.

One of the Roman soldiers, of his own accord, took up a blazing fire-brand, and, mounting on his comrade's shoulders, threw it into one of the apartments that surrounded the sanctuary, through a window: immediately the whole north side was in a flame, up to the third story^d. Titus, who had gone to repose himself in his pavillion, was awaked at the noise, and ran immediately to give orders that the fire should be extinguished. He called, prayed, threatened, and even struck his men, but in vain; the confusion was so great, and the soldiers were so obstinately bent upon destroying all that was left, that he was neither minded nor heard. Those that flocked thither from the camp, instead of obeying his orders, were busy, either in killing the Jews, or increasing the flames. When Titus observed, that all his endeavours were in vain, he entered the sanctuary, and the most holy place, in which he found still such rich and sumptuous utensils, as even exceeded all that he had heard. Out of the former he saved the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the altar of perfumes, all of pure gold, and the book or volume of the law, wrapped up in a rich gold tissue; but in the latter he found no utensils, because, in all probability, they had not made a fresh ark, since that of Solomon had been lost. Upon his coming out of that sacred place, some other soldiers set fire to it, and obliged those who had staid behind to come out; then they began to plunder, tearing even the gold plating off the gates and timber-work, and carried off all the costly utensils and robes, in-somuch that there was not one of them that did not enrich himself by the pillage^e.

The temple set on fire.

Titus enters into the sanctuary.

The sanctuary burnt.

A horrid massacre ensued, in which many thousands perished; some by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's sword, which destroyed all, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. Among them were upwards of six thousand persons, who had been seduced thither by a false prophet, who promised that they should find a speedy and miraculous relief there on that very day. Some of them remained five days on the top of the walls, and afterwards threw themselves on the general's mercy; but were answered, that they had out-staid the time, and were led to

A horrid massacre.

^c Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 9, & 10. Joseph. ubi supra, cap. 9, in fin.

^d Conf. 2 Kings xx. & ^e Ibid. & seq.

execution.

The treasure-houses burnt.

A strict fast kept on this day.

The satious desire a parly.

Their desperate resolution.

execution. The victors carried their fury to such a height, as to burn all the treasure-houses, though they were full of the richest furniture, plate, vestments, and other things of value, which had been laid up in those places for security. In a word, they did not cease burning and butchering, till they had destroyed all, except two of the temple-gates, and that part of the court which was destined for the women. In memory of this destruction, and that of Nebuchadnezzar, the Jews keep a solemn fast on the ninth of the month Ab, answering, in part, to our August, which lasts full twenty-four hours; during which time they neither eat, drink, nor use the least refreshment; but the strictest of them continue barefoot, in prayers and tears, from sun-setting to the next sun-set.

In the mean time the rebels made such a vigorous push, that they escaped the fury of the Romans, at least for the present, and retired into the city; but they found all the avenues of it so well guarded, that there was no possibility left for them to escape; so that, in order to secure themselves, they made a lodgement on the south-side of it, from whence Simon, and John of Gischala, sent to desire a parly with Titus. They were answered, that though they had been the cause of much bloodshed and ruin, yet they should have their lives spared, if they laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. They replied, that they had engaged themselves, by the most solemn oaths, never to surrender; and therefore only begged leave to retire into the mountains with their wives and children: which insolence so exasperated the Roman general, that he caused a herald to bid them stand to their defence; for that not one of them should be spared, since they had rejected his last offers of pardon. Immediately he abandoned the city to the fury of his soldiers, who completed the desolation they had begun (C); whilst the rebels,

† Vide *Mehillath Tahanith*, sub. *mens. Ab. Maimon, Buxtorf, & al.*

(C) Josephus tells us, however, that he spared the family of Izates, king of Adiabene, with several other persons of distinction, who came and surrendered themselves to his mercy; but he kept them all prisoners.

He likewise dismissed above

forty thousand of the inferior sort, who implored his pardon, and gave them leave to go and settle where they would. The truth is, that they had already gorged themselves with so much blood, that the streams, which ran along the streets, did even extinguish the fire.

rebels, who were left, fortified themselves in the royal palace, where they killed eight thousand Jews, who had there taken refuge^z.

The high city taken.

In the mean time great preparations were making for a vigorous attack on the upper city, especially on the royal palace; and these employed the besiegers from the twentieth of August to the seventh of September; during which time great numbers made their submission to Titus. Some of the Edomites, and two priests, upon promise of being spared, discovered to him a private place in the wall of the temple, where they found two candlesticks, some tables, cups, and other vessels of massy gold, with many precious stones, rich garments, and costly furniture. By this time the warlike engines played so furiously on the Zealots, that they were seized with a sudden panic; and, instead of fleeing into the towers of Hippicos, Phasaël, or Mariamne, which were yet untaken, and so strong, that nothing but famine could have reduced them, they ran like madmen towards Siloah, with a design to attack the wall of circumvallation, and escape out of the city; but, being there repulsed, they were forced to hide themselves in the public sinks, and common sewers. All the rest the Romans could find were put to the sword, and the city set on fire. This was on the eighth of September, when the city was taken and entered by Titus. He would have put an end to the massacre, but his men killed all, except the most vigorous, whom they shut up in the porch of the women. Fronto, who had the care of them, reserved the youngest, and most beautiful, for Titus's triumph; and sent all that were above seventeen years of age into Egypt, to be employed in some public works; a great number of others were sent into several cities of Syria, and other provinces, to be exposed on the public theatres, to fight like gladiators, or be devoured by wild beasts^h. The number of those prisoners amounted to ninety-seven thousand, besides about eleven thousand who were either starved through neglect, or starved themselves through sullenness and despair (D).

A. D.
71.

The city set on fire.

Prisoners sent into Egypt, &c.

Suetonius,

^z Bell. Jud. ubi supra, cap. 13.

^h Ibid. cap. 16, & 17.

fire. And as for the prisoners, they were so very numerous already, that they could not find buyers for them, though they offered them at the lowest prices.

(D) Josephus was by this time in such high favour with Titus, that he obtained the liberty of several of his friends and relations, and in particular of his brother Matthias, with-

out

Suetonius and Cornelius Nepos reckon but fix hundred thousand slain and prisoners in the course of this war; but, considering the distance of time and place in which they wrote, it will be easily granted, that they could not be so well acquainted with it as Josephus, who was a Jew, and an eye-witness. Whether this last has exaggerated it in compliment to Titus and the Romans, we will not pretend to say. A curious author has since taken the pains to make a fresh computation, extracted from him, of all the Jews that perished in the several places throughout that kingdom, and elsewhere, from the beginning to the conclusion of the war¹; in which we believe our readers will be glad to see the whole amount of the several bloody articles, as it were, at one view. They are as follows :

*Jews
killed in
and out of
Judæa.*

At Jerusalem, put to death by Florus's orders	630
By the inhabitants of Cæsarea, in hatred to the Jews	20,000
At Scythopolis in Syria	30,000
By the inhabitants of Ascalon in Palestine	2,500
By those of Ptolemais	2,000
At Alexandria in Egypt, under Alexander, an apostate Jew	50,000
At Damascus	10,000
At the taking of Joppa	8,400
In the mountain of Cabulo	2,000
In a fight at Ascalon	10,000
In an ambush	8,000
At the taking of Aphek	15,000
Upon Mount Garizzim	11,600
Drowned at Joppa by a sudden storm	4,200
Slain at Tarichæa	6,500
Slain, or killed themselves at Gamala, where none were saved but two sisters	9,000
Killed in their flight from Gischala	2,000
At the siege of Jotapa, where Josephus commanded	30,000
Of the Gadarenes, besides vast numbers that drowned themselves	13,000
In the villages of Idumæa	10,000
At Gerasium	1,000

¹ Justus Lipsius de Constantia, lib. ii. cap. 21.

out any ransom. That emperor had likewise given him leave to save what he thought proper out of the ruins of the

city and temple, but he contented himself with the volume of the sacred writings.

At

At Machæron	1,700
In the desert of Jarden	3,000
Slew themselves at Maffada	960
In Cyrene, put to death by the governor Catulus	3,000
Perished at Jerusalem by sword, famine, pestilence, and during the siege	1,100,000
According to this account the whole amounts to	1,354,490

Besides a vast multitude that died in the caves, woods, wildernesses, common sewers, in banishment, and many other ways, of whom no computation could be made; and ten thousand that were slain at Jotapa, more than our author has reckoned. For Josephus mentions expressly forty thousand, and Lipsius reckons only thirty thousand (E).

Whilst the soldiers were still busy in burning the remains of the city, and visiting all the common sewers, where they found and killed numbers of poor creatures, Simon and John, the two grand rebels, were discovered, and brought to Titus, who ordered them to be reserved for his triumph. John, being pinched with hunger, came out first; and, having begged his life, obtained it, but

Simon and John taken.

(E) To these, if we add the ninety-seven thousand prisoners, doomed, in all appearance, to a captivity infinitely worse than death, and the eleven thousand that perished either through the neglect of their keepers, or their own sullen despair, the amount will be above one million four hundred and sixty-two thousand. What still more aggravates this calamity is, that the far greatest part of them were strangers, invited from remote parts of the world, even from beyond the river Euphrates, by their brethren at Jerusalem, to come and assist them in the defence of their religion and liberties.

Josephus mentions many prodigies that ushered in the destruction of Jerusalem. Of this class was that strange comet, which hung over the city

one whole year, in the shape of a sword: the extraordinary light that was seen round the altar at the ninth hour of the night, upon the celebration of the paschal feast: a cow delivered of a lamb, as she was led to the altar to be sacrificed: the eastern gate of the temple, of solid brass, so heavy that it required twenty pair of stout hands to open and shut it, flung open in the middle of the night, though fastened with strong bolts and bars: the air before sun-set filled with chariots, and armed men: and, lastly, the voice, which, after a kind of rumbling noise, was distinctly heard by the priests, who were going to officiate on the feast of Pentecost, and uttered these words articulately, "Let us depart; let us depart (1).

(1) Bell. Jud. ubi supra, cap. 12.

was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Simon, whose retreat was better stored, held out till towards the end of October, when necessity forced him to come forth. He appeared suddenly on the ruins of the temple in a white robe, and a purple cloak. The Romans were at first surpris'd, supposing him to be a spectre; but soon understanding who he was, Terentius Rufus, who was left commander, seiz'd on him, and sent him to Cæsarea, whither Titus had retired, and from whence he was conveyed, with his bloody colleagues, to Rome, to adorn the conqueror's triumph ².

*The city
raised to
the ground.*

As soon as the work of massacre and pillage was finished, Titus ordered his army to demolish the city, with all its structures, fortifications, palaces, towers, walls, and other ornaments and edifices, which were laid level with the ground. He left nothing standing but a piece of the western wall, and the three towers of Hippicos, Phasaël, and Mariamne, the former to serve as a redoubt to his tenth legion, which he left there, and the three latter to give future ages some idea of the strength of the whole city, and of the skill and valour of its conqueror. His orders were so punctually executed, that, except those few buildings above mentioned, there were not so much as any remains left that could serve as an index that the ground had been once inhabited. Inasmuch, that when he came to pass through it, in his way from Cæsarea to Alexandria, in order to embark for Rome, he could not refrain shedding tears at the sight of so dreadful a devastation, and cursing the wretches who had forced him to make such a dreadful example ¹.

*Titus
weeps over
its ruins.*

*His tri-
umph.*

As for the infamous leaders of those miscreants, they appeared at the head of seven hundred of the most beautiful Jewish captives, to adorn the triumph of Titus. Then Simon was dragged through the streets of Rome, with a rope about his neck, severely scourged, and put to death with some of his associates; but John was sent into perpetual imprisonment ^m (F).

*Simon and
John's
fate.*

Titus

² Joseph. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, & seq.
^m Ibid. cap. 24.

¹ Ibid. cap. 18, & seq.

(F) Titus's triumph was further adorned with a great number of trophies brought from Judæa; among the principal of which were those which had been taken out of the sanctu-

ary, such as the golden table of shewbread, which weighed several talents; the seven-branch candlestick, a rich and curious piece of art; the roll or volume of the law, covered with

Titus had left three castles still untaken, namely, those of Herodion and Massada on this, and that of Machæron on the other side Jordan. The first of them was soon after reduced, on capitulation, by Lucilius Bassus, who had been appointed lieutenant of Judæa. He then went at the head of a large number of troops, to besiege Machæron, which was a very strong place, and likely to hold out a long time. But a lucky accident (G) obliged the besieged to

*Machæron
surrender-
ed.*

with a costly gold cloth, which was carried the last of the three, as the most venerable of all the trophies. The two former Titus caused to be placed in the temple of Peace, which his father had built; the latter, together with several curious and costly veils of the temple, and other rich furniture, he conveyed into his own palace (2).

There are still some coins extant of that emperor, stamped with a trophy and triumphant chariot, and of his father, with the image of a woman sitting sorrowful under a palm-tree, with the inscription of "Judæa capta;" with some others coined in the twenty-first year of king Agrippa, with these words in Greek, "Vespasian emperor and Cæsar. Judæa was taken in the twenty-first of Agrippa."

To these medals we may add some fragments in bas relief, representing Vespasian and his son Titus's triumph, and on which is still to be distinguished the seven-branch candlestick, with other sacred utensils. Some have pretended also to discover the ark in it; but we have already seen, that there was no such thing in the most holy place: and it is most likely to be only the table of

the shewbread, which was not altogether unlike it; but the misfortune is, that time has so defaced this noble monument, that it is not easy to discover any thing in it with certainty, except the candlestick above mentioned.

(G) There was in that castle a young nobleman, highly esteemed for his valour, who, after having given the besiegers a stout repulse in a sally, unfortunately strayed out of the gates, to speak to the people on the wall by way of bravado. An Egyptian, then in the Roman army, came swiftly behind him unperceived, took him up in his arms, and carried him off.

When Bassus had got the noble youth in his power, he caused him to be stripped naked, and severely scourged, in the view of the besieged, who filled immediately the air with their cries. Bassus perceiving them so moved at the sight, caused a cross to be erected, and gave them to understand that he would crucify him, unless they prevented it by a timely surrender. The stratagem had the desired effect; and the Jews, not being so hardened as those of Jerusalem, chose to capitulate, and soon after surrendered the place on

*Jews over-
come by
Bassus.*

*Massada
besieged.*

*The despe-
rate end of
the besieged.*

to surrender, upon condition that they should have liberty to retire whithersoever they pleased; which being readily granted to them, they went and joined some of their revolted brethren, who had sheltered themselves in the forest of Jarden. Thither Bassus advancing, attacked and, after a desperate combat, totally defeated them, with Judas their chief, who had escaped from Jerusalem through one of the aqueducts of that cityⁿ.

Death having prevented Bassus from putting an end to the war, Flavius Silva, his successor, assembled all his forces to attack Massada, now the only remaining fortress in the hands of the rebels. The place was prodigiously strong, both by art and nature, well supplied with provisions, and defended with a good number of sicarii and assassins; at the head of whom was Eleazar, the grandson of Judas the Gaulonite. Silva having in vain tried his engines and battering-rams against it, surrounded it with a high and strong wall, and then ordered fire to be set to the gates. The wind favouring him, drove the flame so fiercely against the Jews, that Eleazar, in a kind of despair, persuaded them first to kill all their wives and children, and next to choose ten men by lot, who should kill all the rest; lastly, to pitch upon one individual, out of the surviving ten, to dispatch them and himself; a desperate resolution, which was accordingly executed; only this last man was ordered to set fire to the place before he finished this bloody tragedy. Next morning the Romans, preparing to scale the walls, were strangely surprised at the silence which prevailed among the besiegers, none of whom appeared. In order to rouse them, they raised a loud shout, at which two women, who had concealed themselves from the massacre in an aqueduct, came out, and told them the desperate catastrophe of the besieged, which put an end to that dreadful war^o. Vespasian ordered the Jewish lands to be sold for his own use (H), and all the Jews within the Roman empire were commanded to pay into his treasury the usual tribute of half a shekel,

ⁿ Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 25.

^o Ibid. cap. 28.

the conditions above mentioned (3).

(H) He only reserved the town of Emmaus, which he bestowed on eight hundred of

his best veterans, to plant a new colony there, and from that time that place took the name of Nicopolis (4).

(3) Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 25, ad fin.

(4) Ibid. cap. 26.

of two drachms, which they had been formerly obliged to pay for the use of the sanctuary ^p.

He likewise caused all the branches of the house of Judah to be cut off ^q, to deprive them at once of all hopes of a deliverer, or future Messiah. Notwithstanding which precaution, the Zealots made several attempts to regain their power; first in Egypt, where it cost some of them their lives, and occasioned an order to shut up their temple at Alexandria ^r (I). Next in Cyrene of Libya, where one them, named Jonathan, pretended to be a prophet, and persuaded about two thousand of his brethren to follow him into the desert, where he promised to shew them wonders, and where Catullus, the governor, caused them to be pursued and defeated.

The remains of the royal family cut off.

After the reduction of Jerusalem and Judæa, Agrippa and his sister retired to Rome, probably with Titus, who was enamoured of Berenice. We have seen, through the course of this last war, how serviceable the brother had been to that general, accompanying him in person, and assisting him with men and ammunition, for which services, we are told, Titus got his kingdom enlarged by the emperor, and procured him prætorian honours. But his extraordinary friendship for that prince flowed chiefly from his fondness for his sister, who now lived with him in his palace, and ruled every thing as if she had been his wife. We have hinted some former reports publicly spread concerning her incestuous intrigues with her bro-

Agrippa and Berenice go to Rome.

She becomes Titus's paramour.

^p Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 26, in fin. ^q Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. i cap. 12. ^r Bell. ubi supra, cap. 30, ad fin.

(I) These wretches, who were undoubtedly the relics of the Gaulonitish faction, since even their children suffered the severest torments, rather than acknowledge Cæsar for their lord, met at first with a kind reception from their brethren of Alexandria. But they quickly became obnoxious to them by sowing their leaven of sedition. To prevent the ill effects of which, they were delivered up to the Romans, and six hundred of them put to death.

Vespasian fearing their Alexandrian temple would afford them a fresh pretence of assembling themselves, and raising some new sedition in Egypt, sent orders to Lupus, his governor there, to demolish it. But he contented himself with shutting it up. Paulinus, who succeeded him soon after, stripped it of all its ornaments and rich furniture, and caused the gates of it to be quite walled up, to prevent any farther worship being offered up in it (5).

(5) Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 30, ad fin.

*Discarded
by him.
Agrippa's
death, and
end of the
Herodian
family.*

ther, for which she had given but too much foundation. Titus could hardly be ignorant of these reports; but her beauty had so captivated him, that he overlooked every thing else; inasmuch that he had promised her marriage, and would in all probability have kept it, had he not found that the Romans were wholly averse from it, partly on account of her being a Jewess, and partly on that of her royal descent. He was therefore obliged to send her away*. As for Agrippa, he was the last of the Herodian race that bore the royal title, and is supposed to have died at Rome about the seventieth year of his age, and in the 90th of Jesus Christ†.

This was the end of the Herodian family, and of the Jewish nation and polity; and is so much the more remarkable, considering that the succinct account we have of it is written by a Jew of such extraordinary character, and that the destruction of the city and people, especially of their temple, is found, upon the whole, so exactly conformable to the prophecies of Christ, denounced against them so long before. One might have expected that this should have opened their eyes, to acknowledge these, as well as the many others we have mentioned, which prove him the Messiah, since they had seen their sacrifices, ceremonial law, their temple, their royal stock of Judah, &c. which they till then thought were to last for ever, buried under the ruin of their metropolis and commonwealth (K).

* Vid. Sueton. in Vit. Tit. ex Xiphil. ex Dione. Justus Tiberius apud Phot. Bibl. Cod. 33. † Tillemont, Ruine des Juifs, art. 23. & not. 41.

(K) In the mean time it will not be amiss to take notice, that the Jews are no less at variance with Josephus, than the Christians have admired him. St. Jerom, among other praises he gives him, calls him the Livy of the Jews (6). Photius, and others, have been equally lavish of their incense; and Eusebius adds to the rest, that he had a statue reared to him in consideration of his writings (7). We shall not repeat what we have often ob-

served, of his partiality to his nation, and sacerdotal order. But his countrymen have trumped up another Josephus, known by the name of Bengorion, whose history is compiled out of the Rufinian version of the true Josephus (for he doth not seem to have seen the original); and is stuffed with the most palpable absurdities, falsehoods, and contradictions; the Jews, notwithstanding, bestow on him the highest encomiums. In particular, rabbi Tham, who has

(6) De Vir. Illust. cap. xiii.

(7) Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 13.
published

C H A P. IX.

The History of Assyria.

S E C T. I.

The Description of Assyria.

WE have already accounted for the name of this country, deriving it from Ashur, its first planter after the flood; and have observed, that its name extended very far westward over the whole of Aram, or Syria, which at this time gives appellation to most of the country between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. Eastward, southward, and northward, it must also have extended its name wherever its monarchs had established themselves, by the fortune of their arms. *Its name.*

If we consider the monarchy of Assyria geographically, it comprised several countries, which we have already described; and others which we shall hereafter specify in their proper places. It is not, therefore, our design to give here a description of the monarchy or empire of Assyria, but confine ourselves to the proper Assyria, agreeably to the method we have hitherto pursued.

This country was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north by part of Armenia and Mount Niphates; on

published his history, is not ashamed to affirm, that all he wrote was just, without the least mixture of falsehood; that his writings come nearer to those of the prophets, than those of any other Jewish author; that the hand of God was upon him whilst he compiled his work; with some other commendations, which amount almost to blasphemy (8). That fabulous author is so well known to the learned, that we shall spend no time in exposing him. The readers may see many of

his absurdities in that mutilated edition which Münster has given us, though he has concealed a great number of them. But those who have seen the large editions that have appeared since, will find them so full of errors, that he will readily own, nothing but the greatest degree of infatuation and perverseness could induce the Jews to prefer him to the true one, who, setting aside his partiality above mentioned, hath all the marks of a judicious and exact historian (9).

(8) Præf. in Joseph. Bengorion, edit. Constantinop. 1490.
(9) Vid. Bafmag. Hist. Juifs, tom. ix. p. 151, & seq. Frid. Calmet. & al.

the west by the Tigris ; on the south by Susiana ; and, on the east, by part of Media, and the mountains Choatra and Zagros. The country within these limits, is, by some of the ancients, called Adiabene, and, by others, with the transmutation of one letter, as Dio Cassius observes, Aturia or Atyria^a. It is divided by Ptolemy into the following provinces or districts, Calachene or Calacine, Arrapachitis, Adiabene, Arbelitis, Apolloniatis, Sittacene, and Chalonitis^b. Calachene was bounded on the north by the mountains of Armenia and Arrapachitis ; on the west by the Tigris ; on the east by the Lycus ; and on the south by Adiabene. It contained the following cities, Marde, Calash, Bessara, and Resen. Calash, built by Ashur, as we read in Scripture^c, gave name to the whole province. Bochart takes this to be the same city with Halah, where the king of Assyria placed the captive Israelites^d. It stood probably upon, or near the Tigris ; for, of the two other cities, built by the same person, and at the same time, viz. Nineveh and Resen, the former, we know for certain, stood upon, or near that river ; and that the latter had the like situation, is highly probable, since it is placed by Moses between Nineveh and Calash, or Calah^e. Bochart conjectures Resen to be the Larissa of Xenophon, which, according to that historian, stood near the Tigris, and had been formerly a great city, inhabited by the Medes ; but was then quite destitute of inhabitants, and lay in ruins^f. Of Marde and Bessara we know nothing besides their names.

Arrapachitis, the most northern province of Assyria, is only mentioned by Ptolemy ; and the towns he places in it are to us, and seem to have been in like manner to the ancient geographers, utterly unknown. This country was watered, according to Ptolemy, by the Gyndes.

Adiabene was the chief province of Assyria, and sometimes gave its name to the whole country. It was so called, according to Ammianus, from the two rivers Diaba and Adiaba, Ptolemy and Ammianus place Ninus or Nineveh, Gaugamela, and Arbela, in this province ; and with them Strabo agrees ; for, though he places Ninus and Gaugamela in Aturia, and Arbela in a district of its own name, yet he makes both Aturia and Arbelis parts of Adiabene^g. Pliny too calls Arbelis part of Adiabene^h ;

^a Dio in Trajan.^b Ptol. lib. vi. cap. 1.^c Gen. x. 11.^d 2 Kings xvii. 6.^e Gen. x. 12.^f Xenoph. Exped.

Cyr. Min. lib. iii. page 182.

^g Strabo, lib. xvi. sub init.^h Plin. lib. vi. cap. 13.

so that this province had Calachene to the north, the Tigris to the west, Apolloniatis to the east, and Sittacene to the south. Stephanus and Tzetzes¹ confound Adiabene with Mesopotamia. In this part of Assyria, and near, or upon the Tigris, stood the famous city of Ninus, as the profane writers call it, or Nineveh, as it is called in Scripture. The extent and greatness of this city is sufficiently described by the prophet Jonah. Strabo allows it to have been much greater than Babylon^k. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that it was four hundred and eighty stadia in circumference, or forty-seven miles, and that it was surrounded with lofty walls and towers; the former being two hundred feet in height, and so very broad, that three chariots might drive on them abreast; and the latter two hundred feet in height and fifteen hundred in number^l. That historian was certainly mistaken, or rather his transcribers, in placing Nineveh on the Euphrates; since all the other historians, as well as geographers, who speak of that city, tell us, in express terms, that it stood on the Tigris^m. It was ruined by the Medes; for Strabo tells us expressly, that Ninus, upon the downfall of the Syrian, that is, the Assyrian empire, was utterly ruinedⁿ. Salmasius finds fault with Ptolemy for reckoning it among the cities of Assyria that were still standing in his time. He might, in the like manner, have censured Tacitus and Ammianus; for they both speak of Ninus as still a city at the time they wrote. A new town was, no doubt, built out of the ruins of the ancient city, which bore the same name, as it happened to Troy, and other places without number. In Aturia, that is, in the part of Adiabene lying between the Tigris and the Lycus, was the town, or rather the village, of Gaugamela, as Arrian styles it^o, where Alexander gained a complete victory over Darius; but of this glory it was robbed by the neighbouring city of Arbela, the conqueror chusing that it should be rather named from a city of note than from an obscure village. Arbela stood in the same country, six hundred stadia east of Gaugamela. Ptolemy places it on the river Capros; but Strabo at an equal distance from that river and the Lycus, near Mount Nicatorius, so called by Alexander from the above mentioned victory. It is called a village both by Diodorus Siculus and Curtius; but Arrian dignifies it

¹ Tzetz. Lycoph. Alexandr. ad ver. 704.

^k Strabo, lib. xvi.

^l Diod. Sic. lib. ii. cap. 3.

^m Ibid. Ptol. Strab. Plin. lib. vi.

cap. 13. & Herodot. lib. i. cap. 193, & lib. ii. cap. 150.

ⁿ Strab.

ibid.

^o Arrian, lib. vi. p. 399.

^p Id. ibid.

with the name of a city¹. From this village, or city, the neighbouring country was called Arbelis and Arbelitis.

Apolloniatis lay east of Adiabene, and was so called from its metropolis Apollonia, which is placed by Ptolemy between the rivers Gorgus and Silla. Both the country and the town are mentioned by Polybius², and Stephanus, who reckons Apollonia the twentieth town between Babylon and Sufa. Artemita, called by Strabo a city of great note, stood in the same province, five hundred stadia east of Seleucia³. It is mentioned by Tacitus⁴, Isidorus Characenus⁵, Stephanus, Pliny⁶, and Ptolemy. Isidorus places it on the river Silla. Pliny was certainly mistaken in reckoning it among the towns of Mesopotamia⁷. Both this city and Apollonia were, without all doubt, of Greek origin, as is manifest from their names. The other cities placed by Ptolemy in this tract were Characharta, Thebura, and Arrapa; but we find no mention made of them by other writers.

Sittacene, or Sitacene, lay south of Apolloniatis, and had Sittace for its metropolis. Sittacene and Apolloniatis were, according to Strabo, but different names of one and the same province; and Pliny extends the name of Sittacene to Arbelis and Palestine⁸. There is some disagreement among authors concerning the situation of the city of Sittacene. Ptolemy and Pliny place it at a great distance from the Tigris; but Xenophon, who travelled all over that country, and had been himself at Sittacene, tells us in express terms, that the great and populous city Sittacene stood only at the distance of fifteen stadia from the Tigris⁹. The other cities in this province are utterly unknown.

Chalonitis was the most southerly province of all Assyria. In this district stood the cities of Chala and Ctesiphon. All we know of Chala is, that it gave name to the province¹⁰. Ctesiphon stood on the Tigris, a little below Seleucia, and on the opposite bank. It became, in process of time, the metropolis of the Persian empire, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. Ptolemy mentions several other cities in this province, but none that deserve particular notice.

This country lay between the 33d and 39th degrees of north latitude, and must in its happy times have been a

¹ Arrian, lib. vi. p. 399. ² Polyb. lib. v. cap. 43, & 51, 52.
³ Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 512. ⁴ Tacit. lib. vi. cap. 41. ⁵ Isidor. Charac. p. 5.
⁶ Plin. lib. vi. cap. 26. ⁷ Ibid. ⁸ Ibid, cap. 27.
⁹ Xenoph. Arabic. lib. ii, p. 167, edit. Steph.
¹⁰ Isidor. Char. p. 5.

land of plenty; but has, almost ever since the fall of its empire, been decaying; a misfortune particularly incident to it, by the very nature of its situation, which has, at all times, made it the seat of war between potent empires and nations. And it is now become a wilderness, a desert, excepting some little spots that may be cultivated about the few and inconsiderable towns which stand within its borders*, so that there is but little to be said of its productions and properties.

Among the rivers of Assyria, we may justly reckon the Tigris (A), not only because it bathed all the western skirts of this country, but also because all the other rivers of the kingdom fell into this; as also, because the great cities, such as Nineveh, Ctesiphon, and others, were situated on its borders†. The other rivers of less note were, the Lycus, the Caprus, and the Gorgus (B), at almost equal dis-

Rivers.

* Rauwolf's Travels, part ii. chap. 9. † Vide Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. tom. ii. lib. iii. cap. 17.

(A) Said to have borrowed this name from the number of tigers on its banks; and the rather, as there are two other rivers in this country, the Lycus and Caprus, which seem to borrow their names from a cause of the same nature, the one being denominated from a wolf, the other from a goat: others derive it from a Persian word, signifying an arrow; by this, and the former, importing it to be rapid and violent in its course. But this is contradicted by Pietro de la Valle, who says it is a slower stream than the Euphrates; and Thevenot seems to assign a reason why the Tigris should not be so very swift, saying, it is not only very crooked, and full of meanders, but also choaked up with islands and great banks of stone (1). Bochart derives it

from its old Hebrew name Hiddekel; and the Arabs, at this day, call it Dijlat; though the present inhabitants name it Hiddekel.

(B) These two rivers are now called, or supposed to be so, the Great Zab and Little Zab. According to Bochart this latter name is corrupted from Diaba, or derived from the Hebrew Zeeb, which differ but in dialect. Thevenot calls these rivers Zarb, but speaks of but one, which he saw fall into the Tigris: he calls it a large river, makes it above half as broad as the Tigris, and observes that is very rapid, that its water is whitish, and very cold; which he would seemingly account for by its falling from the mountains of Curdistan, and being merely snow water (2).

(1) Vide Cellar. ubi supra. Gregor. posthum. p. 189. De la Valle's Travels. Thev. in his Travels, part ii. chap. 13.

(2) Travels to the Levant, part ii. chap. 13.

tances from each other; supposed to have been all between the two cities of Ninus, or Nineveh, and Seleucia.

Concerning the natural and artificial rarities of this once famous country, we find nothing worthy of notice.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Learning, and Trade of the Assyrians.

Antiquity.

ASSYRIA, which stands the foremost in profane accounts, is in Scripture the second most ancient kingdom after Babel, or Babylon. It was founded by Ashur, and not by Nimrod, as the Ctesian system imports; and was in the beginning a kingdom distinct from Babylon, though in process of time they coalesced, in consequence of mutual conquests. Ashur departed from the land of Shinar upon Nimrod's usurpation, and built Nineveh and other cities, as Rehoboth, Cala, and Resen; in Nineveh^{*} he resided, and thus erected a new kingdom, which, borrowing its name, was called Ashur, or Assyria. We have nothing, therefore, to object against the antiquity of the Assyrian kingdom, even as delivered by Ctesias. But we must make a wide distinction between this simple kingdom, and the grand monarchy which many ages afterwards bore the same appellation.

Government.

Destitute as we are of sufficient authorities, we can say nothing in particular of the government of this people, except what may be gathered from the conduct and deportment of their princes, in the very little we have of their history. That they constituted a small kingdom, under hereditary chiefs, for many ages, is not to be doubted; no more than that their government was very simple, in conformity to what has been observed and related of their neighbours the Syrians and Mesopotamians. When, in after-times, they rose to the sublimity of empire, their government seems to have been truly despotic, and the empire to have been hereditary.

Laws.

We have nothing to build upon, or to say in particular of their laws. They were in all likelihood few, depending upon the arbitrary will of the prince: for those emperors, affecting even divine honours, and setting themselves above all the gods of the people they vanquished[†],

^{*} Genes. x. 10; 11.

[†] 2 Kings xviii. 33, &c.

sometimes requiring, that none other under heaven should be worshipped but themselves^b, and even presuming to pass sentence on the whole world, by the word of their own mouths; it cannot be imagined there could be any settled form of law for the government of this people.

We are also much in the dark as to their religion: in general we know they were idolaters, and that they had their idols and temples. Nisroch is likely to have been their principal god, at least at one time; but Selden declares^c he knows nothing at all of him. Nergal was not properly, it seems, an Assyrian deity: Adramelech may perhaps be termed a god of this country, and is said to have been represented as a mule, or a peacock: Anamelech, in like manner, is said to have been represented as a horse, or a pheasant, or a quail; but these are all rabbinical dreams. These two last are also supposed to have been the same with Moloch.

Religions

Derceto, as the Greeks call her, was plainly an Assyrian deity, of an inferior order. The Assyrians, and Syrians, paid particular devotion to fishes, in memory, as we are told, of the goddess Derceto, of Ascalon, who was wholly, or partly, metamorphosed into a creature of that sort; and they honoured Semiramis in the form of a dove, or pigeon, either because she was nursed by these when exposed after her birth, or because they attended her at her death, when it is fabled, she was changed into a bird^d.

In customs, arts, learning, and trade, they must certainly have differed but little, if at all, from the Babylonians; so that we shall suspend what can be collected in relation thereto, till we come to treat of the Babylonian affairs, only referring the reader back to our account of the language of Syria, and the alphabet of the Syrian character, for the language and character of this people, which we have declared to be the same.

Their customs, arts, &c.

Their language and alphabet.

S E C T. III.

Of the Assyrian Chronology, to the Fall of the Empire.

THE Babylonians, or Chaldees, are allowed to have had a regular body of genuine history from the origin of things; but this Babylonian account has been long

^b Judith iii. 8. ^c Selden de Diis Syris. ^d Diod. Sic. lib. ii.

since destroyed, absurd traditions and ridiculous tales having taken its place, a circumstance the more to be regretted, as we are assured by Josephus it was very valuable.

The Greeks despised the history of all nations besides their own, never concerning themselves any farther than as it interfered with themselves; and even then they introduced it rather to adorn their own character, than to preserve any thing by way of information to posterity.

This negligence appears more plainly, in their slighting, and even destroying the Persian records, when they became masters of that empire; no one of their historians, that we know of, ever consulting them to complete a series of the Persian affairs: nor was there a nation they were solicitous about but the Egyptians, who affected a deep silence, and cared not to satisfy their curiosity. Some of the Greeks, indeed, whose good sense got the better of their national pride and prejudices, namely, Eratosthenes, Hecateus the Abderite, and Menander the Ephesian, may be quoted, as exceptions to what we have observed, as well as some foreigners, such as Berosus, Manetho, and some others, who were encouraged to write the histories of their respective countries, for the use of the Greeks: but these remarks only add weight to the imputed arrogance of that assuming people. It is plain, they did not in the least regard them; for not one has reached our times, nor so much as one Greek that had made any large extracts from them, if we except Josephus, and the Christian chronologers, Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus, if they may be allowed to be of the number.

No polite nation has ever been more egregiously faulty in mixing truth with fiction; and yet they seem to have thought no nation fit to treat of history, but themselves. Diodorus Siculus, in writing of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, never mentions Berosus and Manetho, preferring his own crude indigestions, to any thing in these authors. And with regard to Assyria, instead of resorting to such as might truly inform him, he takes Ctesias for his guide, a most fabulous writer: but, being a Greek, he was preferred by the vain partiality of his countrymen, and his history has had the good fortune of reaching our times, while others have suffered the fate which Ctesias and Diodorus more justly deserved.

Among those great and powerful nations which once existed, and are now no more, we reckon the Assyrians,
Babyl-

Babylonians, and Lydians. Their records and their historians have long since been annihilated. The Greeks never took the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the genuine particulars of their history; and no other nation, the Jews excepted, can tell us any thing about them. Hence we make no account of the common histories of these nations, and particularly of the Assyrians. Some of the best chronologers have been driven to miserable shifts to make out their different systems. But as our design is to shew they have been all misled, some few excepted, we shall take little or no notice of their lucubrations.

A Table of the Successions of the Assyrian Kings, according to Eusebius and Syncellus.

According to Eusebius.							According to Syncellus.			
* * * * *	Years.						Years.			
1	Ninus reigned	-	-	52			1	Belus reigned	-	55
2	Semiramis	-	-	42			2	Ninus	-	52
3	Zameis, or Ninyas	-	-	38.			3	Semiramis	-	42
4	Arius	-	-	30			4	Ninyas, or Zames	-	38
5	Aralius	-	-	40			5	Arius	-	30
6	Xerxes, or Baleus	-	-	30			6	Aralius	-	40
7	Armamitres	-	-	38			7	Xerxes	-	30
8	Belochus	-	-	35			8	Armamithres	-	38
9	Balæus	-	-	52			9	Belochus	-	35
10	Altadas	-	-	32			10	Balæus	-	52
11	Mamitus	-	-	30			11	Sethos	-	32
12	Manchaleus	-	-	32			12	Mamithus	-	30
13	Sphærus	-	-	20			13	Afchalius	-	28
14	Mamitus	-	-	30			14	Sphærus	-	22
15	Sparetus	-	-	40			15	Mamylus	-	30
16	Aftacadis	-	-	40			16	Sparthæus	-	42
17	Amyntes	-	-	45			17	Afcatades	-	38
18	Belochus (C)	-	-	25			18	Amyntes	-	45
							19	Belochus	-	25

(D)

(D)

19 Bel-

(C) Or Bolochns; he had a daughter called Atofa, as also Semiramis, who reigned with him twelve years.

(D) Bion and Alexander Polyhistor divide this series of kings into two dynasties, which we have distinguished by this chasim. Belochus, who fi-

nishes this dynasty, is called by the same authors Belleus the Dercetad; and in him, say they, the race of Semiramis became extinct; when Beletaras, Beletores, or Bellepares, the king's gardener, in a most extraordinary manner, seized on the empire for himself, and esta-

The History of the Assyrians.

According to Eusebius.

According to Syncellus.

	Years.		Years.
19 Bellepares - -	30	20 Belatores - -	30
20 Lamprides - -	32	21 Lamprides - -	30
21 Sofares - -	20	22 Sofares - -	20
22 Lampares - -	30	23 Lamphraes - -	30
23 Panyas - -	45	24 Panyas - -	45
24 Sofarmus - -	19	25 Sofarmus - -	22
25 Mitreus - -	27	26 Mithraeus - -	27
26 Tautanes (E) - -	32	27 Teutamus, or Tautanes	32
27 Teuteus - -	40	28 Teutæus - -	44
* * * * *		29 Arabelus - -	42
* * * * *		30 Chalaus - -	45
* * * * *		31 Anebus - -	38
* * * * *		32 Babios (F) - -	37
		28 Thinæus	

established the succession in his own family, till it, at last, fell under Sardanapalus. The first dynasty of these kings, then, ending with Belochus, must be called Dercetadæ, from Derceto, the mother of Semiramis (1).

(E) According to Eusebius, under this king Troy was taken.

(F) Though Syncellus seems to agree with Eusebius, as to the reign of the king who was on the throne of Assyria when Troy was taken, he brings that event down to this reign. He observes, that this king was by the Greeks called Tithon, the father of that Memnon, who was sent an auxiliary against the Greeks, and fell by the hand of Achilles. He tells us the copy of a letter from Priam to him was handed about in his time; and also, that he was called Tautanes the Second. This story is borrowed from Ctesias, who calls this king Teutamus, with Syncellus, but makes him a

distinct person from Tithon the father of Memnon. This romantic author (Ctesias) tells us, he sent ten thousand Ethiopians, with as many Sufians, people widely distant from each other, together with two hundred chariots, to the assistance of king Priam, who was his tributary. Tithon, according to this same author, was at that time governor of Persia, in high favour with the king; and his son Memnon, who commanded these auxiliary forces, was then in the flower of his days, and had built a palace in the castle of Susa, which retained the name of Memnonia to the times of the Persians; and had paved a public way, which preserved his name many ages afterwards. But it seems the Ethiopians next to Egypt denied all this story; and pretended Memnon was their countryman, and made shew of his palace, which, in our author's days, they continued to call Memnonia. More is said in

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. ii.

contradiction

According to Eusebius.

According to Syncellus.

	Years.		Years.
28 Thinxus	- - 30	33 * * *	- - -
29 Dercilus	- - 40	34 Dercylus	- - 40
30 Eupales	- - 38	35 Enpacmes	- - 48
31 Laothhenes	- - 45	36 Laothhenes	- - 45
32 Pyriatides	- - 30	37 Pertiades	- - 30
33 Ophrateus	- - 20	38 Ophratæus	- - 25
34 Ophratenes	- - 50	39 Epheceres	- - 52
35 Ocrazapes	- - 42	40 Acraganes	- - 42
36 Tonos Concoleros,		41 Thonos Concoleros	15
by the Greeks,	20		
Sardanapalus			
Total	1240	Total	1460

A Table of the Successions of the Assyrian Kings, according to the Canon of Scripture, and as they stand in this History.

According to Scripture.

According to this history.

1 Pul.	1 Pul.
2 Tiglathpileser.	2 Tiglathpilesar.
3 Shalmaneser.	3 Shalmaneser.
4 Sennacherib.	4 Sennacherib.
5 Assar-haddon.	5 Assar-haddon.
* * * * *	6 Saofducheus, or Nabuchadonosor.
* * * * *	7 Chyniladan, or Sarac.
* * * * *	

The two lists, which form this first table, are derived, notwithstanding the variations in them, from one formed by Ctesias, who concluded his history of the Assyrians with a list of kings from Ninus to Artaxerxes^e. Castor copied them, who was again copied by Eusebius^f; and Eusebius begins, as Ctesias had taught him, with Ninus, while Syncellus, on the other hand, begins with Belus, and assigns him a reign of fifty-five years, though Castor^g, whom in this he follows, declares the length of Belus's reign to be uncertain. But this is not the only difference between them; Syncellus has in his list four kings, which are wanting in that of Eusebius, and which are no-where

The first table.

^e Phot. Bibliot. p. 134. Tmemat. 72. Diod. Sicul. lib. xiv.
^f Vide Marsham. Can. Chron. secul. 17. de Regib. Assy.
^g Apud Syncell. p. 206.

contradiction to Ctesias's story: head; and therefore drop the but we may perhaps have anticipated too much upon this subject for the present.

else

else to be met with : whence this difference might arise, we shall forbear to inquire ; and the rather, as we shall endeavour to destroy the whole scheme on both sides ; but first we would observe, that Syncellus exceeds all the rest in the number of years he allows for the duration of the Assyrian monarchy ; for while St. Augustin^b allows it but 1305, Castor 1280, Eusebius 1240, Velleius 1070, Syncellus gives it 1460, therein greatly exceeding his original author Ctesias, and his two transcribers Diodorus and Trogus, who mention but about 1300.

Since therefore these computations are primarily borrowed from Ctesias, and lengthened and shortened apparently to the fancy of the several writers his successors, it will be absolutely necessary for us to inquire what foundation he builds upon ; and whether his superstructure be raised upon truth or falsehood. Aristotle, who was almost his contemporary, declares him a writer unworthy of credit ; and whoever peruses his *Indica*, must immediately conclude him to have been a man of no sincerity : Aristotle was not the only writer of the ancients that has declared against him ; nor are his *Indica* the only proof we have, that he was a fabulous writer, as may be gathered from what is to follow.

Were his character much better established than it is, his list of the Assyrian kings would be no proof of the duration of that empire ; nothing being easier than to invent names, and to add what lengths of reign we please to establish^c ; especially for a man who pretends actually to have seen such things in India as never were, and never can be. The question might naturally enough be asked, Might not Ctesias as well forge his Assyrian history, as create the number of monsters he talks of in India ? And might not we as justly suspect him of falsehood, when he pretends to have compiled his history from original records, as when he gravely avers to have been an eye-witness of what no mortal can believe ?

This question may be the more pertinently asked, as both his relation of the Indies, and his history of the Assyrians, are equally marvellous, and equally impossible. Who can see Ninus at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth must have been but thinly inhabited ; when mankind must have been a good deal in a state of simplicity and nature ; who can read this assertion, without arraign-

^b De Civit. Dei. lib. xviii. cap. 20.
Biblioth. des Hist. p. 284.

^c Dupin's Hist.

ing the historian of falshood and forgery? Or who can peruse his history of Semiramis; her mighty valour and heroic deeds at the age of twenty, or thereabouts; her two millions of men employed in the building of Babylon; her three hundred thousand skins of black oxen, made up in the form of elephants, and other things of this nature; and not conclude, that what contained it was no genuine history, but a most barefaced romance? In a word, his Assyrian history, as it stands in the next section, is most evidently calculated to astonish and amaze, and to strain credulity beyond all possible bounds.

What particularly argues his list of the Assyrian kings of the grossest forgery, is, that it is a medley of Greek, Persian, Egyptian, and other names. Sphærus, Lamprides, Laothhenes, Dercylus, are Greek names, and very common. Amyntas is the name of a king of Macedon; Arius is the name of a king of Sparta. Piritiades is regularly, as should seem, formed from pyritis, a medicinal herb, which Ctesias, as a physician, must have been well acquainted with. Xerxes, Armamithres, Mithræus, are Persian names. Sosarmus, according to himself, is the name of a king of the Medes, which how it should have happened, may not be so very unaccountable, considering the empire passed from the Assyrians to the Medes; but how Sethos, the name of an Egyptian king, should also have been the name of an Assyrian, is what we are wholly at a loss to comprehend. Nothing is more obvious to those who have dipt into genuine history, than the wide difference between the Assyrian and the Persian names; and the still wider difference between both and the Greek; so that nothing can be said in his behalf, except that he translated some of the original names; though this is absolutely false, as he is confessedly so ignorant in this particular, that he had even no knowledge of the Assyrian names, how they were pronounced, or uttered; so far was he from knowing how they were compounded, and whence they were formed; a most glaring instance of which will be seen in the sequel.

The great antiquity of the Assyrian empire may also be urged against Ctesias, and particularly as he writes in direct opposition to the Scripture. Ninus, according to him, must have reigned before the days of Abraham, and conquered Persia, Media, Egypt, Assyria, and all Asia; and his wife Semiramis, his immediate successor, adds Libya and Ethiopia to her dominions. But he brings no

collateral proofs of all these events; and the books of Moses say not a word of the matter. According to Scripture, the Canaanites were under their own kings or patriarchs many ages after Abraham; the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Midianites, the Edomites, the Amalekites, the Philistines, were subject to no foreign yoke, and free from strange lords, till they began to be persecuted by the sword of Israel. Egypt seemingly enjoyed a profound peace, apprehensive of no danger from without, till Sennacherib, bent upon establishing and enlarging his empire, moved towards Egypt with design to invade it. In proof of all this, we need only refer to the histories of these nations in the former part of this work. It appears then, that no Assyrian enemy was in these parts for many ages after the pretended dates of Ninus and Semiramis; and that all Syria and Mesopotamia were free also from any subjection to Assyria, may be as plainly proved.

*The second
table.*

Having endeavoured to destroy the credit of Ctesias, and therewith the first table of the Assyrian kings from Eusebius and Syncellus, we will proceed to settle the chronology of the Assyrian empire, by taking into consideration the second table. By the history of Syria, and the neighbouring countries, it appears, the Assyrians had no power in the western parts of Asia till the reign of Pul, who made his first appearance on this side the Euphrates, in the decline of the kingdom of Damascus; what they had before that time done in the East, does no where appear; but that the foundations of the monarchy were laid by Pul, or some near predecessor of his, by conquests nearer home, is not to be doubted. The Assyrian monarchy cannot be dated much farther back than the days of Menahem; and this position is not only to be demonstrated by Scripture, and Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon; but also by several of the most unexceptionable profane writers.

Herodotus, that venerable and much injured historian, observes, that the Assyrians had been masters of the Upper Asia five hundred and twenty years, when the Medes threw off their yoke; and that the empire of the latter subsisted no longer than one hundred and fifty years, inclusive of the twenty-eight years, during which the Scythians ruled Asia. These two sums, added together, amount to six hundred and seventy years, for the whole duration of the two monarchies of the Assyrians and Medes; which being added to the epoch of Cyrus before
Christ,

Christ, which is universally stated at five hundred and fifty-nine years, will make one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine, the whole interval between the first rise of the Assyrian monarchy and the birth of Christ, which cuts off about a thousand years from the common profane accounts: though it will exceed the æra of Nabonassar by four hundred and fifty-eight years; and therefore Herodotus's numbers, as they stand with us, are doubtless too long, though so much short of those of Ctesias, and his followers. But, by the way, we would add, that Herodotus's computation is not above two hundred years later than the days of Chusban-Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, or Aram-Naharaim, who kept the children of Israel in subjection for the space of eight years, till they were delivered from him by Othniel. In what sense this Chusban-Rishathaim may have been considered as an Assyrian, we take not upon us to say; but it is certain that he was not, properly speaking, of that nation, because he is in Scripture called a Mesopotamian; and therefore we might with equal justice call Chedorlaomer an Assyrian, though he is expressly said to have been an Elamite or Persian; and this care in the historian, thus to distinguish the men, who from the beginning, made inroads upon the countries on this side the Euphrates, expressly saying the first was an Elamite, the second a Mesopotamian, and calling Pul an Assyrian, leaves us no room to imagine, that the two former were kings of Assyria.

We cannot pretend to fix the exact æra of the Assyrian monarchy, except we do it relatively to ourselves in the western parts; and in that case we must compute from the year of Pul's first appearance on this side of the Euphrates, which was about the second year of Menahem, twenty-four years before the æra of Nabonassar, one thousand five hundred and seventy-seven years after the flood, and seven hundred and seventy-one years before Christ.

*Rise of the
Assyrian
monarchy.*

Thus far it is no difficult matter to ascertain the beginning of this empire. Its end may perhaps be more nearly fixed, though that is what we cannot settle beyond all possibility of dispute. The texts of Scripture, which give us so near a prospect of its beginning, and relates some of the remarkable transactions of five of its most potent princes, drop us on a sudden; so that we are obliged to resort to the Apocrypha, and Ptolemy's Canon, for the successors of the great Esar-Haddon. The book of Judith corresponds so exactly with Herodotus, in what he says of the war

between the declining Assyrians, and the rising Medes, that we think ourselves sufficiently warranted to credit his narration; and seeing the reign of Nabuchadonosor most naturally coincides with that of Saosducheus, we have ventured to pronounce them to have been one and the same king: as for Sarac, which name we borrow from Polyhistor², and whom we also call Chyniladon and Sardanapalus, from a similitude of his story and unhappy end in the same historian, with what is related thereof by Ctesias, we must confess ourselves in the dark, as we may note hereafter in the body of our Assyrian history. In the mean time it may be objected to us, that Polyhistor is a follower of Ctesias, and as such we have considered him; but we answer, with Sir Isaac Newton³, that there may be something of truth at the bottom of the Ctesian history, as there is sometimes in romances; as that Nineveh was destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians. But whence it is, that we have no such name as Sarac in the Nabonassar Canon, we shall here forbear to enquire, as we may have a more convenient opportunity of offering our conjectures concerning him, when we come to the history of his reign; and therefore, since nothing positive can be ascertained, as to this last stage of the Assyrian monarchy, we here conclude this section.

S E C T. IV.

The History of Assyria, according to Ctesias of Cnidos, and his Followers.

ALTHOUGH we have condemned Ctesias's history of this country as forgery and falshood, yet, as it has been so long received for truth, by most of the wisest and most sagacious historians and chronologers, and, as we may say, from all antiquity admitted into the body of history, we are under an indispensable obligation of producing it here, as it is with great solemnity, and all possible confidence, handed down to us. Ninus, a prince of martial genius, and immense ambition, resolved to make a conquest of the nations round about, and erect an empire over them: with this view he assembled together the most

* Apud Syncellus.
amended, page 267.

† Chronol. of Antient Kingdoms
robust

robust of the youth in his dominions, diligently trained them up to the exercise of arms, inured them to hardship and labour, and fitted them for war².

Being now in a condition to execute his ambitious design, but apprehending he might be stopped in his career by the Arabians, whom alone he dreaded, as a bold and resolute people, jealous and tenacious of their liberty, he entered into a league with Ariæus their king; whereby, if he did not obtain his immediate assistance, he might, at least, secure his neutrality and connivance. But Ariæus joined him, and marched with him into Babylonia. The city of Babylon, so famous since, was not at that time in being; though the province itself abounded in cities, whose inhabitants, unskilled in the arts of defence, fell an easy prey to the aspiring Ninus, who imposed on them an annual tribute; and carried away their king, and all his children, whom he afterwards put to death. He then fell upon Armenia with irresistible force, bore down all before him, and struck such terror into the hearts of the inhabitants, that their king Barzanes himself waited on the conqueror with rich gifts, and made submission to him; which had this effect, that Ninus courteously left him in possession of his kingdom of Armenia; but upon this condition, that he should be his vassal, and serve him in his wars, whenever called upon for that purpose. Encouraged thus to proceed, he made an attempt upon Media, and attacked its king Pharnus, though at the head of a powerful army, which he defeated, and cut in pieces, taking the king himself prisoner, together with his wife and seven children, whom he crucified.

And now he resolved to make himself master of all Asia between the Tanais and the Nile: that he might, with the more safety, enter upon this enterprize, he committed to an intimate friend the government of his new conquest, Media, while he himself marched against the other provinces of Asia, which, in seventeen years time, he reduced, Bactria and India excepted. The number of the nations he subdued, are no where specified, nor the battles he fought by any one described and enumerated; but we are told, that he made himself master of the sea-coasts, as well as of the inland parts, conquering Egypt, Phœnice, Cœlesyria, Cilicia, Pamphilia, Lycia, Caria, Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Troas, and Phrygia upon

His conquests.

² Apud Diod. Sicul. Bibliot. Histor. lib. ii. p. 90—95.

the Hellespont, the Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, together with the barbarous nations from Pontus to the Taurus: the Caddusians, Tapyrians, Hyrcanians, Dacians, Derbicians, Carmanians, Choramneans, Borchanians, and Parthians, not excepting Persia, the Susiana, and what was called Caspiana, which he penetrated by the passes called the Caspian Streights. Other nations of less account he now subdued, but found it impracticable to make any effectual impression on the Bactrians, who were secured by the difficulty of their passes, and the numbers of their hardy warriors; and therefore he deferred his war with them, till he should be better assured of making his attempt with success.

Returns into his own country.

Leading his army back again into his own country (Syria, as it is called), he determined to raise himself as great a name for his magnificence at home, as he hoped he should enjoy for his warlike exploits abroad; and, with this design, marked out a spot of ground whereon to erect a city, which, for extent and stateliness, should not only far surpass all that had ever before been in the world, but also be such as should, with the greatest difficulty, be equalled by any other prince in ages to come. Having dismissed the Arabian king, who had followed him in his wars, with high honours, and noble gifts, and having got a multitude of hands about him, and amassed a treasure proportionable to his undertaking, he laid the foundations of his intended city, which rose to that stupendous degree of grandeur, as was never after beheld in any city whatsoever. This city, which he honoured with his name, Ninus (Nineveh), he gave for a possession to the most eminent of the Assyrians, with liberty, at the same time, for those of any other nation to settle there, adding to it a large territory.

Dismisses the king of Arabia.

Nineveh built, and described.

Ninus again makes war with the Bactrians.

Semiramis,

her birth.

This work being dispatched, in what space of time we are not told, Ninus took the field again, to subdue the Bactrians, whom he had left unconquered; and, though in this expedition success and triumph crowned his endeavours, it is for nothing more remarkable than for his marriage with Semiramis; which leads us to say something of the obscurity of her birth, and the sublimity of her elevation. Her birth and extraction were undoubtedly more than merely mortal; for she sprang from a goddess, Derceto by name, who had a temple erected to her near a fishy lake, not far from Ascalon in Syria, and was represented as half a woman, and half a fish, upon the following

lowing remarkable occasion: this goddess is said to have laboured under the displeasure of Venus, who, to punish her, caused her to fall in love with a youth, who, among others, happened to be offering sacrifice to her; conceiving by him, she was delivered of a daughter; but, ashamed of her guilt, and desirous to conceal it, she murdered the youth, and exposed the infant among the rocks of a desert, and, overwhelmed with grief and dishonour, threw herself headlong into the lake, and became a fish. The unhappy infant was miraculously sustained and nourished by a flock of doves or pigeons (P), which kept her warm with their wings, and fed her with milk from the neighbouring cottages: when at a year old, the child required a more substantial food, they were observed to supply her with cheese. The neighbouring shepherds having thus discovered the child, took her home with them, and sent to the chief of the king's shepherds, Simma by name, who being childless, adopted her, and called her Semiramis, borrowed from a word in the Syriac tongue, signifying *doves* or *pigeons*, which the Syrians ever afterwards adored as divinities.

She grew up, and, as she far exceeded all of her sex for wit and beauty, no wonder she captivated the heart of one Menon, who was sent to survey the king's cattle, though at the same time no less than chief of his master's council, and governor of all Syria. Menon had sight of the divine Semiramis at Simma's house; and, not without great difficulty, obtained her consent, conducted her to Nineveh, where he married her, and had two sons by her, Hypates and Hydaspes (Q). In short, she governed her husband, who did nothing but by her advice, and with her participation, and grew into great fame for wisdom.

*Is married,
and carried to Ni-
neveh.*

Having thus introduced Semiramis, we must now leave her for a while, to follow Ninus in his Bactrian war. That prince, sensible he had a task of the greatest difficulty

(P) Hence it should seem, that Ascalon was remarkable for flocks of pigeons, not only in the roads and fields, but about every house; which the people here religiously abstained from, on account of an ancient tradition concerning the unlaw-

fulness of the contrary (1).

(Q) These are the Greek names, void of all affinity with any names, either Assyrian or Babylonian. Hydaspes was, according to the LXX. the name of a river not far from the Tigris and Euphrates.

(1) Philo, apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. viii. p. 398.

Ninus's extraordinary preparations for the conquest of the Bactrians. Why not incredible.

to accomplish, made choice of the ablest and stoutest men in all his dominions. He assembled an army consisting of one million seven hundred thousand foot, above two hundred and ten thousand horse, and no less than ten thousand six hundred scythed chariots. Our author tells us, these numbers may seem incredible; but that we shall think them nothing, if we consider the vast extent of Asia; and especially if we, at the same time, call to mind the eight hundred thousand men Darius led against the Scythians, and the numberless army that followed Xerxes into Greece; incidents of late transaction, which every body in his time, in a manner, knew.

Having by this, and other arguments and examples of the same kind, endeavoured to surmount the incredibility that might start up to the disadvantage of this part of his history, he proceeds to tell us, that Ninus, as he advanced towards the streights and passes into Bactria, was obliged to divide his army into two or three columns; and thus he made his way into the enemies country.

Bactria a populous and well fortified country.

Bactria was, even in those days, adorned with many large and noble cities: the capital was called by the name of Bactra; and Oxyartes was king. This monarch assembled an army of four hundred thousand men, with whom he marched towards the passes which gave admission into his country, and quietly suffered Ninus to enter with part of his army; but, perceiving their numbers to swell considerably, he fell on them in the plain and obtained a complete victory. Thus was Ninus repulsed by the Bactrians, with the loss of one hundred thousand men; but he had his turn of conquest, overpowered the Bactrian with numbers, and broke and dispersed his army, which ran to the cities to defend them against the invader. Ninus afterwards reduced all the cities and strong holds; but the city and fortrefs of Bactra itself, sustained a long and tedious siege.

Semiramis goes to the camp before Bactria.

During this siege, Semiramis's fond husband, then attending the king, was seized with an impatient desire to see his wife; and, sending for her, she, as desirous to display the superiority of her understanding, and other excellencies, as her husband was of her company, set out for the camp, in a habit so prudently contrived, as at once to preserve her beauty and conceal her sex, and at the same time to be fit for agility and action; a mode of dress which so captivated the fancy, that the Medes are said

said to have assumed it when their empire was established ; and the Persians also.

She no sooner arrived before Bactria, than she made remarks on their manner of conducting the siege ; and particularly took notice, that they amused themselves with assaulting the weakest places, and never thought of making an effort upon the citadel, and other parts of more strength, which therefore the besieged neglected. In consequence of this observation, she chose a party of men dextrous at climbing, and with these got possession of part of the citadel. Then she made signal to the Assyrians to give the assault in that quarter, and the city, being thus thrown into the greatest confusion, was immediately reduced.

Ninus, astonished at this action, at first rewarded her as she deserved, and presently fell a slave to her irresistible beauty, endeavouring by all means to persuade her husband to surrender her up to him, and particularly tempting him with the promise of giving him his daughter Sosana in marriage ; but this offer making no impression on him, Ninus changed his tone, and threatened to deprive him of his eyes ; Menon thus menaced, was seized with such a fit of rage and despair, that he immediately dispatched himself ; and Ninus becoming possessed of the incomparable Semiramis, advanced her to the imperial dignity.

Ninus first smitten with her.

Marries her.

Ninus, now lord of Bactra, returned with immense spoil, particularly of gold and silver ; and some time afterwards had a son by Semiramis, called Ninyas, whom, at his death, he committed to the care of his wife, appointing her regent of the empire. She deposited her husband in the palace, and raised over him a mount of earth of wonderful dimensions, no less than nine stadia in height, and ten in breadth (R), conspicuous over all the plain, where the city of Nineveh stood, which it long survived, remaining a stupendous monument many ages after the subversion of the empire.

Has a son by her.

Semiramis, as may be gathered from what has been said before, was a woman of an aspiring mind, and immense ambition, and now thought of nothing less than eclipsing her husband's glory : to which end she determined to erect a city in the province of Babylon ; made

Semiramis's character.

Resolves to build Babylon.

(R) Or a mile and a quarter, allowing eight stadia or a mile and half a quarter in furlongs to the mile. And by height.

incredible

incredible preparations, and assembled two millions of men to assist in the work. This city was divided by the Euphrates, and she surrounded it with a wall of three hundred and sixty stadia in circuit, of such thickness, that six chariots might drive a-breast thereon, and of height beyond imagination, no less than fifty orgyas, or fathoms, and adorned with two hundred and fifty turrets, in due and proper proportion, the whole a solid body of brick cemented together with bitumen; and between this wall and the houses was left a space of two phletra, or two hundred feet.

That this enormous city might be erected with the dispatch her impatience required, she allotted a spot of a furlong, to as many of her trustiest friends as the greatness of the surface required; assigning to each every thing that was necessary for the undertaking; by which means, though she allowed no more than the short space of a year for the completion of the whole, her commands were punctually obeyed. She highly approved of the work, and, to join the divided parts of the city, she ordered a bridge, which was as strongly built, as artfully contrived, and as beautifully adorned, as any that ever appeared in the world. The stones of it were firmly clamped together with iron, and the passage over was on a floor of cedar, cypress, and palm-trees; but the breadth of it, seemingly too small for the length, which was five stadia, amounted to no more than thirty feet. On each side of the river she raised a wharf, or key, of the breadth of the walls, and a hundred stadia in length; and at each end of the bridge she erected two palaces, whence she might reciprocally survey and awe both parts of the city. The Euphrates passing through the midst of Babylon, from north to south, these two palaces stood the one to the east, the other to the west; both of them exceedingly sumptuous and magnificent. The western was surrounded by a lofty wall of brick, full sixty stadia in circuit, within which was a second, wrought and adorned with figures, as it were from the very life, so curiously were they formed, and so naturally coloured. This magnificent wall was forty stadia in circumference, three hundred bricks thick, fifty fathom high, and thereon were raised towers of seventy fathom in height. Within this there was a third wall, or inclosure, far surpassing the second in height and breadth; on which, and its towers, were represented all manner of living creatures; more especially a great hunting of all kinds of wild beasts, each four cubits in height,
and

and upwards; in the midst of which appeared Semiramis herself, mounted on a steed, killing a leopard, and her husband Ninus, in close combat with a lion, whom he pierced with a lance. To this palace there belonged three gates, under which were rooms of brass, for the celebration of festivals, and these were opened by a mechanical contrivance.

This palace far exceeded that on the other side of the river, both for dimension and magnificence; for the outermost wall of this was no more in circumference than the innermost wall of the former; and for decoration, the whole was much inferior to what we have described. So our author tells us, though with some seeming inconsistency, when in the same breath he informs us, that besides the brazen statues of Ninus, Semiramis, their great officers, and Jupiter, whom the Babylonians called Belus, there were not only whole armies drawn up in battalia, but likewise the representation of various kinds of hunting, to the great delight and satisfaction of the beholder.

All this work being completed, Semiramis sunk a vast lake; each side whereof was three hundred stadia in length, the whole lined with brick strongly cemented with bitumen, and no less than thirty-five feet in depth. This lake was sunk on purpose to receive the waters of the Euphrates, which she diverted, while she erected a covered passage, or vault, across the bottom of the river, whereby to have communication between her two opposite palaces. This vault was twenty bricks thick, twelve feet high, and fifteen broad: a work finished within the space of two hundred and sixty days, when the river was again restored to its ancient course and liberty. At the ends of this vault she had brazen gates, which continued, say they, to the time of the Persian conquest.

*The lake
she dug.*

In the midst of the city she built a temple to Jupiter Belus, concerning which our author has nothing particular to relate, except that it must have been of a surprising height; that, like the rest of the city, it was built of brick and bitumen; and that, on the top of it, Semiramis placed three statues of beaten gold, representing Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea. The statue of Jupiter was upright, and, as it were, walking; forty feet high, and weighing a thousand talents of Babylon: the statue of Rhea was of the same weight, and sat on a golden throne, with lions standing at each knee, and near them two very great serpents of silver, weighing thirty talents a-piece: the statue of Juno was erect, and weighed eight hundred talents,

*The temple
of Belus.*

she

she, with her right hand, grasped a serpent by the head, and, in her left, held a sceptre enriched with gems. These deities had a table; or altar, common to the three, made of beaten gold, forty feet in length, and fifteen in breadth, weighing five hundred talents. On this table stood two flagons, or goblets, of thirty talents weight, and near them two censers, weighing five hundred talents each; as also three drinking bowls, or vases, of which that dedicated to Jupiter weighed twelve hundred talents of Babylon (S).

Builds several cities.

Her obelisk.

Babylon was not the only city raised by Semiramis, she built several others on the banks of the Tigris, and the Euphrates, for the sake of commerce and communication with the remote parts of her empire, and to exalt the majesty of the great capital; which she farther distinguished by a most extraordinary obelisk, hewn out of the mountains of Armenia, an hundred and twenty-five feet high, five broad, and five thick. This she removed from its native place, by multitudes of oxen and asses; thence shipping it on the river, conveyed it to Babylon, and erected it in a remarkable part of the neighbourhood of this city: it is by our author reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world.

Wars upon the Medes.

Semiramis, having finished all these works, put herself at the head of a vast army, and marched into Media; where she encamped near a mountain called Bagistan, and made a pleasant garden, of twelve stadia in circumference: it was in an open champain country, and plentifully supplied with water from a neighbouring spring. This mountain was dedicated to Jupiter, or Belus, being seventeen stadia from top to bottom, which she is said to have "ascended from the plain to the top, on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burden that followed her." At the bottom of this rock she caused a statue of herself to be hewn out, attended by a hundred of her choicest guards.

From hence she advanced as far as Chaon, a city of the Medes; and there encamping on an eminence, she took notice of a very lofty rock, on the top of which also she formed a very fine garden, and erected stately edifices, whence she might command a view of the beauties of the spot, the wide extension of the place, and the whole camp of her army. Here she is said to have wasted much of her

(S) Pliny takes notice of Semiramis's bowl, or goblet, fifteen talents.

time,

time, and to have given herself up to wanton dalliances and amours. Jealous of her power, and high command, she would take no partner to her bed, but chose rather to admit the comeliest men of her army to her embraces; which were fatal to all that enjoyed them, for all such she immediately doomed to death.

Moving from this place, she advanced towards Ecbatan, and in her way levelled the mountain Zarcæum, which was many stadia in extent; and for its frequent precipices, impassable but by much labour. This she did to add to the glory of her name, and to facilitate the passage to all who should have occasion to travel that way. When she arrived, at Ecbatan, she built a most magnificent palace; and the city labouring under want of water, she amply supplied this defect.

From Media she continued her progress through Persia, and the rest of her Asiatic provinces, levelling rocks and mountains before her; and, on the contrary, in plain and champaign tracts, raising hills to vary and adorn them, and at the same time to serve for monuments to her captains and chief commanders. In some places she built towns and cities, and was constantly used to raise an eminence for her own pavilion, that so she might have a prospect of her whole army. Many of these monuments are said to have remained a long time after her in Asia, and to have been commonly called "the works of Semiramis."

Having thus visited her dominions in Asia, she next repaired to Egypt, surveyed that kingdom, and added the greatest part of Libya to her other acquisitions. She then paid a visit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; and inquiring how long she had to live, the oracle made answer, "She should vanish from the sight of men, and obtain immortal honour and worship from some of the Asiatic nations, at such time as her son Ninyas should plot against her life." After this excursion, she made war upon Ethiopia; and, having settled the affairs of that country, marched back into Asia, and halted at Bactra.

Here she for some years enjoyed herself in peace; but at length, impatient of a quiet life, she meditated a war against the king of India. As she had been informed of the transcendent amenity of the country, its double fertility, its immense riches, and matchless elephants; she resolved upon nothing less than the conquest of that most extensive part of the old world. But, being apprised of the difficulty of the undertaking, she ordered all her governors to select the choicest of the youth in their provinces,

*Resolves to
invade
Asia.*

vinces, to arm them completely, and to assemble them at a place appointed in Bactria, within the space of three years. She engaged shipwrights from Phœnice, Syria, Cyprus, and other maritime places; and, preparing a store of timber answerable to her designs, ordered them to frame her a certain number of vessels, to be transported in pieces by land, for the convenience of crossing the Indus, the country about which was destitute of wood.

*Her mock-
elephants.*

In order to supply the want of elephants, in which the strength of Stabrobates, king of India, chiefly consisted, she contrived a method to counterfeit these animals. Three hundred thousand black oxen were slaughtered, and their flesh distributed to poor people; their hides were stuffed in the form of elephants, each carried by a camel within, and guided by a man without.

Her vessels and elephants being ready in two years, she on the third assembled her army in the kingdom of Bactria, to the amount of three millions of foot, two hundred thousand horse, one hundred thousand chariots, and one hundred thousand men on camels, who wielded swords four cubits long. Her transports were two thousand in number, and carried by camels, as were also the mock-elephants; to the sight of which the horsemen endeavoured to familiarize their steeds, that they might not take fright at seeing real elephants when they should come to battle.

*Stabro-
bates, king
of India,
prepares to
receive
her.*

Stabrobates heard of this intended invasion, and prepared for the storm. He built four thousand boats of the great canes (bamboos) which grew in the rivers and fens of India; and with great diligence assembled a far greater army than that of Semiramis. He added to the elephants he had before, causing numbers to be taken for that purpose, and to be apparelled with every thing that might make them dreadful to an enemy; that by their number and armour they might be invincible by any human force. Thus prepared, he sent ambassadors to Semiramis, then on her march towards him, with complaints and reproaches for coming to make war upon him, without the least provocation: by a private letter, at the same time, he upbraided her with her infamous life, vowing by Heaven, that he would crucify her, if he conquered. She refused this letter, smiled at the contents, and answered, "The Indian shall ere long be better acquainted with me, by my actions and deportment."

*Semiramis
on the
banks of the
Indus.*

When she came to the banks of the Indus, and discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up in order, she launched the

the vessels she had prepared, manned with the bravest of her people, and gave battle, ordering it so, that those on shore might be aiding and assisting to her operations by water. The fight was obstinate; but Semiramis in the end came off victorious, sunk one thousand of the Indian barks, and took a multitude of prisoners. Elated with this success, she fell on the cities and islands of the river, and made one hundred thousand captives.

Stabrobates drew off his army, as if afraid, but, in truth, to decoy Semiramis over the river. She no sooner perceived his retreat, than she ordered a bridge of boats to be stretched across, and marched over her army, leaving only sixty thousand men to guard the bridge, while she went in pursuit of the flying Indians. She marched with her mock-elephants in the front, thereby to deceive and intimidate the enemy; and her stratagem succeeded. The Indian scouts, mistaking them for real elephants, gave a dreadful account of their multitude, and struck a terror into their countrymen, who could not conceive whence the Assyrians should have furnished themselves with these tremendous animals: but the deceit was soon discovered; for some of Semiramis's people, deserting to the Indians, revealed to them the whole fallacy, and Stabrobates immediately ordered proclamation thereof to be made throughout all his army.

Stabrobates feigns a retreat.

Semiramis, in the mean time, advancing towards the Indian army, their horses frightened and offended at the scent of the hides, either threw their riders, or carried them into the midst of the Assyrians. Semiramis, perceiving this advantage, with a choice body of men attacked the disordered Indians, completely routed them, and drove them back again to the main body of their army. Stabrobates, in some consternation, charged with his foot, sustained by his elephants, himself mounted on a stately one, in his right wing, opposite to Semiramis then in her left. The shock was violent, and the slaughter great, caused particularly by the elephants. Semiramis's mock-elephants now proved useless and cumbersome, and the whole Assyrian army betook themselves to a precipitate flight. In the midst of this battle, the Assyrian queen and Indian king fought hand to hand; the king wounded her first in the arm with an arrow, and then with a dart in the shoulder, as she was turning about to retreat; she fled in the end, and the whole army with her.

Semiramis on the other side of the Indus. Her fight with the king of India.

When they came to the bridge, the throng was such, that many who had escaped the hand of the enemy, were miserably

Her overthrow and flight.

miserably pressed to death, or perished under foot, being thrown down and trampled upon, or pushed into the river. Semiramis, when the body of her army had passed, ordered the bridge to be cut down, while it was filled with the pursuing Indians, many of whom perished by this expedient. And now she was safe from farther danger; the river was between her and the enemy; and, besides, the Indian was admonished not to be eager in the pursuit, by the intervention of prodigies. An exchange of prisoners was afterwards made, and Semiramis returned to Bactria with scarce a third part of her army.

Under this eclipse of glory, she drew near her end; the time foretold arrived; and an eunuch attempted to assassinate her, unnaturally employed by her own son. On this occasion, calling to mind the answer she had received from Jupiter Ammon, she suppressed all thoughts of revenge, for what had been caused, as it were, by a divine fatality; she forgave her son, surrendered up every thing to him; commanded all her subjects to pay him duty and homage as their king; and was translated from the sight of men, as the oracle had foretold. It was fabled she left the world in the form of a dove or pigeon, attended by a flock of these birds which settled upon her palace just at the time: and hence the Assyrians were addicted to the worship of a dove (T). In fine, she was queen of all Asia,

(T) That there was such a woman as Semiramis, we doubt not in the least; but that there ever was a woman of any name that performed actions like what is here reported, is impossible to believe. Her birth, her elevation, her reign, and her death, are all extraordinary, unnatural, and impossible, as related by the bulk of historians; but, above all, her antiquity, which is exaggerated so monstrously by Joseph Scaliger and Reinicius, is a matter so easily disproved by the circumstances of her birth and country, that it were sufficient to destroy whatever other extravagance is advanced of her. Canon makes her to have been

the same with the Atossa or Semiramis who reigned twelve years with her father Belochus, the eighteenth king of Assyria, according to Eusebius; and in the same place calls her the daughter, and not the wife, of Ninus; though copies, it must be confessed, differ in the reading, and have sometimes *mother* instead of *daughter*. But this latter is to be preferred, because of its congruity with the author's meaning, who makes her the Atossa of Belochus, who were confessedly daughter and father. Belochus then must have been the Ninus of Ctesias; and he, instead of being the first or the second king of Assyria, is, according to Eusebius,

Asia, India excepted; and continued in the sight of men sixty-two years, forty-two of which she reigned.

Ninyas (U) succeeded his mother Semiramis; and chose to enjoy himself in peace: and, indeed, if what we have related of his parents be true, he could only make war upon his subjects or vassals*. A war with India had been found by experience expensive and dangerous. Having therefore nothing to do abroad, he locked himself up in his palace, unseen by any but his eunuchs and concubines, and contracted such a habit of sloth and vice, as has tainted his memory to all succeeding generations. However, he was not so supinely negligent, as totally to neglect his interest and security. It was a custom with him, every year, to levy an army, by enrolling a certain proportion of men out of each province, under their respective generals, while he appointed such governors over the several parts of his dominions as he could most safely confide in. This army served a year in the city, and was then relieved by another, raised in the same manner; and the former, having taken an oath of fidelity to him, were permitted to depart each man to the place of his abode.

Ninyas.

His sloth;

and policy.

* Vide Just. lib. i. cap. 2. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 108, & seqq.

Eusebius, the eighteenth king: this takes much from the antiquity of both; and we are ready to subscribe to the same, and the rather, as it may be observed hereafter, to quadrate with Herodotus, and is much more conformable to what we know of the true and more certain history of this monarchy (1).

(U) He is also called Zameis: the German writers will have him to have been called Trebeta, and to have built the city of Treves (2); he is also called Thourias (3), or Thouras (4), or Ares (Mars); and is said to have had the first statue erected to him, which they called Βασιλ Θεῶν, Lord God. In short, he is said to

have waged war, and to have slain the tyrant Caucasus, of the tribe of Japhet, or Iapetus, and to have been consecrated into the planet Mars. How different is this character from that of the slothful Ninyas in most other authors? No extremes can be at a greater distance from each other. The authors we have cited make him the successor of Ninus, without any mention of Semiramis, which seems to have some sort of agreement with what we have from Eusebius, that she was the very Atossa, the daughter of Belochus; and that she reigned with her father, as his colleague and assistant, for the space of twelve years only.

(1) Vide Gregor. Posthum. p. 234.

(2) Gregor. Posthum.

p. 239.

(3) In MSS. Gr. apud Gregor. Posthum. p. 236,

239.

(4) Spid. ad vocem Θεῶν.

By this stroke of policy he thought he might best keep his subjects in awe and order; and, at the same time, prevent any disturbance from his officers, who, having scarce time to be at all known to their soldiers, could have it the less in their power to aspire at any thing to his prejudice (X). All these precautions he took to secure himself from insults and rebellions, while he wallowed in lasciviousness within the walls of his palace; in which particular, he was an unworthy example to his successors; concealing himself from the eyes of men, as something more than mortal ^b.

After this manner reigned all his successors in the great empire of Assyria; so that they have left little or nothing to be recorded of them, except that they lived and died in their palace at Nineveh: and hence it is that we must abruptly proceed to the very last of them ^c,

Sardanapalus' character.

Sardanapalus, who exceeded all his predecessors in sloth and luxury. He sunk into such a depth of depravity, that, as far as he could, he changed his very sex and nature; he clothed himself as a woman; he spun amidst the companies of his concubines; he painted his face, and decked himself out with all manner of enticements, and every way behaved more lewdly than the most lascivious harlot; he imitated the voice of a woman; and buried himself in the filth of an unbounded sensuality, quite regardless of sex, and the dictates of nature ^d (Y).

^b Apud eosd. *ibid.*

^c *Ibid.*

^d *Ibid.*

(X) Diodorus, Athenæus, Justin, and others, represent him, as we have seen, a slothful, inactive, and lascivious king; who locked himself up in his palace, sequestered himself from the eyes of his subjects, and had no communication with them but by messengers.

(Y) Dio Cocceianus has taken much pains to let us know he was the most libidinous and abandoned wretch the sun ever shone on; and says, that no one could tell what he did, and that no body would bear to hear it; though

he descends to several particulars bad enough; but, as they may be built upon no solid foundation, merely traditionary, and besides unfit for us to relate, we pass them over. Nicolas of Damascus is more moderate, and accuses him chiefly of passing his time with his women, and contending with them about dress and ornament. Duris says, he turned woman, dressed as such, painted himself, and spun; all to the same purpose, and therefore we need say no more about it.

Under

His reign.

Under this wretch happened the downfall of the Assyrian monarchy. He grew odious to his subjects, and particularly to Arbaces the Mede, and Belesis the Babylonian. Belesis was not only a captain, but a famous priest, and great astrologer; and by the rules of his art he took upon him, to assure Arbaces, a man of valour and prudence, "that he should dethrone Sardanapalus, and become lord of all his dominions." Arbaces hearkened to his friend, and promised him the chief place over Babylon, if his prediction proved true: at the same time he took care to cultivate the friendship of the other governors of the provinces then at Nineveh, and began to affect popularity. Above all things, he endeavoured to get sight of the emperor, that he might behold his course and manner of life, and describe him accordingly. This aim he attained by means of a golden cup he presented to an eunuch, who introduced him into his presence. Arbaces saw him, and, conceiving the highest contempt of him, was more and more encouraged to rely on his Chaldean friend. He therefore disposed the Medes and Persians to an open revolt; Belesis took the same measures with the Babylonians; and the matter was disclosed to the king of Arabia^c.

The Medes, Babylonians, and Persians revolt.

The year of duty was now expired, and fresh troops arrived to relieve those who had served the term: the Persians, Medes, and Babylonians, assisted by the Arabians, came not with design to guard Sardanapalus, but to subvert the empire. Their number amounted to four hundred thousand; and, being all combined together in one camp, a council of war was called, to deliberate upon what was best to be done. Sardanapalus, apprised of this revolt, and resolved to stifle it in its infancy, led out the troops of the other provinces against the confederate rebels. He obtained a complete victory, and pursued them to certain mountains, about seventy stadia from the city of Nineveh. The rebels, however, not yet discouraged, rallied their troops, and resolved to hazard another battle. Mean while the emperor caused proclamation to be made of a reward of two hundred talents of gold for the man who should kill Arbaces the Mede; and twice that sum, together with the government of Media, to the man who should take him alive: the same price was set upon the head of Belesis the Babylonian. This proclamation being made without any effect, a second battle

Sardanapalus takes the field against them, and beats them.

^c Apud. eod. ibid.

A second battle: the revolted are again routed.

A third battle: the revolted are again beaten again.

They hold out still.

The Bactrians revolt to them.

was fought, in which the rebels were again slaughtered, and put to flight towards the hills. This victory might have fixed Sardanapalus on his throne, had it not been for the obstinacy of Belesis, who persisted in it, that the gods would certainly crown their labours and perseverance with success in the end; thereby reviving their drooping spirits, though in despair they called a council, the result of which was, that they should disperse, and every man return to his home. They fought a third battle; and Sardanapalus, victor, as before, drove them into the mountains of Babylon; though Arbaces did that day all that man could do, he was forced to retreat considerably wounded^f.

Sardanapalus would have certainly put an end to the war (Z) by this engagement, if Belesis, who had been all night in deep consult with the stars, had not with all imaginable assurance persuaded his followers next morning, that if they kept together but five days longer, they would be joined and supported by unexpected assistance; for that the gods had so signified to him by the aspect of the heavens: he intreated them, therefore, to stay but so many days, and in the mean time to place a confidence in Heaven. Being thus persuaded to wait the event, and the time being near expired, sudden advice was brought of a mighty power at hand, sent to the king from Bactria. Arbaces immediately dispatched the most resolute and expeditionary men in his army, with orders to prevail on the Bactrians to revolt, either by fair means or foul. Liberty was the bait used to allure them; it prevailed; the Bactrians joined Arbaces; a transaction unknown to Sardanapalus, who, presuming he had now nothing to fear, had returned to his usual way of life, and was preparing

^f Apud eod. ibid.

(Z) It seems a little strange, that so degenerate a wretch should have the courage and ability thus to defend himself against these revolted, who should have been of much greater experience and capacity than himself. Indeed, according to what this author and most others say of him, he could have understood nothing relating to war; and yet, be-

ing forced into the field, we find him behaving and defending himself as well as if he had been Ninus, or even Semiramis herself. From this dissimilitude of Sardanapalus from himself, it is likely we have two princes of that name mentioned by Callisthenes, Sardanapalus the warrior, and Sardanapalus the woman.

for

for an extraordinary sacrifice, and a high festival for the entertainment of his victorious army ^z.

In the mean time the negligence and riot in the imperial camp was reported to Arbaces, who, in consequence thereof, fell suddenly on them in the night, made his way into the camp, and drove out Sardanapalus, and all his army with great slaughter, which continued almost to the gates of the city. The king thus vanquished, committed the care and conduct of his army to Salemenus, his brother-in-law, undertaking to defend the city in person. His forces were twice defeated, once at some distance, and afterwards under the walls of the city, when Salemenus fell, and almost all his army was cut off, or forced into the river, which was tinged with the blood of the slain.

They attack the imperial camp by surprise.

Sardanapalus being now closely besieged; many other nations, eager for liberty, revolted to the confederates. The king, perceiving things at so desperate a pass, sent away his three sons and two daughters, with a very great treasure, into Paphlagonia, where one Cotta, a particular friend of his, was governor (A), issuing out orders at the same time, for all his subjects to hasten to his assistance. But though his situation appears to have been quite deplorable, he, it seems, did not despond, fully possessed with notions of a prophecy, "that Nineveh could never be taken, till the river became her enemy;" which, according to his conclusion, amounting to an impossibility, he looked upon himself as secure, how great and imminent soever the dangers might be that threatened his person ^h.

They besiege Sardanapalus in Nineveh.

While Sardanapalus pleased himself with this imagination, the confederates, elated with their late success, considered their work as completed, though, in those days, they could make no impression on such walls, ignorant as they were of the engines afterwards invented. Sardanapalus having taken care to be well stored with what was necessary to enable him to hold out a long time, the confederates sat two years before the city, without any visible effect: but in the third year the river, swelled by unusual rains, came up to the city, and overflowed a great length, no less than twenty stadia of the wall. The unfortunate Sardanapalus was now sensible of the com-

They take the city.

^z Apud eisd. ibid.

^h Ibid.

(A) Where this Paphlagonia should have been situated, and who this Cotta, a more modern name, should have been, we forbear to enquire, as favouring too grossly of fable.

pletion of what had been foretold of the river's enmity to the city. Having no farther room for hope, and dreading to fall into the hands of the enemy, he retired into his palace, in a court of which he caused a vast pile of wood to be raised, heaping upon it all his gold and silver, and royal apparel, and at the same time inclosing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, he set fire to it, and so destroyed himself and the rest; a catastrophe which the rebels no sooner learned, than they entered the city by the breach, and became masters of the place. The inhabitants were treated with great humanity, though the great and mighty city of Nineveh itself was laid level with the ground. And thus ended the Assyrian empire, subverted by the Medes and Babylonians, after it had, according to our author Ctesias, subsisted no less than one thousand four hundred years.

S E C T. V.

The History of Assyria, according to Scripture, and the more approved Authorities.

Yr. of Fl.
1957.
Ante Chr.
771.

Pul.

WE now come to what is supposed to be the true and only history of Assyria. Pul (B), the seeming founder of this monarchy, makes his first appearance in Scripture in the reign of Menahem, king of Israel, who just about the same period had forced his way to the throne of that kingdom, by the murder of Shallum¹. The Assyrians march into the country struck the tottering usurper with such terror, that, to prevent the hostilities that he might have meditated, Menahem presented him with a thousand talents of silver. Pul, thus gratified, seems to have taken the kingdom of Israel into his protection, and returned to his own country². What else this king did in particular, is no-where expressly recorded.

¹ 2 Kings xv. 19.

² Ibid. ver. 19.

(B) He is also called Phul, and by the LXX. Phua, an inaccuracy in the transcription, owing to the very near resemblance of the Greek Λ lambda, and A alpha; so that it is no great wonder this name should, in the Greek character, have

been written $\Phi\text{OY}\Lambda$, Phua, instead of $\Phi\text{OY}\text{A}$, Phul. He was the first king of Assyria, mentioned in Scripture, from the time that land was planted by Ashur, and not to be confounded with the kings of the Medes and the Babylonians.

But

But from hence we may venture to infer, that he either conquered, or received voluntary homage from Syria, and the other nations in his march, as he did now from Israel, and that he became the founder of a very great empire.

Tiglath-Pileser succeeded him on the throne of Assyria (C), and is supposed to have been his son (D). Upon what particular motive we know not, he fell upon the kingdom of Israel, and took Ijon, and Abel-Beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried the inhabitants captive to Assyria¹, thereby, as we may suppose, the better to secure those distant parts of the empire in their allegiance. For such a captivity must naturally have weakened them, and was rightly calculated to deter the remainder from incurring so hard a fate; and, on the other hand, it may have contributed to the increase of his power, by peopling some tract more immediately under his eye. The same expedient he practised with respect to other nations. Receiving an embassy from Ahaz, king of Judah, with a tender from him of homage, and a present of all he had, to deliver him from the hands of Rezin, king of Damascus, and Pekah, king of Israel, who were in confederacy against him; Tiglath-Pileser, induced by this submission and present, marched against Damascus, took that city, transplanted the people of it to Kir, slew Rezin, and so put an end to that ancient kingdom^m.

Yr. of Fl.
1601.
Ante Chr.
747.

Tiglath-
Pileser.

¹ 2 Kings xv. 29.

^m Ibid. xvi. 7, 8, 9.

(C) He is also called Tiglath-Pilefer, Theglath-Phalasar, Theglath-Phellasar, Thilgamas, as supposed, and also Ninus Junior, according to Castor. Prideaux, by an unaccountable inadvertency, takes him for Arbaces the Mede.

(D) Some are so far from thinking him to have been the son of Pul, that they make him a stranger to his line, a Mede. Rollin, misled by that great and otherwise learned guide, archbishop Usher, makes Pul to have been the father of Sardanapalus, by an extraordinary inattention in the archbishop, who thought it must have been so, because in the

name of Sardanapalus, or Sardan-Pul, he could perceive a relation between this last and this first Assyrian king; forgetting that, for the same reason, Tiglath-Pul-Affur might have appeared his son, especially as he is the king of Assyria, who is expressly said to have succeeded him in Scripture. By what biased him above to make this mistake, he might also, and very naturally, have concluded, that Tiglath-Pul-Affur, and Sardan-Pul, were one and the same person, and so have put an end to the monarchy, before it had well a beginning.

Yr. of Pl.
1620.
Ante Chr.
728.

Shalmaneser.

He was succeeded by Shalmaneser (E), who obliged, on what pretence we know not, Hoshea, king of Israel, to become his tributary^a. Some years after Hoshea resolved to shake off the Assyrian yoke, and solicited, with that view, the alliance of So, then king of Egypt. But Shalmaneser, apprised of his design before he could put it in execution, entered, at the head of a powerful army, the land of Israel; and, having laid it waste to the very gates of Samaria, closely besieged that metropolis. The place held out almost three years; but was, in the end, obliged, with the rest of the kingdom, to submit to the conqueror, who carried the king, and all his subjects, into captivity, replacing them with strangers from Babylon, Cuslah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim^c (F). This was

^a 2 Kings xvii. 3.

^c Ibid. xvii. 18—24.

(E) His name also is variously written, as Salmaneser, Salmanaasar; he is also called Enemaasar by Tobit; and is supposed to be the Salman or Shalman of Hosea. Most chronologers confound him with Nabonaasar,

(F) We are much in the dark concerning the true situation of those countries to which the ten tribes were carried. Josephus only says, in general, that they were transplanted into Media and Persia; so that we must be content with the best conjectures which the learned have been able to give us of those provinces or cities.

The first named in the text is that of Halah, or, as the Hebrew writes it, Chalah, which is, not without great probability, supposed to have been the metropolis of Chalacene, and to have given name to the whole province; and this was situate on the north side of Kurdistan, between Assyria and the Gordyæan mountains. Habor, or rather Chabor, by the Greeks Chaboras, and by

Ezekiel, who dates his prophecies from thence, Chebar, seems to have been a long tract in Mesopotamia or Kurdistan, running along the banks of the river of its name, from which it was so called, and which empties itself into the Euphrates on the eastern or farther side. We know but little of its true situation, except that it was between Assyria and Media. We can give a better guess at the land of Gozan, which is mentioned by the sacred historians as a country, or rather as one of those provinces which were conquered by the Assyrians, and was probably so called from the river of its name. Accordingly Ptolemy places the province of Gauzanitis in Mesopotamia, and mentions the city of Gauzania as the capital of it; and Pliny takes notice of a province, which he calls Elon Gozina, which spread itself up quite to the head spring of the Tigris. We likewise read of a tract named Gauzan, in Media, said to have

was the fatal end of the kingdom of Israel, as we have related more at length in the History of the Jews.

He afterwards invaded Phœnice; but a peace being soon concluded between him and the Phœnicians, he quitted their country and returned home with his army. Not long after the cities of Sidon, Ace, and Palætyrus, with several others, revolting from the Tyrians, to whom they were subject, submitted to him. This encouraged him to attempt the reduction of Tyre itself; but he miscarried, as we have seen in the history of that city.

Shalmaneser was succeeded by Sennacherib (G), who, finding that Hezekiah, king of Judah, with-held the tribute which both he and his predecessor had paid to him, marched against him with a powerful army, and reduced

Sennacherib.

have been situate between the rivers Cyrus and Cambyfes; and this is all that we can meet with in ancient authors; from all which we may conclude, that Gozan, or Gauzania, lay near the Caspian sea, if not upon it, and on the northern parts of Ghilan in Persia, as Media did on the south and west coast of the same sea. And thus far we may extend our conjectures concerning the countries into which the Israelitish tribes were transported.

Rabshakeh, the Assyrian general, mentions the countries of Haran, Rezeph, Hamath, &c. in his threatening letter to king Hezekiah, as provinces lately conquered by the kings his masters, and immediately after that of Gozan. Now Haran, or, as the Hebrew hath it, Charan, and the Greeks Charres, was a famed city of Mesopotamia, seated between the Chabor and the Euphrates above mentioned. Rezeph, mentioned by the same historians, and by others called Re-

siph, Refapha, Rizapha, and by Ptolemy, Rhadzapha, was a city of Syria, according to Peutinger and the Notitiæ Orientales, and is, by Ptolemy, placed in Palmyrene. Hamath is reasonably supposed the same with the ancient Emessa on the Orontes. The other cities or countries of Ava, Sepharvaim, &c. out of all which the Assyrian monarchs sent their new colonies into the Samaritan kingdom, were all seated on the same route; so that those conquerors seem to have swept away all those countries, as they lay in their way to Palestine, and to have exchanged their captives from the one to the other; among which the Israelitish tribes were sent into the most remote parts from their own land (5).

(G) His Hebrew name is Sanherib; and it is seldom or never, that we recollect, writ with any great variation, except that he may, by contraction, have been called Jareb.

(5) Vid. Jos. Antiq. lib. ix. cap. ult. Ezek. i. 2 Kings xix. 12. Isaiah xxxvii. 12. 2 Kings xvii. 6. xviii. 12.

a great many of his fortified towns. Hezekiah, intimidated by his success, acknowledged his fault, and agreed to pay the Assyrian a yearly tribute of three hundred talents of silver, and thirty of gold. Though this was all that Shalmaneser demanded, he soon after sent his army, under the command of Tartan Rabfarris, and Rabshakeh, to invest Jerusalem. These, presenting themselves at the foot of the city wall, demanded a parley with Hezekiah's ministers; which being granted, Rabshakeh addressed them in a haughty speech, setting forth the power of his master, and treating with the utmost contempt not only Hezekiah and the king of Egypt, in whom he supposed Hezekiah to have placed great confidence, but even the God of Israel; observing, that as the gods of Hamath and of Arphad, the gods of Sepharvaim, Henah, and Ivah (H), had not been able to withstand the Assyrian power, so neither would theirs. But, in the mean time, Sennacherib being informed that Tirhakah (I), king of Ethiopia, was in full march to invade his dominions, he hastened back to defend them; and his generals, leaving Jerusalem,

(H) Sir Isaac Newton, in his Chronology, uses this boast concerning the nation and their gods, as an argument for the novelty of the Assyrian monarchy in those days, observing that this desolation is recited as fresh in memory, and to terrify the Jews. "All the above cited nations had, till now, their several gods, and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender thereof against the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly the gods of Assyria; and therefore they were never, till now, united under the Assyrian monarchy, especially since the king of Assyria doth not boast of their being conquered by the Assyrians oftner than once; but these being small kingdoms, the king of Assyria soon overfloded them:" "Know ye not,

saith Sennacherib to the Jews (6), what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands?—for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers; how much less shall your god deliver you out of mine hand?" "He and his fathers, therefore, Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Shalmaneser, were great conquerors; and, with a current of victories, had newly overfloded all nations round about Assyria, and thereby set up this monarchy."

(I) According to the course of the Egyptian history, this Tirhakah can have been no other than the Sabbaco of Herodotus, who was an Ethiopian, a great warrior, and had some time before conquered Egypt, and held it fifty years.

(6) 2 Chron. xxxii, 13. 15.

followed him with all expedition. Sennacherib, before his departure, sent a threatening letter to Hezekiah, adding to the nations he formerly mentioned to have been conquered by Assyria, Rezep, and the children of Eden, which were in Thelasar^p (K). He returned soon after against Judah; but his army being smitten by an angel (L), and a hundred and eighty-five thousand of them found dead next morning in their camp, he marched back into Assyria, and took up his residence at Nineveh^q; where, finding himself fallen into contempt with his people, he grew sullen and tyrannical, particularly venting his rage against the captive Hebrews in his dominions, many of whom he unmercifully put to death^r, in revenge for his misfortunes, which he may have attributed to them. In short, he behaved in such a manner, that he became odious to his own sons, two of whom, Adrammelech and Sharezer, slew him as he was at his devotions in the temple of Nisroch, in a short time after his precipitate return from Judæa, and fled into Armenia; perhaps to avoid the punishment due to their parricide: thus was he slain in the temple of his favourite god, and his third son, Efar-Haddon, reigned in his stead^s (M).

Efar-

^p 2 Kings xix. 8. 12.

^q Ibid. ver. 36.

^r Tobit i. 18.

^s 2 Kings xix. 37.

(K) The most probable opinion is, that these places were somewhere in Syria. There is a city called Resiph in Mesopotamia, near the mouth of the river Saacoras, and a city called Resaph, in the Palmyrene of Syria; which of these may have been Reseph, we decide not; the other cities are not so easy to be found.

(L) This is a figurative expression common with the Jews. Some suppose this havoc to have been made "by a plague, or perhaps by lightning, or a fiery wind, which blows sometimes in the neighbouring deserts, or rather by being surprised by Sethon and Tirhakah; for the Egyptians, in memory of this action, erected

a statue to Sethon, holding in his hand a mouse, the Egyptian symbol of destruction (7)."

(M) Herodotus makes express mention of Sennacherib, and tells us, that as he lay before Pelusium with his army, such swarms of field-rats and mice entered his camp one night, as destroyed all their shield-straps and bow-strings. This bishop Patrick, with some seeming passion, calls "a horrible lye;" and a lye it is, or rather a falsehood; but nevertheless confirms, in some degree, what is written concerning the sudden destruction of the Assyrian army. Herodotus calls Sennacherib king of the Arabians and Assyrians, perhaps because the Assyrians

(7) Newton's Chron. of Ancient Kingdoms amended, p. 288. Prideaux Connect. book i. part i. p. 24.

Yr. of Fl.
1638.,
Ante Chr.
710.

Efar-Had-
dan.

Efar-Haddon (N) may be said to have succeeded to the ruins, as it were, of the Assyrian monarchy, founded by Pul, and enlarged and established by Tiglath-Pileser. Under Sennacherib it fell to decay, either by his imprudence or ill fortune, or a mixture of both. The Medes, taking advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or perhaps upon the news of the sudden and general destruction of his army, revolted, and were never after reduced to the Assyrian yoke, though Efar-Haddon, in the course of his reign, seems to have been both a valorous and fortunate prince, as well as ambitious of supporting and enlarging the empire. He was, to all appearance, a mild and gracious personage, and particularly kind to the Jews, who had been so cruelly abused by his father, after his hasty return to Nineveh. He, in the beginning of his reign, seems to have continued quiet in his capital, and perhaps had enough to do support his dignity at home; till after some years, his kindred race of the Babylonish kings being extinct, or some other cause, producing an interregnum in that kingdom, he laid hold of the opportunity, and united it to the crown of Assyria[†].

Yr. of Fl.
1667.
Ante Chr.
681.

Yr. of Fl.
1671.
Ante Chr.
677.

Grown potent by this union, he proceeded to establish his tottering power over the more distant parts of his empire: he marched into Syria, and advanced against the remnant of Israel, and the kingdom of Judah. The remaining inhabitants of Israel he transplanted[‡], as well as the remnant that may have been left of Syria; so that they now utterly ceased to be nations; and, in their stead, introduced a supply of foreigners (O), according to the policy of his predecessors. Having thus quite expunged Israel and Syria from the list of nations, he proceeded to

[†] Ptolem. Can. Astronom.

[‡] Ezra iv. 2, 10.

at that time, with Perzæ, or the land of Gilead, and Hamath or Iturea, possessed great part of the neighbouring Arabia. It is plain from Scripture, that they were, in Sennacherib's time, masters of Ivah, which was, according to Junius, a province of Arabia Deserta (8).

(N) He is also called Afar-

Haddon, Afordan by the Septuagint, Aslaradin in Ptolemy's canon, Sarchedon by Tobit, Sargon by Isaiah, and Asnapper by Ezra.

(O) His being now called king of Babylon, has been the cause that commentators have postponed the transplantation of Israel, recorded in the reign of Shalmaneser, to his time.

(8) Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 147. Comment. upon 2 Kings xix. Joseph. Ant. lib. x. cap. 1. Jun. on 2 Kings xvii. 24.

reduce

reduce the kingdom of Judah to the state of dependence under which it had fallen in the time of king Ahaz; took Manasseh their king, bound him in chains, and sent him captive to Babylon ^z.

Elated by this flow of success, he continued his march into Egypt and Ethiopia; and, having subdued both countries, carried with him into captivity great numbers of the inhabitants⁷. In the course of this war he particularly took, by his general Tartan, the city of Ashdod or Azotus, which cost Psammeticus so much time to wrest from his successors. Thus did he extend his dominions, and once more spread the terror of the Assyrian name far and near. After a reign of many years, glorious, especially in the latter part of it, he died, and left a character behind him equal to the rank he had while living; whence we cannot be induced to think he can be, in any respect, the Sardanapalus of Ctesias, there being no likeness or analogy at all between the representations of the two men.

He was succeeded by Saosduchinus, or Saosducheus, the Nebuchadonosor of Scripture, a warlike and active prince, particularly remarkable for the great advantages he gained over the Medes, who, after subduing several of the neighbouring nations, had, under the conduct of their second king Phraortes, invaded Assyria. Nebuchadonosor raised a powerful army to oppose them, summoning the whole force of his wide-spreading dominions, and inviting other nations of the East to his assistance. Though most of the nations he summoned received his ambassadors with contempt^z (P), yet he took the field in the twelfth year of his reign with what forces he had assembled: Joining battle with Phraortes in the great plain of Ragau, he defeated that prince's cavalry, overturned his chariots, and, pur-

Yr. of Fl.
1675.
Ante Chr.
673.

Yr. of Fl.
1680.
Ante Chr.
668.

Saosduchinus.

^z 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. ⁷ Isaiah xx. 4. ^z Judith i. 3, & seq.

(P) Herodotus confirms this, very plainly, telling us, that the Assyrians, "Those I mean, says he, who lived at Nineveh, who had formerly been the chief of all, but were now deserted by their friends or vassals, though nevertheless in a good state to defend themselves; against these, says he, did Phraortes, the Mede, make war." It appears, then, that Nebuchado-

nosor had lived peaceably till the twelfth year of his reign, when, perceiving himself and his kingdom in danger from the victorious and insulting Medes, he took the alarm, and invited all the nations of the East to his assistance. No two historical pieces can, so far as they are concerned together, more illustrate each other than Herodotus, and the book of Judith.

suing

suings the king to the adjacent mountains, whither he had made his retreat, took and put him to death. After this victory, he entered Media, reduced many strong holds, and, pushing on his conquests, stormed the famous city of Ecbatan, which he levelled with the ground. Flushed beyond measure by this, perhaps, more than expected success, he returned to Nineveh, where he feasted and revelled with those who had attended him in this expedition, for the space of one hundred and twenty days ^a (Q).

Elated to a pitch of insolence and vanity, that seemed to border upon madness, he afterwards denounced vengeance against the whole earth. As the executor of his wrath, he sent forth Holofernes, at the head of a powerful army, with orders to put all to the sword who should oppose him, and reserve such as submitted, to be punished by himself ^b. As to the cruelty with which these orders were executed; the dread and terror that merciless general struck into the countries through which he marched; the resolution taken by the Jews to withstand the mighty conqueror; the great streights to which the city of Bethulia, and the whole nation, were reduced; their miraculous deliverance; and, lastly, the slaughter of the Assyrian army; the reader will find a distinct and minute account of these particulars in the book of Judith ^c.

Yr. of Pl.
1700.
Ante Chr.
648.

Saofduchinus was succeeded by Chynaladan, or Sarac, as Polyhistor calls him. In his reign the Medes, having Cynares, the son of Phraortes, at their head, a young and warlike prince, not only recovered what the Assyrians had taken from them after their victory in the plains of Ragau, but utterly defeated them in a pitched battle, and obliged them to shelter themselves behind the walls of Nineveh, their metropolis, to which they laid close siege. But they were soon obliged, by the irruption of the Scythians, to abandon the enterprize, and employ their arms in defence of their own country ^d.

In the mean time Nabopalassar, a Babylonian, whom Chynaladan had entrusted with the command of his troops

^a Judith i. 5, & seq.

^b Ibid. ii. 1—13.

^c Ibid. i.—xv.

^d Herodot. lib. i. cap. 104. lib. ii. cap. 1. & lib. vii. cap. 20.

(Q) This successful war of the same story most carelessly Saofduchinus, or Nebuchadonofor, against the Medes, is the same Sardanapalus is said exactly almost what Ctesias to have given his victorious writes of Sardanapalus; it is army.

in

in Chaldea, taking advantage of the low ebb to which the Assyrian power was reduced, revolted from him, and seized on the kingdom of Babylon for himself*. Chynaladan, terrified at the news of this revolt, and dreading the calamities ready to befall him, set fire to his palace, and was consumed with all his wealth in the flames†(R). The Assyrian empire subsisted several years after his death; but, as to his successors, we are left quite in the dark. All we know for certain is, that it was in the end overturned by the Medes and Babylonians. Thus fell the empire of Assyria; concerning which we should have had next to nothing genuine to relate, but for the assistance of Scripture, and the inestimable concurrence of Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon.

Yr. of Fl.
1722.
Ante Chr.
626.

Chynaladan burns his palace and himself.

C H A P. X.

The History of the Babylonians.

S E C T. I.

The Description of the Country of Babylon, or Chaldea.

THIS country was known, in the most ancient times, by the names of Shinar and Shinaar. The appellation of Shinar it seems to have retained even in Daniel's

Names.

* Polyhist. apud Syncel. Chron. p. 210. & in Græc. Euseb. Scal. p. 38, 39. † Id. ibid.

(R) We have taken notice that there are two Sardanapalus in profane writers; and these two can have been no other than the great Asser-Haddon, king of Assyria, who may have been the second of the name; as the contraction of the present, which is all we have of it, seems to imply. The profane accounts represent the one to have been a great magnificent prince, and to have built even two cities in one

day, as Tarfus and Anchiale, and to have died peaceably and quietly in his bed; the other is represented as a sluggard, who perished in the flames that consumed his palace, his servants, and his treasure. The former then must have been the great Asser-Haddon, or Sardan-Pul, of Scripture; and the latter must have been this obscure prince Sarac, Sarchedon, or Sardon-Pul.

time.

*Division.**Cities of
note in Ba-
bylonia.*

time. As for the name of Babylon, it is universally supposed to have been borrowed from that of the tower of Babel, as the name of Chaldæa arose from the Chaldæans, or Chasdim^g. These two names sometimes extend to the whole country, being indifferently taken for each other, and sometimes are limited to certain parts. By Babylon, or Babylonia, is meant the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city of Babylon; and by Chaldæa, that which extends southward to the Persian gulph. Chaldæa is used by the writers of the Old Testament for the whole country^h; and Babylonia, generally speaking, by the profaneⁱ. It lies between 30 and 35 degrees of north latitude; and was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north by Mesopotamia, on the east by the Tigris, on the west by Arabia Deserta, and on the south by the Persian gulph, and part of Arabia Felix. In Babylonia, properly so called, or as a distinct province from Chaldæa, were the following cities: Babylon, the metropolis of that kingdom, which we shall describe in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, to whom, in great measure, it owed its grandeur; Vologesia, or Vologesocerta, built on the Euphrates, by Vologesis, king of the Parthians, in the time of Vespasian^k; Barsita^l, probably Strabo's Borsippa^m, sacred to Diana and Apollo, famous in Strabo's time for a woollen manufacture, and being the seat of a certain sect of Chaldæans, thence called Borsippeni; Idiccara, on the Euphrates, and the borders of Arabia Deserta; Coche, in the island Mesene, formed by the Tigris, Sura, and Pombeditha, of which the situation is very uncertain.

In Chaldæa Ptolemy places the cities Spunda, Batracharta, Shalatha, Altha, and Teridon, all on the Tigris: in the inland country were, according to the same geographer, Chuduca, Chumana, Bethana, Orchoe, Biramba, and several others, equally unknown. Some will have Orchoe to be the Ur of the Chaldæans, where Abraham was born; but others, perhaps upon better grounds, suppose the Ur mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, and placed by him between the Tigris and the city of Nisibis, to have been the birth-place of that patriarch. It is true, that the Ur, mentioned by Ammianus, stood in Mesopotamia; but, that part of Mesopotamia, which lay on the Tigris,

^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 7.^h Jerem. xxiv. 5. xxv. 12.

1. 3, &c. Ezek. xii. 13.

ⁱ Diodor. lib. ii. cap. 11, 12. Strabo, lib. xvi. sub init. Colin. lib. v. cap. 12.^k Pliny, lib. v. cap.

26. Ammian. lib. xxiii. cap. 20.

^l Ptol. lib. v. cap. ult.^m Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 509.

was anciently comprised under the name of Chaldæa, appears plain, not only from profane writers, but from Scripture^a. In ancient times the Babylonian name, extending far beyond the limits both of Babylonia and Chaldæa, comprised all, or the greater part, of the provinces subject to the Babylonian empire (S). But as we have already

^a Acts vii. 2. 4.

(U) The limits of the Babylonian empire were much the same with those of the Assyrian empire, after the revolt of the Medes; and hence the Babylonian name was almost as widely extended as the Assyrian; and indeed they are frequently used the one for the other, though this latter seems the most generally to have had the ascendant and pre-eminence, as being prior, and, as it were, superior to the former. "Berosus says, that Nebuchadnezzar held Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia; and Strabo adds Arbela to the territories of Babylon; after saying that Babylon was anciently the metropolis of Assyria, he thus describes the limits of the Assyrian empire (or more properly the Babylonian): contiguous, saith he, (lib. xvi.) to Persia and Susiana are the Assyrians; for so they call Babylonia, and the greatest part of the region about it; part of which is Atturia, wherein is Ninus (or Nineveh), and Apolloniatis, and the Elymeans, and the Parætacæ, and Chalonitis by the mountain Zagrus, and the fields near Ninus, and Dolomene, and Chalachene, and Chazene, and Adiabene, and the nations of Mesopotamia near the Gordyzæans, and the Migdones about Nisibis, unto Zeugma up-

on Euphrates, and a large region on this side the Euphrates, inhabited by the Arabians and Syrians, properly so called, as far as Cilicia, and Phœnicia, and Libya, and the sea of Egypt, and the Sinus Issicus." And a little after, describing the extent of the Babylonian region, he "bounds it on the north with the Armenians and Medes, unto the mountain Zagrus; on the west side, with Susa, and Elymais, and Parætacene, inclusively; on the south with the Persian gulf, and Chaldæa; and on the west, with the Arabes Scenitæ, as far as Adiabene and Gordyzæa." Afterwards, speaking of Susiana and Sittacene, a region between Babylon and Susa, and of Parætacene and Cossæa, and Elymais, and of the Sagapeni and Siloceni, two little adjoining provinces, he concludes (lib. xvi. p. 745): "And these are the nations which inhabit Babylonia eastward; to the north are Media and Armenia, exclusively; and westward are Adiabene and Mesopotamia, inclusively. The greatest part of Adiabene is plain, the same being part of Babylonia: in some places it borders on Armenia; for the Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians warred frequently on one another (1)."

(1) Sir Isaac Newton's Chron. of Ant. Kingd. amended, p. 324, 325.

*Climate
and fertility.*

described some of those countries, and shall speak of the others in their proper places, we confine ourselves here to Babylonia and Chaldæa, properly so called.

This country enjoys an air very temperate and wholesome for the most part, though at certain seasons of the year no climate can be possibly more dangerous. The heats are so extraordinary, that the richer sort were used to sleep in tubs and cisterns of water^o; nor could they bear to live without this pernicious practice, which still continues, as is well known to all who have travelled into those parts. At certain seasons this country is exposed to a pestilential wind, much talked of by modern travellers. It seldom or never rains here for certain months of the year; so that the inhabitants in the northern parts, and generally all over it, are at great labour and trouble in watering their lands, the engines and wheels which they make use of for that purpose being so numerous, especially along the banks of the Euphrates, as sometimes to hurt the navigation of the river^p. This drought continues commonly eight months of the year; nay, it has been sometimes known not to have rained here for two years and a half together; and the inhabitants reckon, that, if it does but rain twice or thrice in the year, it is enough for their purpose. Herodotus says, that in the land of the Assyrians it seldom rained; and that, though the country was like Egypt, its fertility was not caused by the inundations of the river, as in that kingdom, but by the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually watered it by hand, or dug trenches, and other conveyances of that kind, for its refreshment and fecundation; however, the same sort of labour is necessary even in Egypt^q. The soil being rich, the climate in general excellent, and the inhabitants industrious, this country for fertility used to vie with any other spot on the face of the earth. We have seen it compared to Egypt, as above; and the southern parts of it, between the rivers, may be particularly compared with the Delta of that country, it being made up of islands, some formed by nature, and some by art; and is besides almost under the same parallel of latitude: nor is the other part of it, Chaldæa properly so called, between the Euphrates and the mountains of Babylon, as they are commonly termed, much less watered by rivers and ca-

^o Plutarch Sympos. lib. iii. p. 640. ^p Leon. Rauwolf's Tr. into the Eastern Country, part ii. chap. 6. p. 160. ^q Vide Purch. Pilgr. vol. i. chap. 12. p. 62. Rauwolf, ubi supra, p. 152. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 692.

nals conducted from the Euphrates, and large reservoirs of lakes borrowed from the same river. Hence Herodotus compares this country with Egypt^r; and observes the excellence of its soil, mentioning it was so fruitful, that what he could say on that subject would appear incredible to such as had not, like himself, been eye-witnesses of its fertility; he adds, that, for the plenty of its productions, it was reckoned to be equal to a third part of Asia, that is, of the Persian empire; and that, in the same year, it yielded three hundred fold, but generally two hundred.

Productions.

Being a country well watered, for the most part low and flat, it may have abounded with willows; whence it came to be called the Valley of Willows, as Prideaux^a would, after Bochart, mend the text^t. The palm also flourished naturally all over this land, and chiefly that of the date-kind, which afforded meat, wine, and honey; though the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree, were what this otherwise happy country could not boast of, no more than her sister Egypt. But, for grain, it exceeded every other land; the millet and the sesame shot up here to the size of trees; and the leaves of the barley and wheat were usually four fingers broad^u. The sesame afforded them oil, instead of the olive; and the palm yielded wine instead of the grape. In short, for vegetable productions, it may be justly compared with Egypt; and to dwell on them would be little better than repeating what we have already said. This fertility must have been greatly owing to the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, which in the months of June, July, and August, overflowing their banks, laid the country under water; the snow in those months melting in great quantities on the mountains of Armenia. But these inundations proving very detrimental, the inhabitants guarded against them by numbers of artificial rivers and canals, whereby the waters were distributed, the country in general was benefited, and an easy communication effected among the inhabitants. The Euphrates, according to Ptolemy^x, above Babylon, near a town in Mesopotamia called Sippbara, divides itself into two branches, one running to Babylon, and the other to Seleucia, where it falls into the Tigris. The latter was, if we believe Pliny^y, partly artificial; for he places Seleucia at the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates, adding, that the

Rivers, canals.

^r Herodot. lib. i. cap. 193.

^a Connect. of the Hist. of the

Old and New Test. part i. book i. p. 105. 8vo.

^t Isai xv. 7.

^u Herodot. ubi supra.

^x Ptol. lib. v. cap. 17.

^y Plin. lib. vi.

cap. 26.

Euphrates was conveyed to it by a canal. Prideaux, upon his authority, supposes that branch to have been wholly artificial, and ranks it among the stupendous works of Nebuchadnezzar^a. Between these two branches an artificial canal was cut from the Euphrates, above Babylon, to the Tigris at Apamea, sixty miles below Seleucia. As this canal, being so large as to be navigable by great vessels, it was thence called, in the Chaldean language, Naarmalcha, which answers Ptolemy's Basileios Potamos, or *royal river*. Instead of Naarmalcha, we read, in Isidorus Characenus, Narmacha; in Zosimus, Narmalaches; in Abydenus, Armacalles; and in Pliny, Armalachar^b. But Ammianus Marcellinus calls it by its true name Naarmalcha, which he rightly interprets the *royal river*^b. From the Naarmalcha the emperors Trajan and Severus, in their wars with the Parthians, dug a new canal to the Tigris near Coche on the west, and Ctesiphon on the east side of that river. As these canals were all dug by kings or emperors, they all justly claimed the title of Naarmalcha; but most authors agree in bestowing it, by way of pre-eminence, on one only. Pliny, Ammianus, and Polybius, by the Naarmalcha seem to understand the branch of the Euphrates, that fell into the Tigris at Seleucia. But Ptolemy's Naarmalcha, or Basileios Potamos, extended from the Euphrates to the Tigris at Apamea; and with him Bochart and most of the modern geographers agree. This canal was dug by Nebuchadnezzar, as Abydenus informs us, to convey the waters of the Euphrates, when it overflowed, into the Tigris before they reached Babylon. One of these canals is mentioned by Ezekiel under the name of Chebar, or, as the Greek versions have it, Chobar, which most interpreters suppose to have been borrowed from Gobaris or Gobryas, the name of the governor, who was appointed, as Pliny informs us, to overlook the work, and probably the same Gobryas, who afterwards revolted from the Babylonians to Cyrus, as will be related in a more proper place; which of the above mentioned canals the prophet spoke of under that name, we will not take upon us to determine. At some distance to the westward of Sipphara was another river, called by Ptolemy the Naarsares, but by Ammianus the Marfes or Marfias. This too was, according to Ptolemy, a branch of the Euphrates,

^a Prid. Connec. book ii. part. 1. p. 103. ^b Isid. Charac. in Stath. Parth. Zof. lib. iii. cap. 24. Abyd. apud. Euseb. ^b Præp. lib. ix. cap. 41. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 6. Ammian. lib. xxiv. cap. 21.

running west of Babylon, and mixing again with it near Vologesia. Bochart supposes this river to be the Narraga, mentioned by Pliny, among the streams that watered the country of Babylon. At the distance of eight hundred furlongs from Babylon to the south was another canal, called by Arrian Pallacopas^c, and by Appian Pallacotta^d, derived from the branch of the Euphrates that passed through Babylon, and conveyed to certain lakes or marshes in Chaldæa. On this canal, or river, as Arrian calls it, Alexander sailed from the Euphrates to the above mentioned lakes. Strabo describes the course of this canal, though he does not name it^e, as will plainly appear, if we compare what he writes of one of these canals, with what we read of this in Appian and Arrian. But it would be labour in vain to attempt the tracing out, even with the best helps, these and the other numerous branches and canals, which watered the ancient country of Babylon. Many of them that have been formerly considerable, are now no more; and others have been formed since, that were not in ancient days; for a country so prodigiously watered, so low in situation, and so subject to the violence of extraordinary inundations from those two great rivers the Tigris and Euphrates, and so neglected, as it has been for several ages, must have often and considerably changed its face since the time of Ptolemy; and it is next to impossible to describe it, such as it was while the seat of empire, when the inhabitants had riches sufficient to take care of its numerous banks, and to keep them in repair.

The Euphrates springs from the mountains of Armenia, continues its course southward, washing the eastern skirts of Syria, south-eastward, dividing Arabia from Mesopotamia, and north-eastward, separating likewise Chaldæa and Babylonia from Mesopotamia, till, mixing with its fellow-traveller the Tigris, it falls at length into the Persian gulph. This great river is slow, for the most part, in its course, and not well adapted throughout for navigation, some parts of it being shoal, and some rocky. It is not navigable, by the larger sort of barks, lower than a place called Roufvaine, but the smaller craft may go down quite to Balsora. Beyond Roufvaine there are rocks which are dangerous for the larger vessels, but easily avoided by the smaller. Thevenot is of opinion, that the

Euphrates.

^c Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. vii.
lib. ii. sub. fin.

^d Appian. Bell. Civil.

^e Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 510.

Euphrates might, with very little trouble, be made navigable, even by great barks, quite to the Tigris, only by clearing the channel of the stones with which it is choked up in some places. At Roufvaine, a village at a small distance from the Euphrates, the merchandize is put ashore, and carried upon camels to Bagdad, a day's journey distant, where it is embarked on the Tigris, and conveyed to Balsora. The Euphrates, in some places, divides itself into so many broad branches, that the pilots are at a loss which way to steer. Though it is not rapid in its course, its water is so foul, that there is no drinking it till it has settled for a time, or been passed through a cloth or a strainer^f; and then it is lighter, and preferable to any other in these parts: whence the river is known to the neighbouring people, by a name which signifies *the water of desire*^g. The fish of the Euphrates are also reported to be excellent in their kind; and particular notice is taken of one resembling a carp, which sometimes weighs seventeen or eighteen pounds^h.

The ancient way of navigating this river, was very singular and extraordinary. The vessels were round, without distinction of head or stern, and no better than great wicker-baskets coated over with hides, guided by two oars, or paddles. These vessels were of different sizes, and some of them capable of carrying a burden of palm-wine, or other merchandize, to the weight of five thousand talents. When they had thus fallen down the river to Babylon, and unloaded their cargo, they sold the vessel; but kept the hides, and, loading their asses with them, returned home by land, the rapidity of the stream not allowing them to return by waterⁱ.

The Euphrates now disembogues itself into the Tigris, below Bagdad; and is called by the Arabs, Schat-al-Aarab, that is, *the river of the Arabs*. It is highly probable, that the Euphrates at first emptied itself into the sea by a mouth of its own; and that its waters were afterwards conveyed, by art, partly into the Tigris, and partly into the marshes of Chaldæa. Of this opinion, among the ancients, was Pliny, who speaking of the Euphrates and Tigris, tells us, that the mouths of these two rivers were, according to some, twenty-seven, according to others, only seven miles distant; that they were both navigable;

^f Rauwolf, part ii. chap. 1. page 126. Thev. Voyage au Lev. part i. chap. 9. p. 40. ^g Thevenot, ubi supra. ^h Rauwolf.

ⁱ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 194.

but that the Orchenians, and other neighbouring people, had long ago stopped the course of the Euphrates, to water their lands; so that it was no longer conveyed into the sea by a mouth of its own, but by that of the Pasitigris^k. But of this river, before it was branched out by art into the several channels we have mentioned, we can give no tolerable account, having been left quite in the dark, as to its primitive state, by the sacred as well as profane writers. The former only tell us, that there were several rivers at Babylon^l; and that one of them was called Chebar, as we have observed above; an account of that river, in the more early times, being foreign to their purpose. As for the profane writers, some of those channels were more ancient than the most early among them, who consequently must have been no less in the dark than we are.

This country is particularly remarkable for having inclosed, according to the most rational opinion, within its limits, great part of Paradise. Here also was the great plain of Shinar, now Senjâr, where the whole race of mankind were gathered together in one body after the flood, and whence they dispersed themselves over the face of the earth. The ruins of Babylon, and what remains of the tower, as supposed, of Babel, might here claim a place, had not another more proper occurred in the former part of this work.

S E C T. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the Babylonians.

BABEL is the first kingdom we find mentioned in Scripture, and, in point of antiquity, was prior to that of Assur, though, according to the common course of history, it must appear after it. Nimrod was the founder of it; but, for many ages, it evidently appears to have remained a petty royalty, till the Assyrians paved the way to the empire it attained. Should it be allowed, that, even under Nimrod, it rose to any height of power, nothing seems more natural than to conclude, that it suddenly sunk to a level with its neighbours, and even below some of them, and particularly the famous and an-

Antiquity.

^k Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 27.

^l Psalm. cxxxvii.

cient kingdom of Elam or Persia; for, so early as the days of Abraham, we meet with a king of Sennaar, the ancient Babylon, in the army of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam ^m, as a vassal, seemingly, and a tributary. The arguments we have used to destroy the boasted antiquity of Assyria, might be alleged here to destroy that of this empire; but, not to repeat what we have so fully urged, and which must of course affect this empire, as it confessedly rose upon the ruins of the former, we shall only observe, that the Scripture makes no mention of any king of Babylon from the king of Shinaar above mentioned in the army of Elam, till the days of Merodach-Baladan, who was contemporary with Hezekiah ⁿ, as also that, by the several histories of the nations already spoken of in this work, it is plain, that no Babylonian prince awed any of them, till many years after Merodach-Baladan. So that though we confess this to have been the most ancient kingdom of the world, yet we cannot allow it to have attained the imperial dignity till what we may call very lately, in comparison of what has been vainly boasted, and unwarily believed.

The Babylonians, or Chaldeans, however, laid claim to a most extravagant antiquity, unwilling to be inferior to the Egyptians, or any other nation. They pretended to have registered the transactions of one hundred and fifty thousand years ^o, according to some, or four hundred and seventy-three thousand years, according to others ^p, reckoning down to Alexander, from the time they first began to observe the stars; a monstrous fable, which needs no refutation.

Their government.

The government of this nation, if the character which generally prevails concerning its founder Nimrod may be relied on, was, in its very infancy, tyrannical and despotic; but that it continued so, is not to be supposed, except at the same time it be conceived, that its first prince was succeeded by kings exactly of his own character. After him it certainly was on a level with the petty kingdoms of these parts, till the Assyrians, in process of time, laid the foundation whereon it afterwards exalted itself as the "queen of the east." And, as from the former it derived its lustre and majesty, nothing is more likely, or indeed more certain, than that it adhered to the practices of its founder; and the rather, as those Babylonians themselves were Assyrians, descended from Pul the great

^m Genes. xiv. 9.
Chronogr.

ⁿ 2 Kings xx. 12.

^o Vide Syncell.
^p Diod. Sic. Bibl. Hist. lib. ii. p. 81.

Assyrian,

Assyrian, who immediately gave rise to both the empires. The government, therefore, of Babylon, like that of Assyria, was despotic; and the sceptre, it seems, hereditary. The whole centred in the person of the king: all decrees issued from his mouth: and how could it be otherwise, when he affected even deity, and divine worship, as the custom was with those princes? And here, by the way, it may be observed, that this political and impious arrogance was but natural to men who had nothing less in view than to lord it over the whole bulk of mankind. It was one of the most effectual means they could think of, to intimidate the nations who had not yet owned their power; and to restrain those who did, from asserting their right to be governed by their own laws. Without some such influence upon the superstitious minds of men, it would have been next to impossible to maintain dominion over parts far remote from the seat of the imperial residence; and no doubt the argument they used, of having prevailed against all the gods of the nations, and of being mightier far than they, carried a conviction with it, which not only served all present, but future purposes. And hence it must have been, or upon principles of the same sort, that the great conquerors of the East have always affected retirement from the immediate commerce of others, as being too glorious to be beheld by vulgar eyes; a kind of arrogance which implies a superiority not much inferior to what was claimed by those first monarchs of the Assyrian race, as well on the throne of Nineveh, as on that of Babylon. These proud potentates, however, administered their government by a variety of officers civil and military. Accordingly we find them divided into three classes, and supposed to be chosen from among the gravest and most noble personages in all the empire¹: the first had the charge of virgins, and their disposal in marriage, and were to judge in matters of adultery, and the like; the second took cognizance of thefts; and the third of all other crimes. We find the subordinate powers under this mighty emperor divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, and counsellors; so that it is plain nothing was wanting to maintain peace and good order in the empire; and that the civil and military œconomy was under severe regulation: as for what relates to religion, and superstitious matters, that will fall under another head.

*The policy
of deifying
kings.*

*His officers,
civil, and
military.*

¹ Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 45.

His household.

This great king of kings had an household equal to the sublimity of his station; the chief officers of which seem to have been the captain of his guard, the prince of his eunuchs, and the prime minister, in the nature of the Turkish vizier, who more immediately represented the person of his great master. The first of these had the execution of the arbitrary and sanguinary commands; the second had the charge of the education and subsistence of the youth of the palace; and the latter sat in the king's gate, as it was called, to hear complaints, and to pass judgement. Besides these, there seems to have been a master of the magicians always at hand, to satisfy the king upon any thing he might want to know, with regard to futurity and prognostication. None was allowed the honour of serving in his presence, that was not remarkable for beauty of person, and excellence of parts; and his wives and concubines, which were doubtless the most beautiful of their sex, seem to have been in very great number.

But though those kings seem to have claimed such high honour, to have placed themselves at such a distance from the greatest even of their officers and subjects, and to have considered the whole world as created for their use and service; yet we understand, that they sometimes condescended to banquet and revel with their lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read that a thousand were at one time entertained by Belshazzar. The common style of accosting this mighty sovereign was, "O king, live for ever!" and the man, who was so happy as in a particular manner to gain his favour, was clothed in purple or scarlet, adorned with a chain of gold about his neck, and invested with some government.

Laws.

The laws of this empire, as we have hinted above, must have been quite vague and uncertain; yet there was one which seems to have been irrevocably fixed; it was calculated to increase the number of the inhabitants, and to oblige all, especially the poorer sort of people, to marry, lest they should choose rather to live single, than be burdened with families. By this law no man had it in his power to bestow his own daughters in marriage; but they were to be disposed of by the king or his officers, in the manner we shall relate hereafter.

* Dan. v. 2, 3, & seq.

* Idem v. 7.

† Vide Herodot. lib. i. cap. 196. & Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 745.

As the laws were vague and changeable, the punishments seem also to have been unfixed, arbitrary, and vigorous, in proportion to the tyrant's prevailing passion or caprice. Beheading, cutting to pieces, turning the criminal's house into a dunghil, and burning in a fiery furnace*, are punishments we know to have been executed by the orders of the kings of Babylon.

Punishments.

The religion and boasted learning of the Babylonians are so blended together, that we hardly know how to separate them into distinct heads; for the Chaldees, properly so called, were not only their priests, but also their learned men; whose whole science seems to have been subservient to the purposes of superstition. These Chaldeans were, perhaps, more distinguished from the people than the clergy are from the laity with us; and were as much revered in their country, as the Egyptian priests were in theirs; and are said to have enjoyed the same privileges. They were wholly devoted to the business of their superstitious religion; and pretended to prophesy, and to the gift of prediction by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inspection of victims; they explained dreams, and all the extraordinary phenomena of nature, as portending good or evil to men or nations; and were thought, by their enchantments and invocations, to affect mankind either with happiness or misery. Having, by their situation, been early addicted to celestial observations, they, instead of conceiving just notions concerning the omnipotence of the Creator and Mover of the heavenly bodies, and of being confirmed in a due belief and practice of what had been handed by tradition down to men by Noah and his sons; fell into the impious error of esteeming those bodies as gods, and the immediate governors of the world, in subordination, however, to the Deity, who was invisible, but by his works and the effects of his power†. They concluded, then, that God had created the stars, and great luminaries, to govern the world; that he had accordingly placed them on high, and substituted them his ministers; that it was but just and natural they should be praised, honoured, and extolled; and that it was even the will of God they should be magnified, feared, and worshipped, just as a king desires his servants should be respected in honour of himself.

Their religion. Chaldees their priests.

Are the authors of the Sabian religion.

Persuaded of these notions, they began to build temples, or sacella, to the stars; to sacrifice to them; to

First stage of idolatry.

* Dan. i. 10. ii. 5. iii. 19.

† Diod. Sic. Bibl. Hist. lib. ii.

*Second
stage of ido-
latry.*

praise them, and to bow down before them; that, through their means, they might obtain the favour and good-will of God¹; so that they esteemed them as mediators between God and them; for, that there was a necessity for a mediatorial office between God and man, is observed² to have been a notion that generally obtained among mankind from the beginning. Influenced by this doctrine, they became anxious about the most effectual means of making their worship acceptable to the several deities; whence they first began to build temples or tabernacles, dedicated to their service: but, as in matters of this kind there can be no certain form, where there is no immediate revelation, and men, actuated either by fear, or avarice, or ambition, or aught else, had liberty to pretend to what they knew nothing of; in process of time impostors arose, and gave out, that they had had it enjoined and commanded from God himself, that a particular star, or all of them, should be worshipped, and represented under a prescribed form; and that none, of any age or degree, should be exempt from that adoration; and these fictions they impudently obtruded in a solemn manner for revelation. Immediately they began to furnish the facella, tabernacles, or temples, with images; and to erect idols under trees, and upon the tops of hills or mountains; and from henceforward they assembled together to pay them worship, and began to hope for all good, and to dread all evil, as proceeding from them, and to honour them with the deepest reverence: their priests, sensible of the advantages to be derived from such delusions, began to think of the forms to be observed by the credulous and deluded multitude. Other impostors there were, who improved upon the first, and pretended to have been honoured with particular instructions from particular stars, concerning the exact mode of the worship due or peculiar to them, and what ought, and what ought not, to be done to please them; so that, in process of time, the name of God became obliterated among men, and the most stupid idolatry possessed the place of true religion³.

Such was the rise and progress of idolatry, and such were the original Sabian doctrines; which, taking root first among the Chaldeans, afterwards spread their branches so far as to overshadow, at one time, all the nations of the

¹ Rab. Mos. Maim. in more Nevoch.

and the authors he cites, Pococke, Golius, Hotting. Hyde.

² See Prideaux, and ³ Rab. Mos. Maimonid. ubi sup. Vide Prideaux, ibid. p. 178.

East. For it must be difficult to conceive how men could have been led into so gross an absurdity, as to worship, wood, stone, or metal, formed and fashioned by their own hands, if it be not at the same time allowed, that they imagined their images to have been animated or informed with a supernatural power, by some supernatural means.

The first image-worshippers did not pretend to pay adoration to uninformed wood, stone, or metal; and the Sabians, in their transition from planet-worship to image-worship, pretended to have infused the virtues of the planet into the image by which it was represented. This transfusion they thought to effect by forms of consecration, and by various incantations; to draw down from the stars their several intelligencies into their respective idols: hence arose all the foolish superstition of telems, or talismans; and upon these pretended principles of communicative operation all the branches of magic and sorcery must have had their foundation.

That this was the first origin of image-worship, is evident; and that it was derived from the heavenly bodies, the most conspicuous and glorious to sight, is evident by the primary gods of the heathens in general, which are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Venus, and Diana; by which we can understand no other than the sun and moon, and the five greatest luminaries next to them^b.

This was the religion of the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Mesopotamians, even before the days of Abraham; nay, in the days of Enos, the son of Seth^c, whose descendants are said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy. The Sabians themselves boast the origin of their religion from Seth, and pretending to have been denominated from a son of his called Sabius, as also to have among them a book, which they call the book of Seth^d.

Such was the state of the old Babylonian religion, till those people came to deify mortal men, as well as the celestial bodies. In this extravagance we are apt to think they were not the first, but that the Syrians, whose empire was confessedly older than either the Assyrian or Babylonian, shewed them the way, by deifying their great kings, Benhadad the second, and Hazael. The learned Prideaux is inclined to think, that the first Sabians, or idolaters, de-

*Third stage
of idolatry.*

^b See Prideaux, ubi sup.

^c Rab. Mos. Maimonid. ubi

sup. ^d See Prideaux, ubi sup.

scious to have all the mediation possible with the supreme God; and imagining that good men had a power with him to intercede for them, deified many of those they thought to be such; and that thus they increased the number of their gods.

*Pul meant
by Belus.*

Ninus is said to have been the first who set up images to be worshipped, and particularly one to his father Belus*. Who this Ninus should have been but Tiglath-Pileser, the son of Pul, or Belus in Scripture, we know not: and therefore we must conclude, that Pul was the first worshipped in those parts as god; and that consequently he, who was the undoubted founder both of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, and no other, was the boasted Belus of the later Babylonians, Phœnicians, and others, over whom the descendants of his family extended the dominion he had founded.

His temple.

This Belus had a temple erected to him in the city of Babylon, and was revered as their primary god, he being the first founder of all the Assyrian and Babylonian grandeur, and source of all the reverence and adoration claimed by his successors, both at Babylon and Nineveh. To him they erected the tower we have formerly described, so famous in all ages; though it should seem, that the honour of this tower, or temple, was meant to be divided between him and the true God. This building, as we have observed before, consisted of eight towers raised upon one another; and in the uppermost was a bed magnificently set forth, and a golden table near it, but no image; nor was any person suffered to be here in the night but a particular woman, who, as the priests gave out, was in an especial manner preferred by the god before all others. In this place they affirmed he used to come and repose himself; so that they must have considered him as the supreme God, who either could not be represented, or would not bear the presumption in them of attempting his resemblance. But beneath this there was another temple, where there was a gigantic image of Jupiter (Belus), all of gold, with a table before him, of the same metal; his throne was gold also, as was all the furniture about him: insomuch that the whole work was valued at eight hundred talents of gold. This, it seems, was not the only statue in this temple; for we read of another, all of solid gold, twelve cubits in height†; but, whether our au-

*Partly e-
rected to
him, and
partly to
the true
God.*

* Ambr. in Epist. ad Roman. cap. i.
180, 182, 183.

† Herodot. lib. i. cap.

that really designs to describe two distinct idols, by giving the weight of the one, and the dimensions of the other; or whether he gives the weight and dimensions above, as belonging to one and the same, is not quite clear.

However, this great Jupiter, who we think cannot be any other than the great Pul, or Belus, by being thus placed in subordination to the great and supreme God, was exalted to the utmost height to which they could raise him; for this elevation must have implied, that Belus, or Pul, divided the empire of the universe with him, and that, as he was Lord above, the other was lord below; that, as the former was the God of heaven, the other was at least delegated god on earth, and invested with all power here, by the immediate appointment of the invisible Ruler of all things. Thus much, we think, we may infer from the account we have of the temple of Babylon (T); and the rather, as it is of a piece with their other superstitions, and suits the character of their first warrior Belus.

As there were two gods in this temple and tower, there belonged to it also two altars; which stood without, one of gold, of a moderate size, and another much larger; upon the golden altar none but sucking victims might be sacrificed; and on the other, none that were not full grown; concerning which particulars we leave the reader to make his own conjectures; only observing, that as they were evidently two distinct gods, they sacrificed to, the golden altar seems to have been devoted to the supreme God, and the other to his subordinate, Jupiter; for by the sucking victims they seem to have meant, that they peculiarly belonged to him as the nourisher of all things, and that the full grown sacrifices being brought to per-

The two altars, and the different sacrifices upon them.

(T) It may be disputed, whether or no the Babylonians did not actually mean the sun, rather than God himself. We are told, they never represented the sun, or, at least, that the Syrians never did, who derived their religion from these people, concluding it ridiculous to represent what was so gloriously conspicuous; and we have supposed, that they sometimes paid adoration to the sun and moon immediately; but it does not seem likely, that these Babylonians should ever pretend, that the sun himself was wont to come and repose himself upon the top of this tower, as we have seen; they never could have persuaded the people to that absurdity; so that, if they had not an immediate view to the great God, in thus leaving his temple free from images, they must have designed it for the intelligence of the sun, and that may, with them, have amounted nearly, to the same thing.

section

fection, he committed them to the care and government of his vicegerent below. But, as here they plainly sacrificed to them separately, they at other times seem to have sacrificed to them in common: for, the priests reckoned, that they, every year, upon the great altar, burnt an hundred thousand talents of libanotus, or precious incense: this may seem to have been intended for both; but, that it may as likely have been intended as an acknowledgment from Belus to the God above him, might be conjectured, were we fond of such conjectures.

Such was the god Belus among the Babylonians, and such his temple, and the rank he held in it: but, that he was the inventor of astrology, as some writers pretend, must not be wondered at, after what has been attributed to his daughter-in-law Semiramis, as we have partly seen already, and shall see farther in a more proper place. This Belus or Baal must not be confounded with the others we read of in Scripture, before the rise of the Assyrian empire, as the Baal-Peor of the Moabites, the Baal, or Moloch, of the Ammonites; the title signifies *lord* with all these people, who are those particularly that are said to "have passed their seed through fire," and meant thereby the sun, whose heat being, as it were, the life of all things, they accounted the heat of fire to be sacred; which must have been one of the first doctrines of the Sabians in Chaldæa (U), by whom, as we have said, this error was first broached, and communicated, by degrees, to the nations round about. This appears by what we read of Abraham, who left his country on the other side of the Euphrates, on account of the idolatries of the land; and, to avoid them, came into the land of Canaan, where he found the sentiments and practices of men more conformable to religion, and the duties we owe to God: for Melchisedek was then alive in Canaan, and styled the Priest of the most high God; and the people there were, for the most part, in a state of purity in matters of religion, as all the nations about must also have been; nay, in those days we do not find, that even Egypt was much, if at all, infected with idolatry: the charge of the Greeks against the Egyptians, as the first authors of idolatry, is plainly confuted by the book of Genesis, which sufficiently

z Herodot. lib. i. cap. 183.

(U) The religion of the fire, was derived from the Sarmagicians, who worshipped bians.

informs

informs us, that, while the country on the other side of the Euphrates was thoroughly polluted with all abominations, the countries on this side were, as yet, strangers to them. Nothing then is plainer, than that the religion of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, and Philistines, was only the old Sabaian religion of the Chaldees.

But, upon the building of Babylon by the Assyrians, the old religion, it seems, fell into some discredit, and especially the more inferior branches of it; nor can it well be doubted, but that, if ever they had, before the days of Pul, deified any heroes, he must have soared above them all, since they were not, properly speaking, Babylonian gods, the city of Babylon not being built in their time. For all authors allow Belus to have been the immediate founder of the Assyrian greatness, and therefore deified: who this Belus was, we may find in Scripture; and what we find there is confirmed by Ptolemy's Canon; and therefore we are not to look so far back as Nimrod, or any man else that lived a thousand years or more after him. From what we have said it appears, that by Bel or Baal, the Babylonians understood either the sun, or their founder Pul; but, whether or no they transformed him into the sun, or whether they kept the worship of their planet, and their hero, so distinct as never to confound them with each other, is a question which we will not take upon us to decide.

The deity, next in order to this, seems to have been the same with the Venus of later days in the West; and that she was no other than the goddess Astarte, of the Phœnicians, may be gathered from what follows. Succoth-Benoth is mentioned as an idol of the Babylonians^b, though it was rather the shrine of an idol belonging to some deity, which deity we have since translated into Venus; for the import of the word is, *the Tabernacle of Benoth*, or, *the Tabernacles of the Daughters*^c: though there are those who render it, *a Tabernacle of Wings*^d; supposing the idol itself to have been represented as a hen brooding over her chickens, and that she was designed in honour of the constellation called vulgarly the Hen and Chickens, but more learnedly, the Pleiades; but this seems an idle and groundless notion. It is more likely, that those Tabernacles of the Daughters belonged to Venus, whom the Babylonians styled Mylitta^e,

Succoth-Benoth, the Assyrian Venus.

^b Vide 2 Kings xvii. 30.

^c Selden de Diis Syr. Syntagm. ii. cap. 7.

^d Kimchi & Jarchi, apud eund. ibid.

^e Herodot.

lib. i. cap. 131.

The derivations of the name of Venus.

signifying *mother*, and the Greeks, *Urania*; for it was to her that the daughters or women of the country were, once in their lives, bound to make a sacrifice of their modesty and virtue; a practice which we shall find among the customs of this people. From this practice Selden thinks he may well conclude the Assyrian *Benoth* to have been no other than *Venus*; nay, he derives the latter name from the former, by changing the *B* into *V*, and *t* into *s*, and thereby forming *Venos* (*B*). This opinion is, in some degree, countenanced by *Suidas*, who seems to call the Assyrian goddess *Binos*^c. We may add, that in Africa was a town called *Sicca Venerea*, with a temple, in which women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies^d. This practice observed here in honour of *Venus*, and so near a-kin to that which obtained among the Babylonians in honour of their *Succoth Benoth*, are a strong proof, that they were one and the same goddess; nay, and that the name of *Sicca Venerea* was formed from that of *Succoth Benoth*. This goddess had a temple at *Aphac*, at *Babylon*, and probably in other places; but, for the convenience of those who had no such temples among them, the priests, it seems, carried about small tabernacles, or models of different temples, consulting, at the same time, the devotion of the people, and their own interest.

Both masculine and feminine.

This god, or goddess, for she is understood to have been both *Mars* and *Venus*, though here placed second to *Belus*, is generally understood to have been of much greater antiquity than he; but this opinion is grounded upon a supposition, that the profane historians, poets, and mythologists, are not out in their computations. If that supposition be allowed, the authority of *Æschylus* is alleged to prove her antiquity; for that poet calls *Phœnice* the land of *Aphrodite* or *Venus*: and his scholiast adds, that it was called sacred to her on account of her temple at *Aphac*. But this argument carries no great strength with it; for the Assyrians, of whom the Phœnicians had this *Venus*, are not, and consequently neither is their goddess, near so ancient as is pretended.

We have seen, by some parallel circumstances, that she was, to all appearance, the same with the Phœnician *As-*

^c *Suidas*, ad vocem.

^d *Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. 6.*

(B) *Vossius* subscribes to this etymology. *Beyer*, in his *Additamenta* to *Selden*, disputes it, though with no great strength of argument.

farte; and we shall produce several others, to confirm this conjecture. In the mean time, to begin with this Benoth, from whom the whole tribe of great goddesses seem to be derived; she is called the celestial Venus, and said to have been first worshipped by the Assyrians^d; whereby though our author probably means the Syrians, properly so called, we shall plainly discover, that the former were the first authors of this worship, and transmitted it to the latter. This goddess was of both sexes; and accordingly she was worshipped by her votaries sometimes in the attire of men, and sometimes in that of women, the men and women mutually changing dresses with each other^e; whence it is supposed, that Moses “forbids the woman to wear what pertaineth to man; or a man to put on a woman’s garment^f.” From this prohibition, it appears that the worship of this planet, or idol, must have been of very ancient date; and that the words of the text before us, are meant of this mode of worshipping, is understood by Maimonides, who observes, that in the book of magic, composed by one Centir, it is written, that a man should put on the flowered garments of a woman, when he stood before the star of Venus, and a woman use the arms and armour of a man, when she stood before the star called Mars^g; and hence the Assyrian priests are said to have been unfit to wait on the goddess Venus, except they effeminated their countenance, and assumed all the softness and dress of a woman^h. A Greek author^k, who calls her the moon, says, that men sacrificed to her in the habit of women, and women in the habit of men; because she was both masculine and feminine, whereby it is plain, that he speaks of the Assyrian Venus. That this Urania, or celestial Venus, of the Assyrians was the moon, cannot be doubted, by the rank she holds next to Bel, or the sun; that she was likewise the Syrian goddess, is no less plain from the description we have of the latter, and also from her rites.

A rite in the worship of the Assyrian or Babylonian Venus.

She was called Juno, and her statue was contrived so as to partake of the attributes of Minerva, Venus, Luna, Rhea, Diana, Nemesis, and the Destinies, as if she included them all; and that she did, has been sufficiently proved^l. She was drawn or supported by lions, had rays on her

She is the same with the great Syrian goddess.

^d Pausan. in Attic.

^e Vide Selden de Diis Syr. Syntagm.

ii. cap. 4.

^f Deut. xxii. 5.

^g Maim. in more Nevoch.

par. iii. cap. 38.

^h Jul. Firmic. cap. 4.

^k Philochr.

apud Macrob. Saturnal. iii. cap. 8.

^l Vide Lil. Gyrald. de

Diis Gent. Selden, de Diis Syr. Vof. de Idololatr.

head, and a tower, and was girt with the cestus or girdle of the celestial Venus. As she was designed for the source of all idolatry, with respect to the female sex, we find her equally honoured by Egyptians, Indians, Ethiopians, Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians, who all came in pilgrimage to this mighty goddess of Hierapolis, or the Holy City, which, in this respect, seems to have succeeded the city of Babylon, whence she had been banished by the Persians. Her eunuch-priests, by taking on them the offices and habit of women, declare her to have been the same with the Assyrian Mylitta; and the Babylonians, by paying liberal contributions to her, abundantly confirm this opinion.

She is the same with the Astarte of the Phœnicians.

If it is plain on one side, that this great Syrian goddess was no other than the celestial Venus of the Assyrians; it is no less manifest on the other, that she must have been the Phœnician Astarte. We have seen her the Queen of Heaven, the Moon, Lucifer, Juno, Venus, Minerva, and Io, and married to an Assyrian. We have seen her the goddess of pleasure, and the god of war, and accordingly addressed to under both sexes. It would therefore be needless to allege the monstrous effeminacies of the men at Aphac, or the mercenary prostitution of the women at Byblus, to prove that the one of these goddesses is a faithful copy of the other.

She is the same with Derceto of Afcalon.

Nor shall we find, that the Atargatis, or Derceto, of the proper Palestine in general, or of Afcalon in particular, was any other than the Babylonian or Assyrian Venus. For although she is supposed distinct from the great Venus, and is said to have incurred her displeasure, and in consequence to have been transformed into a fish; the worship that was paid to fishes, under the eye of the great goddess at Hierapolis, declares Derceto and the Babylonian Venus to have been one and the same deity; and this is not conjecture only, for a very judicious author assures us, that Atargatis was worshipped at Hierapolis; and thereby makes her the same with the Syrian goddess^m. Others are of the same opinionⁿ, and among them Macrobius^o, who styles her the mother of the gods, Astarte, and the Hierapolitan or Assyrian goddess. In short, Atargatis was Venus, Juno, Minerva, Astarte the Syrian goddess^p, and consequently the celestial Venus of the Assyrians. So that we see her the same goddess transported

^m Vide Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 748.

ⁿ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 23. ^o Macrobi. in Saturn. i. cap. 23. ^p Selden, ubi supra.

from the banks of the Euphrates, into which she is said first to have plunged herself, to escape the fury of the inexorable Typhon⁹ (C); and but just varied so far as to leave room for each particular country to claim her origin. So the Syrians, who seem to have received her first, and were nearest to the place of her native abode, preserved her, it is likely, in the most genuine form; the Phœnicians, who were next, altered her no farther than to make her a Phœnician; and the Philistines, or Ascalonites, who were a little farther off, that they too might make her their own, turned her into a monster, woman upwards and fish downwards; rather than not have her, they were willing to allow her to have been in subordination to some other goddess, who had such a power over her as to chastise her by a metamorphosis from her first shape.

It appears, then, that the worship paid to this goddess came originally from Assyria and Babylonia; and was established in the countries we have mentioned, by the prevailing power of those two empires; but they being overturned by the Persians, who had an aversion to Sabianism, each of them, forgetting the source whence they derived their superstitions, claimed them as peculiar to themselves, and new-modelled them accordingly.

And now it may not be amiss to enquire, how far the tradition concerning Semiramis agrees with what we are told of this goddess. In this inquiry we shall find several circumstances concurring to induce us to believe she was worshipped as the supreme goddess of the Babylonians. We have seen her born of a goddess at Ascalon, who, for shame of conceiving her, plunged herself into a lake, and became a fish; and hence fish are said to have been worshipped. We have seen her miraculously fed by doves or pigeons in a desert; and hence that bird became sacred. We have seen it foretold, that she should not die, but vanish from the sight of men, and obtain divine honours from the Asiatic nations. We have seen it was pretended she disappeared in the form of a dove, and went off attended by a flight of them; and hence another reason is given why the dove became sacred. We have seen her

Is worshipped as Semiramis.

9 Manil. Astronom. iv.

(C) We see here Typhon introduced into the Babylonian mythology, though he was an Egyptian; but we may perceive, by some parallel circumstances, that there was no very wide difference between the religions of the two nations.

the abandoned prostitute, and the martial heroine; and hence she may have been the celestial Venus adored under both sexes, and the Phœnician Astarte, now painted in armour, and now represented as the patroness of lewdness and effeminacy. In short, we have seen her the first that made eunuchs; and hence we may have the origin of the eunuch-priests, or Galli, who attended upon the Syrian goddess; an origin certainly more probable than what is pretended in the idle story of Combabus and Stratonice, who lived some hundred years after Semiramis.

Upon the whole, we may well conclude, that the celestial Venus of the Assyrians, the Astarte of the Phœnicians, and the Derceto or Atargatis of the later Philistines, were all derived from Semiramis, or whatever else her true name was, the first foundress of Babylon; who seems to have been translated into the Queen of Heaven, the moon, as Belus or Pul, the first Assyrian monarch, was changed into the sun; that all the Jupiters and Junos, and the rest who are supposed to have been once mortal, or conversant here on earth, are derived from this source; and that, on this Assyrian or Babylonian foundation, the whole superstructure of the Greek polytheism and idolatry was raised. For the Greeks had their religion from the Phœnicians partly, and partly from the Egyptians, who derived theirs originally from the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, as may be gathered from the religious state of the countries on either side of the Euphrates in the days of Abraham, as we have hinted before. The Egyptians seem in time, indeed, to have erected a system of their own, though not very widely different from the Babylonian, as will plainly appear if we compare them together. The Phœnicians, who had equally communication with the two nations, seem to have mixed both systems; in short, Astarte, who was the celestial Venus of the Babylonians, was also the Egyptian goddess Isis, there being scarce any difference between these two great and ancient nations, in the main points of religion, or with respect to their chief and favourite gods, except in the names they have conferred on them, in order to appropriate them to themselves. Nothing appears in history more plain, than a perfect uniformity in the fundamentals of religion among the nations on both sides the Euphrates. If, therefore, we fix the place whence they were branched, we have, at the same time, a clue at hand to guide us through the immense labyrinth of heathenism and idolatry; but, for want of a due attention to the natural progress of idolatry, our mythologists have

have rambled back to Noah, to Nimrod, and all the post-diluvian patriarchs, to discover in them what is designed for men who lived many ages after. Thus they have most strangely perplexed this part of learning, but too intricate in itself; and cast an impenetrable mist on this part of history, which ought to be looked upon as fabulous, if we make a few exceptions, till about the rise of the Babylonian empire, in the reign of Josiah king of Judah; for not only the art or method of writing a regular history was not discovered, or at least practised, till the days of Herodotus, who lived about the middle of the Persian empire; but the gods of all these nations being supposed to have been once mere men, the priests and others had no other way to recommend them to the veneration of the people, but by making them ancient and fabulous, and by these means removing them as far as possible from the then race of mankind. If we had no other instance of this practice than Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history, it would be abundantly sufficient to justify us in what we say; and, if we had no other example of this affectation than that of the Syrians in the days of Josephus, boasting of the antiquity of their great god Adad, who reigned about nine hundred years before Christ, it might be deemed enough for our purpose: and here we cannot but note a common inaccuracy even in the most learned, who, inattentive to the history of the ancient empire of Syria, suppose this Adad to have been an Assyrian or Babylonian deity^a; for no other reason but because he is, by profane authors, called an Assyrian, forgetting that the name of Assyria extended itself all over Syria, and the adjacent parts. He was then, to all appearance, no Babylonian deity, but one who had been deified by the ancient Syrians, and perhaps revived again after the destruction of the Babylonian empire, whose new gods must have brought him into discredit, not only as having proved too weak for the gods of the Assyrians and Babylonians, but also as being a stranger to the people transplanted into those parts, in the room of the first inhabitants, by the successors of Pul. Adad, thus degraded, and afterwards reinstated, was also the sun, as well as Bel or Baal, Osiris, and others. This dissertation is what we have thought necessary to premise to what we shall hereafter say of the Greek mythology.

Adad not properly a Babylonian deity.

To return to our celestial Venus, or Syrian goddess, or Astarte, or Derceto, or Semiramis, we find that fishes,

^a Lil. Gyrald. Hist. Deor. Selden, de Diis Syr. Voss. de Idololat.

*Fishes and
doves wor-
shipped,
and
whence.*

and doves were peculiarly sacred to her. Whence this superstition took birth, we have partly seen in the metamorphosis of Derceto, and the birth, education, and apotheosis of Semiramis. We have likewise seen, that both at Ascalon and Hierapolis they were equally revered; so that they may well deserve to be considered as deities with this people. As for fishes in particular, they are said to have been revered by the Syrians, or rather the Assyrians, not only on account of the metamorphosis above mentioned^r, but also because they were said to have saved one Derce (Derceto), a daughter of Venus, who happened to fall into the sea, or because she took refuge among the fish, when she fled from Typhon^s: for it is said, that Venus and Cupid being surprised by that giant on the banks of the Euphrates, they plunged into that river, and transformed themselves into fishes^t: in short, Venus and Cupid are said to have been translated into the zodiacal sign, called Pisces^u: such were the reasons given why they not only abstained from fish, but even worshipped them. As for doves, they seem to have been worshipped only as symbols of the voluptuous character of their goddesses (U).

Salambo.

Salambo, as she is called, was also a goddess of the Assyrians or Babylonians; and is plainly Astarte, or some other goddess whom we have shewn to have been the same with her; but we particularly mention Astarte, because this Salambo, or Slambas, is said to have been a goddess, who was eternally roaming up and down, and mourning her lost Adonis^x.

Sheshach.

Shach, Saca, or Sheshach, is another god or goddess of the Babylonians, as usually reckoned^y, and supposed to have been the earth, the same the Romans afterwards worshipped under the name of Tellus and Ops^z; and, if so, she was partly the same with Mylitta, or the Syrian goddess, whom we have already seen under the title of Rhea, and the mother of the gods, in whom all these titles and imaginary

^r Theop. apud Gyrard. Hist. Deor. Syntagm. i. p. 85.

^u Manil. ubi supra.

^t Diogenet. apud Hygin. in Astronom.

^s Voss.

^u de Idololat. lib. ii. p. 254.

^x Hesych. apud Selden & alios Ety-

^y mol. Magn. ad vocem.

^z Vide Voss. Selden, &c.

^z Willet

upon Dan. i. 16.

(U) This goddess is said to have been produced from a vast egg, which, being rolled out of the water by the fish of the Euphrates, was hatched by a dove. This must have been the primigenial egg men-

tioned by Helladius; and, according to this supposition, our great goddess must have been the fabulous Oannes, concerning which we have nothing to repeat.

deities

deities are said plainly to have centred. Some, however, have doubted, whether she was not more properly a Persian than a Babylonian goddess. But the prophet leaves no room for such a doubt, calling Babylon the Land of Sheshach^a, before the Persians arose to any height of power; and at a time when Babylon was above receiving any thing of this nature from them. In commemoration of this goddess, the Babylonians used to celebrate a festival for several days together, which we shall take notice of among the customs of this people, and which confessedly gave birth to the Saturnalia at Rome.

Nebo, or Nabo, was also an Assyrian or Babylonian deity; *Nebo.* and partly of his name are compounded the names of several of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings: he, therefore, may be concluded to have once been in high account with them, and bids fair to have been one of their most ancient gods. He is thought to have been the Chemosh, or the Baal-Peor of the Moabites. By the prophet Isaiah he is joined with Bel, that is, according to us, the deified Pul, who may, by the vicissitude of things, have taken place of him. Some, from those two deities being joined together, conclude Nebo to have been the moon, since Bel, was undoubtedly the sun^b. This Nebo seems to have been famous as an oracle, his name being interpreted as signifying *prophecy* or *divination*^c; but this notion, and whatever else may be advanced concerned him, is too obscure for us to discuss: all we know for certain is, that he was one of the gods of Babylon.

However, if it be true that he was the same with Chemosh, or Baal-Peor, or Phegor; and if what is said of the obscene rites of this god be just, we may, with some probability assert, that the famous, or, according to the common notion, the infamous, Sardanapalus took the place of this shameless idol, in the latter days of the Assyrian family; and that, to all appearance, the Babylonians converted him into this god, when they destroyed the city of Nineveh, and the Assyrian empire; for that he was a god of theirs is evident enough, by the place they give him in the same temple with the Babylonian Venus at Hierapolis, the Holy City. We find him there in a particular habit and attitude; and, as all the kings of Assyria were deified, he might have been honoured as the god of pleasure and debauchery. This seems to be intimated by the common way of spelling his name in ancient manu- *Sardanapalus.*

^a Jer. li. 41.

^b Vide Voss. de Idololat.

^c Hieronym. in Isai. scripts,

scripts, with a double L ^a, and seemingly with an allusion to Phallus, or Pallus: hence Cicero thought his name no less odious than his character ^b; and the priapus which stood near him, in the temple at Hierapolis, may have been intended as a symbol of his character.

Rach. Other gods the Babylonians and Assyrians had, as Rach ^c, who is generally thought to have been intended for the sun, and therefore may be ranked with the great Pul, or Belus.

Nego and Nergal. Nego ^d and Nergal were also gods of this people, if they were not one and the same; but, as they are generally agreed to have been worshipped as fire, we forbear farther mention of them, till we come to the religion of the Magians.

Merodach. Merodach also was a god at Babylon; but, concerning him we are quite in the dark.

In a word, we may call in the gods of the several nations, whose histories we have already given, to complete the list of the Babylonian idols; for they are confessedly sprung from the city of Babylon; and hence it is, that Maimonides, in speaking of the death of Thammuz, who died a martyr to the Sabian religion, relates, that all the idols of the world flew to the great temple of the Sun, at Babylon, and there mourned the death of Thammuz.

Thus we have seen, that the Jupiters, and other gods and goddesses of mortal origin, came from the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris; and that, instead of being so ancient as mythologists and historians make them, they began to be worshipped not above nine hundred years before the birth of Christ.

Fire worship. The Sabians, as well as the Magians, had a veneration for fire; and therefore we might here consider them in that light, did we not reserve that subject for the section where we shall speak of the Magian religion, in the history of the Persians.

The story of Bel and the Dragon might here claim a place, were we not well assured, that the whole is spurious. We therefore only add, that by the dragon we should understand a *serpent* or *asp*, which the Babylonians used as the symbol of God, for which they had several reasons to give; as that this creature, without the assistance of limbs, and by a kind of virtue or power latent

^a Vide Jos. Scalig. Animadvers. ad Græc. Euseb. p. 64. ^b De Republ. lib. iii. ^c Vide Willet, ubi supra. Seld. de Diis Syr. Syntagm. ii, cap. 17. ^d Vide eisd. ibid.

within itself, could not only move at a considerable rate, but also wind and turn itself into various forms; that it lived to a great age, and, as it were, renewed its life with its coat every year; and that the acuteness of its sight might aptly enough qualify it to represent divine Providence, or God ^k.

The Babylonians agreed with the Egyptians in most articles of religion, especially in the worship they paid to fishes, to the goat, and to the onion, which, as mean an object as it may seem, was adored by both nations ^l.

Of their god Thurras, Thourias, or Mars, we have spoken already; and refer the reader, for the other religious rites and ceremonies of this people, to what we have said of the religion of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Canaanites, Syrians, Phœnicians, and Assyrians.

We have a general view given us of their temples, idols, and priests, in the epistle of Jeremiah. Their idols were of gold, of silver, and of wood; and carried about in procession. They were crowned, and cloathed in purple, and black with the smoke of incense. Their temples were full of smoke and dust, raised by the numerous resort of votaries. The priests made sometimes free with the gold and silver presented to their gods, and either kept it for themselves, or bestowed it upon lewd prostitutes, who were accounted sacred. Whatever was offered a sacrifice to their gods, they were wont to embezzle, and appropriate to themselves; and clothe their wives and children with the garments that had been given to adorn their idols. In return for these spoils, they were sure to light up numbers of tapers and candles to their images, and to sit in the temples with their beards and heads close shaven, uncovered, and with garments rent and torn, crying out before their gods as for the lamentation of some person deceased.

Their temples, idols, and priests.

The Babylonians having given rise to all the idolatries and superstitions that prevailed among the neighbouring nations, we must charge them with the horrible custom of sacrificing human victims to appease or conciliate their deities. That this custom prevailed among most of those nations, is manifest from the accounts we have given of them; and it is no less manifest, that it took birth among the Babylonians, who communicated the rest of their su-

Human victims.

^k Vide Voss. de Idololatr. lib. ix. p. 233.
^l Alexand. lib. vi.

^l Alexand. ab.

perditions to all their neighbours. This practice, however, grew so shocking to human nature, that it seems, in the later days, at the least, of the Babylonians, to have been confined to a particular sect or tribe. For the Sepharvites are said, by way of distinction from the other Babylonians, to "have burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim". That these Sepharvites were Babylonians, properly so called, would be past all doubt, should we agree, with the most learned geographers, that their city was that of Sippara in Ptolemy. Be that as it will, there are traces of this ancient cruelty to be discerned in the worship and rites of the Syrian, or rather Assyrian goddess at Hierapolis, to whom parents, without remorse, sacrificed their children, by throwing them down a precipice in her temple.

We have already declared in the history of Egypt, what we know concerning the intent and meaning of this idolatry; and therefore shall only add here, that, if the Babylonians, and others after them, in making gods of the sun, moon, or any other luminary, extended their view to the whole system of nature in the worship they paid to their great deities, or, by them, meant the earth itself, the air, or any other element, or created being, the whole must be attributed to a kind of mistaken gratitude at first for benefits received, which at length degenerated into the most stupid idolatry. Thus much of idolatry; and lest we could not have said in this place, where the whole seems to centre, and where the whole, or at least great part of it, may be fixed to a chronological æra, which may be of use to us hereafter, in speaking of those deities, or some borrowed from them in climes far remote.

Their customs.

Sale of virgins.

It is now time to speak of the customs of the Assyrians and Babylonians; and, of these, one of the chief seems to have been their method of disposing of their young women in marriage. No man seems to have had a right to dispose of his own daughters; but, as soon as they were fit to marry, they, with others, were exposed in some public place appointed for the purpose, where, in the midst of a crowd of men, who attended upon these occasions, they were sold one by one. The most beautiful were first put up, and delivered to the highest bidder. When all who were valuable for their charms were thus disposed of, the money, that was raised by this sale, was applied in behalf of some of them, to whom nature had

not been so lavish of her exterior gifts. These were then offered to such as would take the least money with them; and the poorer sort, who valued money more than beauty, were as eager in underbidding, as the wealthy men had before been in overbidding each other for the fair. The consequence of this practice was, that their young women were all disposed of in marriage; the poorer sort of the men were obliged to give security, that they would take those they had chosen, before they were in possession of the money they had agreed to take with them ².

The Babylonians thought themselves polluted even by the use of matrimony; and therefore were not allowed to touch any thing after it, till they had purified themselves by perfuming and washing their bodies ³. *Purification.*

Every Babylonian woman was once in her life-time bound to prostitute herself to a strange man at the temple of Venus. They were crowned with knots and garlands, and ranged in long ranks before the temple, each rank being parted from the other by a line, that the men might conveniently pass between them, and choose those they liked best. They declared their choice by throwing money into the lap of the woman they most admired, and saying as they threw it, "I implore the goddess Mylitta for thee." The money, how little soever, was by no means to be refused, being accounted sacred; nor had the woman the power of rejecting any man that accosted her in the form prescribed; but she was absolutely to retire with him without delay. Having thus fulfilled the law, and performed some ceremonies in honour of the goddess, she returned home; and nothing could tempt her to grant the same favours again to her new lover. Women of rank (for none were dispensed with) might be conveyed to the appointed place in a covered vehicle, and remain in it ^b, while their servants waited their return at some distance. *Prostitution to Venus.*

For five days together, every year, they celebrated a festival they called Sacca, or Sacea, during which the servants commanded their masters, one of them being, for the time, constituted chief over the house, and wearing a kind of royal garment which they called zogana ^c. *Festival of Sacca.*

Their manner of treating their sick was very extraordinary. Having no physicians among them, it was their custom to expose them publicly in the most frequented *Manner of treating the sick, and burials.*

² Herodot. lib. i. cap. 196. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 745. ^a Herodot. ibid. cap. 198. Strabo ibid. ^b Herodot. cap. 199. Strabo, ibid. ^c Beros. apud Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xiv. p. 639.

places, that all passengers might see them, and offer their advice, if they had any knowledge of the case, either from their own experience, or from the experience of others; nor was it lawful for any that passed by to omit this office. Their dead they embalmed with honey and wax, and mourned for them much after the manner of the Egyptians^p.

Babylonians, their character.

The Babylonians were excessively credulous, superstitious, and as lewd and debauched as a nation could be. Their credulity must appear from the high veneration they had for their Chaldeans, priests, or jugglers; and their superstition appears from what we have said of their religion. They were so prone to idolatry, that we even find an instance of their great Nebuchadnezzar's falling down before Daniel to worship him^q. Debauchery reigned among them without controul; their princes, on whom it was incumbent to restrain it, transgressing all the bounds of decency and moderation. Their religion, as inculcated by their priests, together with the reverence paid to prostitutes, prove them to have been the most sensual and abandoned race that can be imagined. Parents and husbands did not scruple to expose for money their wives and children to the embraces of their guests. Drunkards they are particularly said to have been; and their women were admitted to their debaucheries, who upon these occasions, first appeared modest and reserved, till, putting off their cloaths by degrees, they at length appeared quite naked; and this indecency was practised both by the married women and the maids, who thought it good breeding thus to display all their charms without reserve^r.

Their habit.

They seem to have affected pride and effeminacy in their drefs; their under garment was a linen vest, hanging down to their heels, over which they had another of woollen, and, over all, a white mantle or cloke. They wore their own hair; their heads were adorned with a tiara or mitre, and their bodies anointed all over with oil of sesame^s. Every individual wore a seal-ring on the finger, and in the hand a wrought staff, or sceptre, adorned at the head with some particular ensign or figure, as an apple, or rose, or lily, or eagle, or some such emblem. On their feet they wore a kind of slippers. Of their attire some traces are still to be found in the figures remaining at Persepolis, as we shall observe hereafter.

^p Herodot. lib. i. cap. 198. Strabo, lib. xvi. *ibid.* ^q Dan. ii. 46. ^r Quint. Curt. lib. v. cap. 1. ^s Herodot. *ubi supra*, cap. 195. Strabo, *ubi supra*, p. 745.

The Babylonians were famed for learning, particularly the Chaldæans, who constituted their priests, philosophers, astronomers, astrologers, and soothsayers; and, in respect of this pretended claim to learning and supernatural knowledge, the Chaldees are distinguished from the Babylonians, and are said to have inhabited a region peculiar to themselves, next to the Arabians, and the Persian gulf. They were divided into several sects, as the Orcheni, the Borsipenni; and known by other names of distinction, borrowed either from particular places, where different doctrines, on the same points, were taught, or from particular persons, who held doctrines peculiar to themselves. Many of their learned men were famous, and known by name among the Greeks, as Adena, Naburian, Sudin, and many others ^a.

*Learning
of the Chal-
dees.*

We have already related their strange fable concerning their first instructor Oannes; and shall now add, that by what is said of his inventions, and useful communications to men, he may have been the Egyptian Isis, or Osiris, or both. Be that as it will, the report of Oannes's appearance in Chaldæa, and his coming out of the sea, has given birth to an opinion, that Osiris and Oannes were at least contemporaries; and that the Babylonians had all their learning from the Egyptians, not much earlier than the days of Ammon, and Sefac, or Shishak, whom Sir Isaac Newton ^o supposes to have been the same with Sesostris, or not long before the days of David and Solomon. To support this opinion, he exhibits the testimony of several ancient authors, one of whom relates ^p, that the Egyptian Belus, the son of Neptune and Libya, carried colonies from Egypt into Babylonia; and that, settling upon the banks of the Euphrates, he instituted priests with the same privileges as they had in Egypt; and that these were called Chaldæans, and were to observe the stars after the manner of Egypt. Another says ^q, the Babylonian Belus was so called from the Egyptian of that name, the son of Libya. In a word, he concludes, that when Sabacco, the Ethiopian invaded Egypt, multitudes of that country fled from him into Chaldæa, and carried with them their astronomy, astrology, architecture, and the form of their year, which they preserved in the æra of Nabonassar; and, as a

*Whether
they had
their
learning
from the
Egyptians.*

^a Strab. Geograph. lib. xvi. p. 739.
^{Kingd.} amended, p. 210, 211, & seq.
¹ Pausan. lib. iv. cap. 23.

^o Chron. of Anc.
^p Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 17.

farther

farther proof of this assertion, he produces the form of the tower or temple of Belus at Babylon, which was built pretty nearly after the manner of the Egyptian pyramids. All this seems plausible enough.

But may not the preference, thus given by the Greeks to the Egyptians, be owing to their being better acquainted with them than with the Babylonians? May not the Egyptians have imposed upon the Greeks in this point, as they certainly did in point of antiquity? The Jews, Arabians, and Indians have it by tradition, that the Egyptians were instructed in all their knowledge by the Chaldees, namely, by Abraham, who was one of that country. This tradition deserves, at least, as much credit as any tradition of the Egyptians, however credited and adopted by the Greeks; the rather, as it is in some degree confirmed by most of the western writers ascribing the invention of the sidereal knowledge to the Assyrian or Babylonian Belus. The Chaldeans did not own themselves indebted to any other nation for their knowledge, as is manifest from their supposing their first instructor Oannes to have sprung from the primigenial egg. But, not to dwell on so dark a point, let us take a survey of the learning which both nations claimed the glory of inventing.

Their manner of institution.

They acquired not their learning after the manner of the Greeks, but by tradition from father to son; and, being exempt from all offices, their only business was to apply themselves to the instruction they received. They never departed from what they imbibed, fully satisfied of what they received from their ancestors; and by a tenacious adherence to it, they became perfectly skilled in what they professed.

Such was the manner of their institution, such their obstinate adherence to what they had received from their forefathers, that they made little or no progress even in the learning they particularly professed.

Their doctrine about the world.

They taught that the world was eternal; that it never had beginning, and never should have an end. However, they acknowledge a Divine Providence; and owned, that the motions of the heavens were not directed by blind chance, nor performed spontaneously, but by the guidance and direction of superior agents or gods. They are universally said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy, and to have made such progress in that science, as to have not only discovered the motions of the heavenly bodies, but also certain influences they have over things below,

low, and to have thence been able to foretel what was hidden in the womb of futurity¹.

From this science of astrology, they boasted a knowledge of what was to come, a power of averting evil, and procuring good; hence chiefly they were considered as magicians, and, 'as we call them, fortune-tellers'.

They were more astrologers than astronomers.

The planets they called interpreters, and made the greatest account of their influence, particularly that of Saturn; the next in degree of eminence with them was Sol, or the sun; then Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Jupiter, which were all the planets they reckoned: these they called interpreters, because, by their motions and aspects, they in a more evident manner portended the will and pleasure of the gods. They sometimes judged by their rising, sometimes by their setting, and sometimes by the colour or degree of their light; whence they foretold storms of wind, of rain, or excessive droughts, as also the appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, and the whole train of portents relating to the good or bad fortune of nations in general, and of kings and private persons in particular².

Under these six planets they ranged thirty stars, which they called counselling gods; half of these took notice of what was done under the earth, and the other half of what was done by men, or transacted in the heavens. They gave out, that once in ten days one of the superior stars descended to the inferior, as it were a messenger from those above; and that, in return, one of the inferior ascended to the superior in the same quality; and that this mutual correspondence was natural to them, and was to continue for ever. They reported, that the chiefs of these counselling gods were twelve in number; and assigned to each a month of the year, and a whole sign of the zodiac³.

The system of their astrology.

All these stars they affirmed influenced the nativities of men, and foreboded whatever was to happen of evil or good in the course of their lives. Again, out of the zodiac they selected twenty-four stars, and placed twelve of them towards the north pole, and twelve towards the south. Those within our sight they assigned to the living, and the rest they called the stars or constellations of the dead; and these stars they termed the judges of all things: in

¹ Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. ii. p. 82.

² Ibid.

³ Id. ibid.

⁴ Id. ibid.

*Deficient in
astronomy.*

short, the Chaldeans were complete astrologers, and pretended to excel, in that respect, all other nations.

Astronomy, which ought to have taken place of the former, yielded it here, and was, it seems, only cultivated as a science secondary to the other. Accordingly their notions were crude and imperfect. They held the earth to be like a vessel or boat, hollow within, supporting this doctrine by various arguments.

We have seen their division of the zodiac into twelve signs, through which they taught that the several planets performed their revolutions: but they seem to have had no notion of the immense distance of some of the planets from the sun; and accounted for the time they took up in their revolutions, purely by the slowness of their motion; though by their theory of the moon, the contrary should appear; for they taught that she completed her course the soonest of any, not because of her extraordinary velocity, but because her orbit, as we now speak, was less than the orbit of any other body that circumsolved in the heavens. They taught that she shone with a light not her own; and that, when eclipsed, she was immersed in the shadow of the earth. But to account for eclipses of the sun, they were quite at a loss; nor could they fix the time when they would happen*. In short, the whole of their philosophy and learning seems to have been chiefly what we now call judicial astrology; a science unworthy of that name, and as much condemned by the moderns, as it was prized by the ancients.

*Their
boasted
learning
condemned.*

Nor has this boasted knowledge and learning of the Chaldees been arraigned by the moderns only; it has also been condemned by the ancients, as inconsistent with the nature of things, and as implying a fatal necessity, and destroying the freedom of our will†. And this was the mighty learning for which the Chaldeans were so famed; as to become, in a manner, a distinct nation from the Babylonians; and indeed what we have said of their knowledge is confirmed by Scripture; for Daniel, speaking of them, divides them into four classes, viz. magicians, astrologers, forcerers, and Chaldeans, adding afterwards to these wise men, such as divined by lots, or such as foretold events by the inspection of entrails‡. And though some suppose the Chaldeans, as here distinguished from

* Diod. Sic. Bibl. Hist. lib. ii. p. 82.

† Vide Bardeſan. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. vi. cap. 10. p. 273, & alios apud eund. ibid.

‡ Dan. ii. 27.

the five other sorts, to have been a particular sect, of deeper and more solid learning, we may easily perceive that they, as well as the rest, pretended to divination, and were called upon to discover what was concealed from other men. For, as their knowledge was communicated to them by tradition from father to son, what was dark and unintelligible to other men, must have been so to them too, who, with an implicit faith, received whatever was taught them. Whence we may safely conclude, that they were all, in their several ways, so many oracles; and that they were all devoted to the same end, however they may have been divided as to the means and methods of attaining it; so that seemingly these Babylonians had their science branched out amongst them, much after the manner of the Egyptian physicians. Their learning must have been made up entirely of superstitious practices, and delusive arts; and, if any better they had, they must have concealed it under such enigmas, and far-fetched resemblances and allegories, as must have rendered it quite a secret, even to themselves; and it seems not to have been without good reason, that many* of later times have made slight of them as philosophers, and concluded that the Greeks were in this respect little, if at all, beholden either to them or to the Egyptians.

As the Chaldees were peculiarly the men of learning in this nation, so the Babylonians, properly so called, applied themselves to the arts; though perhaps we shall have more reason to call these the men of learning among them than the former, if it be true, that the former were wholly addicted to, and set apart for, the sidereal consultations, and the propagation of the extravagancies, which must, as should seem, have made up the system of their philosophy. For, in this case the Babylonians, as distinguished from the Chaldeans, must have been good mathematicians and mechanics, as appears by the immense buildings they reared, which could not be effected without great skill in the several branches of the mathematics and geometry. This we may say in general; but to say how far they excelled in perspective, and the true harmony of proportion, may not be quite so easy a task; though that their ornaments and decorations fell short of what was afterwards seen in Greece, can never be doubted. And hence we may pronounce, that their paintings and statues were also inferior to those which Greece produced.

Babylonians in contra-distinction of the Chaldees: their arts.

* Cæl. Rhodig. Joseph. Scalig. Peucer, &c. &c.

Music.

Musick they had, but in what perfection we must never hope to know; nor would it be worth our while to inquire. But that they had a variety of instruments we are well assured; viz. flutes, cornets, harps, sackbuts, psalteries, and dulcimers^a. What these instruments exactly were, we probably shall never know; but if we may judge of their skill in harmony by what we can discover of their painting and statuary, we must not equal them in that science to the Greeks.

Poetry.

We are quite unacquainted with their poetry; but must leave the reader to form a judgment of it by that of the other eastern nations, their neighbours, both ancient and modern. Neither do we pretend to say by whom it was particularly cultivated, whether by the Chaldeans or the Babylonians; but as it has at all times been sacred to religion and superstition, we may suppose the former, as priests, laid claim to it as part of their province.

Medicine.

That medicine was no regular science among them, is manifest from what we have said above concerning their manner of treating the sick. But it grew into great repute with the Persians their successors, as we shall observe in a more proper place.

Language.

We have already declared there is no more difference between the Syriac and Chaldee, the language of this people, than between the English and Scotch. Their common alphabet we have already given; and as for the Mendeian character, which is also peculiar to them, is not only what we may call modern, but so like the Estrangelo of the Syriac, that we have thought it unnecessary to insert it. Bochart^b supposes they had a sacred character as well as the Egyptians, but upon a very unsatisfactory foundation.

Architecture.

The Babylonians, properly so called, were great architects; ingenious in casting metals, great workmen and skilful designers, as will be particularly remarked, when we come to speak of Babylon, their great metropolis.

Manufactures and fine linen.

They were no less famous for their manufactures, particularly for their rich embroideries, sumptuous vestments, magnificent carpets, and fine linen; insomuch that we read of Cato, that he immediately sold a Babylonian cloak, or mantle, which was left to him by inheritance, as being what he was ashamed to wear^c; and elsewhere, that at Rome there had been paid for a suit of Babylonian hangings for a dining-room, six thousand four hundred

^a Dan. iii. 5—15.

^b Canaan, cap. xvii. coll. 773.

^c Plutarch in vita Catonis.

and fifty-eight pounds six shillings and eight-pence ^d. It were to no purpose to quote authors for farther instances of this magnificence, which is known to a proverb, or to aim at a detail of the several products of their industry; we would only add, that the Babylonians, as well as the Tyrians, had their purple, which they sent into the eastern parts by way of traffic ^e. This purple they had from a port called Apologus, near the Euphrates ^f; but as it is disputed whether the art of dying purple was their invention, or whether they had it from Tyre ^g, we shall only observe, that their country afforded the best materials for dying, particularly alum, both natural and artificial ^h.

This people was not only divided into two great tribes, *Particular tribes.* the Babylonians and Chaldæans, properly so called, but into other subordinate sects. Three of these are said to have fed upon nothing but fish ⁱ, and thereby seem to have infringed a sacred law among the Babylonians, who abstained from fish out of respect to their great goddesses. Thus we have seen that some of the Egyptians worshipped the fish which others fed upon. However, as those tribes lived in the fens, where no corn grew, it may not have been upon a religious principle, but out of necessity, that they departed from the practice of their countrymen. Their fish they dried in the sun, and made them into paste, having no other means to supply the want of bread. Something yet more extraordinary we are told of the inhabitants of Borsippa, where the bats being much larger than in other places, they used to salt them for food ^j; but whether this practice proceeded from superstition, or want, is uncertain; though we can hardly believe it was owing to the latter, in so plentiful a country.

We do not find the trade of this ancient people any *Commerce.* where professedly treated of; but that it must have been very considerable, is not in the least to be doubted, especially when Babylon was in the meridian of her glory. Whosoever contemplates the splendor of this monarchy, the commodious situation of the country in general, and of its capital in particular, cannot doubt but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. Babylon was situated, as it were, in the very midst of the old world; and, by means of the two great rivers, the

^d Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. viii. cap. 48. See Arbuth. of Ant. Coins, Weights, and Measures, p. 142. ^e Arrian. Peripl. Mar. Eryth. in Minor. Hudson. vol. ii. p. 20, 21. ^f Idem. ibid. ^g Vide Bochart Phaleg. cap. vii. coll. 28. ^h Vide eund. ibid. ⁱ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 200. ^j Strab. lib. xvi. p. 739.

Euphrates and Tigris, had very easy communication with the western and northern parts, as also with the eastern, by means of the Persian gulph. As it was not only the seat of a potent monarchy, but also afforded many productions and manufactures of its own, to exchange with its neighbours, and lay within the reach of them all, it is not to be doubted, but that trade was as extensive here as any where else. That the Babylonians had shipping of their own, and were considerable, as navigators, cannot well be disputed, since their city is styled by the prophet a City of Waters, and their extensive commerce is described in the book of Revelations.

S E C T. III.

The Chronology of the Babylonians, from the first Rise of the Monarchy to its Dissolution.

WE may refer the reader back to what we have said in the chronology of the Assyrians, to satisfy himself concerning the chronology of this people; for they probably took rise in the same person, namely, Pul, king of Assyria, and nearly at the same period. But, not to anticipate what may be more properly insisted on hereafter in the course of this section, we shall proceed to distinguish the kingdom of Babylon from the kingdom of Assyria, and to exhibit, pursuant to our custom, a series of the kings of Babylon, according to several authors.

A Table of the Successions of the Babylonian Kings, according to Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon, and the Ecclesiastical Account.

According to the most correct
copies of Ptolemy's canon.

According to the ecclesiastical
account in Syncellus.

	Years.		Years.
1 Nabonasser reigned	14	1 Nabonassar, or Sal- manafer, reigned	} 25
2 Nadius - - -	2	2 Nabius - - -	
3 Chinzirus and Porus	5	3 Chinzirus and Porus	5
4 Jugæus - - -	5	4 Illulæus - - -	5
5 Mardoc-Empadus	12	5 Mardocempadocus -	12
6 Arkianus - - -	5	6 Arceanus - - -	5
7 First Interregnum	2	7 First Interregnum	2
8 Belibus - - -	3	8 Belithus - - -	3
9 Apronadius - -	6	9 Aporanadifus - -	6
10 Rigebelus - -	1	10 Iregiballus - -	1
		11 Meseffi-	

The History of the Babylonians.

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According to the most correct
copies of Ptolemy's Canon.

According to the ecclesiastical
account in Syncellus.

	Years.		Years.
11	Mesessimordacus reigned 4	11	Mesessimordacus reigned 4
22	Second Interregnum - 8	12	Second Interregnum - 8
13	Aslar-Adinus - 13	13	Isarindinus - - 13
14	Saofducheus - - 20	14	Saofduchius - - 9
15	Chyniladanus - - 22	15	Cineladanus - - 14
16	Nabopallasarus - - 21	16	Nabopalafarus - - 21
17	Nabocolassarus - - 43	17	Nabuchadonofor, his son 43
18	Ilvarodamus - - 2	18	Ebidan-Merodach - 5
19	Niricassolaffarus - 4	19	Nireglesarus, or Bal- tafar - - } 3
20	Nabenadius - - 17	20	Nabonadius, or Afty- ages, or Darius, or Asuerus, or Artax- erxes - - } 17

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This table contains, on the one side, a genuine and correct copy of Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon (Y), and, on the other, a corruption of it. We shall not here enquire into the differences between these two lists, or the liberty the author of this ecclesiastical account has taken with his original, which we may occasionally consider under the reigns of these kings. Syncellus, whence we have taken this ecclesiastical computation, has, under the same head, another, the authors of them being Africanus and Eusebius^m. We shall therefore have little to do here; few arguments can be wanting, and, indeed, none can be necessary to prove the first rise and duration of the Babylonian empire, which is so happily ascertained to our hands by Ptolemy. This canon takes date from the first day of the Egyptian month Thoth, at noon, of the year of the world 3257, of the flood 1602, before Christ 747. The first of the month Thoth answers the 26th of our February, which in that year fell on a Thursday. The kingdom of Babylon then took rise in the 24th year of Pul's appearance on this side the Euphrates, which plainly shews it to have been immediately of Assyrian origin.

*The era of
Nabonaf-
sar.*

^m Vide Can. Chron. Sæcul. xvii.

(Y) This Canon was particularly rectified from a manuscript in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and sent by Dr. Omer, dean of St. Paul's, to Seth Calvifius, and first published, with Ptolemy's hypothesis, by Dr. Bambridge, professor of the mathematics at Oxford.

D d 4

Babylon

Babylon being then of Assyrian extraction, and considered as a sister kingdom with Assyria, we have nothing here to add to what we have already urged, except that we can fix the date of it with somewhat more certainty than that of the Assyrian empire; which we could have no notice of till the first appearance of Pul in the west. It may begin then with us in the twenty-fourth year of Pul's appearance to the westward of Euphrates, 1601 years after the flood, and 747 before Christ; it ends 1810 years after the flood, and 538 before Christ: so that its whole duration was no more than 209 years; to which, if we add the 23 years of Pul before the date of this canon, we shall have a number not exceeding 232, for the years of the duration of the great Assyrian family, whether at Nineveh or at Babylon, with respect to what we know of the rise of these kingdoms.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the Babylonians.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of this people, when their monarchy became extensive, and their sovereigns famous for their conquests, we shall take a retrospect of their first establishment as a kingdom, which is said to have existed before the Deluge. Having in a former part of the work exhibited the Antediluvian princes of this country, and mentioned Nimrod as the founder of the monarchy; we shall lay before the reader a list of his immediate successors, as we find them recorded by Eusebius and Syncellus.

Table of the Kings of Babylon, the immediate Successors of Nimrod.

According to Eusebius.		According to Syncellus.	
	Years.		Years.
1 Evechoos, or Nimrod, reigned	6	1 Evochoüs, or Nimrod, reigned	6
2 Chomasbolus	7	2 Chosmabolus	7
3 Porus	35	3 Porus	35
4 Nechobes	43	4 Nechubes	43
5 Abios	48	5 Abius	48
6 Oniballus	40	6 Oniballes	40
7 Zinzirus	45	7 Zinzirus	45
	<hr/> 224		<hr/> 224
			By

By the perfect agreement of these lists it is manifest that Syncellus has faithfully copied Eusebius. To this dynasty, which continued only two hundred and twenty-four years, we are told, succeeded a race of six Arabian kings, who governed Babylon two hundred and sixteen, making together four hundred and forty years; and this Arabian dynasty was followed by the Assyrian, commencing with the reign of Belus, and ending with that of Sardanapalus. The Assyrians must then have erected their monarchy long before the call of Abraham, and have continued at least a thousand years after him; an opinion we cannot subscribe to. The Arabian princes were, according to Scripture, of the country of Elam, or Persia; for under Chederlaomer, king of Elam, we find Amraphel, king of Shinar (the undoubted Babylonia), making war upon the Canaanites; and probably at the time when Abraham rescued Lot, who had been carried away captive. There being no certain accounts of any transactions relating to the first kingdom of Babylon, except that, about the year 1921 before the Christian æra, it was governed by a king called Amraphel; we shall proceed to the history of the Babylonian monarchs; after relating what is fabulously reported of that king, who, according to some prophane authors, must be accounted the first prince who sat on the Babylonian throne; and whom we find the instigator of the rebellion in Assyria, which ended with the death of Sardanapalus, and the dissolution of that monarchy.

He is by some called Belesis, and by others Nanybyrus^a; and both affect to give us an extraordinary account of him, which will be almost all we shall be able, in these authors, to find concerning the Babylonian empire, till it was brought to an end.

*The story of
Belesus or
Nanybrus.*

Under the name of Belesis, the first prince is represented as a crafty and mean-spirited knave, and, at the same time, as nothing less than a hero. It is said he was base enough to circumvent Arbaces, his colleague and friend, in the most shameful manner, by pretending a vow he had, in the midst of the war, made to his god Belus, "That, if the success was the event of it, and the palace of Sardanapalus was consumed, he would be at the charge and trouble of removing the ashes, that were left, to Babylon, and there heap them up into a mount near the temple of his god, to stand as a monument to all who should navigate

^a Nicol, Damasc. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 424.

the Euphrates, of the subversion of the Assyrian empire." He, it seems, had been privately informed by an eunuch; of the immense treasure which had been consumed in the conflagration at Nineveh; and, knowing it to be a secret to Arbaces, his avarice suggested to him this artifice. Arbaces not only granted his request, but appointed him king of Babylon, with an exemption from all tribute. Belesis, by this artifice, carried a prodigious treasure with him to Babylon; but, when the secret was discovered, he was called to an account for it, and tried by the other chiefs, who had been assistant in the war, and who, upon his confession of the crime, condemned him to lose his head. But Arbaces, a magnificent and generous prince, freely forgave him; left him in possession of the treasure, and also in the independent government of Babylon; saying, the good he had done ought to serve as a veil to his crime; and thus he became at once a prince of great wealth and dominion. In process of time, and under the successor of Arbaces, he became a man of dress, shew, and effeminacy, unworthy of the kingdom or province he held. Nanybrus, for so we must now call Belesis, understanding a certain robust Mede, called Parfondas, held him in the utmost contempt, and had solicited the emperor of the Medes to divest him of his dominions, and to confer them upon himself, offered a very great reward to the man who should take Parfondas, and bring him to his presence. Parfondas, hunting somewhere near Babylon, with the king of the Medes, and straggling from the company, happened to fall in with some of the servants of the Babylonian Nanybrus, who had been tempted with the promised reward. They were purveyors to the king; and Parfondas, being very thirsty, asked them for a draught of wine, which they not only granted, but prevailed upon him to take a meal with them. As he drank freely, suspecting no treachery, he was easily persuaded to pass that night in company with some beautiful women, brought to him on purpose to detain him. But, while he was in a profound sleep, the servants of Nanybrus, rushing upon him, bound, and carried him to their prince, who bitterly reproached him for endeavouring to irritate his master, the king of the Medes, against him, in order to place himself, in his room, on the throne of Babylon. Parfondas did not deny the charge; but with great intrepidity owned, that he thought himself more worthy of a crown than such an indolent and effeminate prince as he was. Nanybrus, highly provoked at the liberty he took,
swore

swore by the gods Belus and Molis, or rather Mylitta, that Parfondas himself should, in a short time, become so effeminate, as to reproach none with effeminacy. Accordingly he ordered the eunuch, who had charge of his music-women, to shave, paint, and dress him after the manner of those women; to teach him their art, and, in short, to transform him, by all possible means, into the resemblance of a woman. His orders were obeyed, and the manly Parfondas soon exceeded the fairest female in singing, playing, and the other arts of allurements.

In the mean time the king of the Medes, after a fruitless search for his favourite servant, and in vain offering great rewards to such as should give him any information concerning him, concluded he had been destroyed by some wild beast in the chace. At length, after seven years, the Mede was informed of his state and condition by an eunuch, who, being cruelly scourged by Nanybrus's orders, fled; at the instigation of Parfondas, into Media, and there disclosed the whole to the king, who immediately dispatched an officer to demand he should be delivered up. Nanybrus pretending to know nothing of any such person, another officer was sent by the Mede, with a peremptory order to seize on Nanybrus, if he persisted in the denial, to bind him with his girdle, and lead him to immediate execution. This order had the desired effect: the Babylonian owned what he had before denied, promised to comply, without farther delay, with the king's command; and in the mean time invited the officer to a banquet, at which an hundred and fifty women, among whom was Parfondas, made their appearance, singing and playing upon various instruments. But, of all, Parfondas appeared by far the most charming; insomuch that Nanybrus inquiring of the Mede which he liked best, he immediately pointed at him. At this declaration the Babylonian clapt his hands, and bursting into a fit of laughter, told him who the person was, whom he thus preferred to all the rest; adding, that he could answer what he had done before the king of the Medes. The officer was no less surprised at such an astonishing change, than his master was afterwards, when Parfondas appeared before him. The only favour Parfondas begged of the king, for all his past services, was, that he would avenge on the Babylonian the base and highly injurious treatment he had met with at his hands. The Mede marched accordingly, at his instigation, to Babylon; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Nanybrus, urging, that Parfondas had,
without

without the least provocation, endeavoured to deprive him both of his life and kingdom, declared, that in ten days he would pass the sentence on him, which he deserved, for presuming to act as judge in his own cause, instead of appealing to him his lord paramount. But Nanybrus having, in the mean time, gained with a large bribe Mitraphernes, the Mede's favourite eunuch, the king was by him prevailed upon to sentence the Babylonian only to a fine; which made Parsondas curse the man that first found out gold, for the sake of which he was to live the sport and derision of an effeminate Babylonian. The eunuch endeavoured to appease him, but in vain; deaf to all remonstrances, he meditated nothing but revenge; and in the end had the satisfaction of being fully revenged, both on the Babylonian, and the eunuch his friend ^p.

Yr. of Fl.
1601.
Ante Chr.
747.

The genuine history of the Babylonians. Nabonassar.

To proceed from this fictitious relation to the genuine history of the Babylonians, in which there is a chasm of many hundred years between the times of Nimrod and Amraphel, to the period we have now reached: the first Babylonian king we meet with after them, and those we have mentioned to have succeeded between them, is Nabonassar, the first in Ptolemy's canon. As we find nothing particular concerning this king, so well known from the æra that passes under his name, we shall supply that deficiency with some conjectures concerning the first rise of the Babylonian kingdom. That it rose much about the same time with the kingdom of Assyria, seems undeniable; since only twenty-four years after the appearance of Pul, the founder of the Assyrian monarchy, we find mention made of Nabonassar, king of Babylon. That Babylon was governed by its own kings, even when the Assyrian monarchy was in its full glory, is no less certain, both from Scripture, and profane history.

These two kingdoms then rose much about the same time, and for several years subsisted together. But by what means did Nabonassar obtain, by what means did he and his successors keep possession of a kingdom bordering on the empire of the Assyrians, whom we have seen, under the conduct of their ambitious and warlike princes, grasping at nothing less than the sovereignty of all the East? They wage war with, and imposed their yoke upon, all the nations around them. But no notice is taken in history, till the reign of Esar-Haddon, their fifth

^p Ctes. apud Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 78. & Nicol. Damasc. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 424 & seq.

king,

king, of any attempts of this nature made even by their most warlike princes against the neighbouring kingdom of Babylon. Nay, we find them crossing both the Tigris and the Euphrates, in order to extend their dominions, and bring under subjection the distant nations, while that kingdom, which must have been more tempting to them than any other they could have in view, remained still unconquered. These, and many other difficulties of the like nature, can, in our opinion, be no otherwise solved but by adopting the system that has been suggested to us by a late chronologer^a, supposing the Assyrian and Babylonian kings to have been two branches of one and the same family. For, according to that system, Pul, the first Assyrian conqueror, left two sons, Tiglath-Pileser, and Nabonassar. To the former he bequeathed the kingdom of Assyria; and that of Babylon to the latter. Tiglath-Pileser, the elder son, resided at Nineveh, the original seat of the empire, while Nabonassar, who was the younger brother, held his residence at Babylon. As the two kingdoms were governed by princes of the same family, we may well suppose a perfect harmony to have reigned between them, the younger branch at Babylon acknowledging a kind of superiority in, and subjection to, the elder at Nineveh. If there had not been the strictest union between these two kingdoms, is it to be imagined that the kings of Assyria would have crossed the Euphrates to make war at a great distance from their dominions, while they had so powerful an enemy as the king of Babylon behind them, who might have taken advantage of their absence to invade their country, when it was drained of the choicest of their soldiery? If the kings of the two countries had not been bound by the most solemn ties, can we suppose, that the Babylonians would have let slip so favourable an opportunity of attempting, at least, to humble so powerful and ambitious a neighbour? They could not but be well apprised, that the western nations, whom the Assyrians were harassing with endless wars, would, for their own quiet and safety, have readily joined them. And yet we read of no such attempts. May we not, therefore, infer from thence, that a good understanding subsisted between the two kings of the countries, free from all umbrage and jealousy? And on what else could so lasting an harmony be founded, but on the natural ties of blood and parentage.

^a Sir Isaac Newton's Chron. p. 277, & seq.

As Nabonassar was the first king of Babylon, after it was erected into a separate kingdom from that of Assyria, he bids as fair as any, to have been the Belesis of Ctesias; and is accordingly called Belesus and Baleussus, by Nicolas of Damascus^b; and by Hipparchus, Nanybrus, who was confessedly the same person with Belesis. But we shall not trouble our readers here with conjectures, which have little or no foundation in genuine history, nor attempt to reduce the fables of Ctesias to historical truths. In fact, all we have said, and all we can say on this subject, amounts to nothing more than bare probability.

Yr. of Fl. Nabonassar was succeeded by Nadius, who reigned two
1615.
Ante Chr. years; and Nadius, by Chinzirus and Porus, who reigned
733.
five. They may have been brothers; but their names bear no affinity either with the Chaldee, or the Assyrian.

Nadius,
Yr. of Fl. Jugæus reigned next: there is nothing recorded of him,
1622.
Ante Chr. nor can we offer at one conjecture concerning him, ex-
726.
cept that he, as well as those he immediately succeeded, and those that came after him, down to Assar-Addin, did nothing worthy of notice, and that they might have passed their days in sloth and effeminacy.

Jugæus.
Yr. of Fl. Mardoc-Empad, is certainly the Merodach-Baladan of
1627.
Ante Chr. Scripture, the same that sent an embassy to Hezekiah,
721.
king of Judah. In Isaiah^c he is called Merodach-Baladan, as we have written him above; but in the book of Kings he is called Berodach-Baladan^d, and in both places

Mardoc-
empad.
Yr. of Fl. the son of Paladan; whence we gather, that the Jugæus
1639.
Ante Chr. above, who seems to have been his father, might perhaps
709.
be more properly called Baladan. He is the first Babylonian king we find in Scripture to have had any intercourse with the kings at Jerusalem. He sent a special embassy to congratulate Hezekiah on his late recovery, and to inquire, as is generally supposed, about the sun's retrogression. Merodach-Baladan reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by

Arkianus.
First inter-
regnum.
Arkianus; concerning whom all we know is, that he reigned but five years; and that after him there was an interregnum of two years.

Yr. of Fl. Belibus succeeded to this interregnum; but by what means,
1646.
Ante Chr. or by what right we know not. He reigned but three
702.
years, at the end of which he died, or was dethroned.

Belibus.
Apronadi-
us.
He made room for Apronadius, who reigned six years; and was succeeded by Regibelus, who, after one year's

Regibelus.
^b Nicol. Damasc. in Eclog. Valef.
^d 2 Kings xx. 12.

^c Isai. xxix. 1.

reign,

reign, gave place to Mesessimordacus. Four years after an interregnum ensued, which lasted eight years.

Mesessimordacus.

This interregnum being expired, Assar-Addin, the Esar-Haddon of Scripture, possessed himself of the kingdom of Babylon. We have already said all we positively know of him, when we formerly gave his reign as king of Assyria. Whether he seized on the kingdom by art or violence, is uncertain. By this union of the two kingdoms, the Assyrians rose to a higher pitch than ever they had before attained, at least in the western parts, where, under this king, they established their power more firmly than it had ever been, and even conquered Egypt. He reigned at Babylon thirteen years, and was succeeded by

Assar-Addin.

Saolduchus, or Saolduchinus. We have already spoken of him, and related his exploits at length, as king of Assyria. He reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by

Saolduchus.

Chynaladan, or Sarac, who was, as well as his two predecessors, king both of Assyria and Babylon, and reigned twenty-two years. The length of these three reigns, making in all fifty-five years, which exceeds the sum of the nine reigns and two interregnums between Nabonassar and Assar-Addin, by two years, may convince us, that the kings of Babylon, during that interval, were little better than governors, placed and displaced by the kings of Assyria at their will and pleasure; and continued or discontinued just as they approved themselves more or less trusty and serviceable to the Assyrian kings. Hitherto the kingdom of Babylon had been dependent on the emperors at Nineveh; it now begins to make a very different figure, exalting itself on the ruins of the Assyrian monarchy.

Chynaladan.

For Nabopallasar succeeded Chynaladan in the kingdom of Babylon, which he rendered independent of the Assyrians, and transferred the seat of empire to Babylon. His name declares him to have been an Assyrian, and to have derived his origin from Pul, and Nabonassar his son, it partaking equally of both; for as Nabonassar is plainly compounded from Nebo-Addon-Assar, this man seems to have rejected the Addon for Pul, and to have had his name compounded from Nebo-Pul-Assur; to assert his descent from Pul by Nabonassar, and his right to the kingdom of Babylon, of which his family had been unjustly deprived by the elder branch of Assyria. For being appointed over Chaldaea, upon the death of Saolduchus,

Yr. of Fl.
1722.
Ante Chr.
626.

Nabopal-lasar.

who

who left the Assyrian affairs in great confusion, and at a time when the Medes were in the full vigour of their pursuit against the kings at Nineveh, he took the advantage of this conjuncture; declared for himself at Babylon, and entered into an alliance with Cyaxares the Mede^p. These allies reduced the kingdom of Assyria to a very low condition, though Nabopallasar did not live to see the final destruction of it, for the eruption of the Scythians put a stop to the progress of these new allies, for the space, as we are told, of twenty-eight years.

This prince is called by the different appellations of Nabulassar, Nebuchadonofor, and Nebuchadnezzar; thus distinguished from his son, as the first of the name^q. The Assyrians, as well as the Babylonians and Medes, being at this time, wholly employed in defending themselves against the Scythians, who had conquered all Upper Asia, Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, laid hold of so favourable an opportunity to recover the city of Carchemish, then subject to the king of Assyria: King Josiah attempted, upon what motive we know not, to oppose the Egyptian on his march; but his army was routed, and himself slain. This success, and much more the surrender of Carchemish, encouraged the satrapa or governor of Coele Syria and Phœnicie to revolt from Nabopallasar, who had reduced those provinces some time before, this battle having been fought in the sixteenth year of his reign. As he was then stricken in years, he took his son Nabocolassar, or Nebuchadnezzar, for his partner in the kingdom, and sent him at the head of a powerful army against the Egyptians and revolted Syrians. Over the Egyptians, who were still at Carchemish, the young prince gained a complete victory, retook the place, and put the garrison to the sword^r.

Yr. of Fl.
1742.
Ante Chr.
606.

Elated with this success he marched into Judæa, took Jerusalem, rifled the temple, and, seizing on Jehoiakim, put him in bonds, with a design to send him, among the other captives to Babylon; but upon his submission, and promise of paying a yearly tribute, the Babylonian changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy in Judah^s. The victorious prince, pursuing his conquests, turned his arms next against Pharaoh-Necho, and without opposition made himself master of the whole country between

^p Alex. Polyhist. apud Syncell. p. 210. Eusebius in Chron. ^q Berof. apud Joseph. contra Apion lib. i. p. 1044. & Antiq. lib. x. cap. 11. David Gantz. ii. Chron. lib. ii. n. 285. ^r Jerem. xli. 2. ^s Dan. i. 2, &c. 2 Chron. xxxv. 6. 2 Kings xxiv. 1.

the Nile and the Euphrates. But, in the mean time, his father Nabopallasar, dying at Babylon after a reign of twenty-one years, he hastened to that capital with a small retinue, by the shortest way of the desert, committing to his generals the command of the army, and the care of the captives, who were to be sent after him, with the spoils of the nations he had conquered¹.

Being thus, by the death of his father, become sole king of Babylon, his first care was to adorn and enlarge the seat of his growing empire. While thus busied, he was, in an extraordinary manner, affected by dreams. One, especially, which he had in the second year after his father's death, gave him greater uneasiness, than all the rest, though he had entirely forgot the particulars. Having, therefore, under great anxiety of mind, called together his magicians or Chaldeans, he required them not only to interpret his dream, but to remind him of what he had dreamt. The Chaldeans answered with one voice, that it was their province to interpret dreams; but that the gods alone could know what a man had dreamt. This answer provoked the king to such a degree, that he resolved to put them all to death; and gave orders accordingly to Arioch, the captain of his guard. But, before these cruel orders could be put in execution, Daniel, who had been brought, with his three companions, to Babylon, among other Jewish captives, and was, as well as his companions, to undergo the same fate with the Chaldeans, expostulating with Arioch upon the rashness of the decree issued against them, prevailed upon that officer to introduce him to the king. Being admitted to his presence, he gave him assurance, that he would satisfy him in what he was so solicitous to know. Having, upon this promise, obtained a short respite, he repaired to his three companions; and joining with them in an address to Heaven, the secret was revealed to him in a night-vision. Thus instructed from above, he repaired to Arioch; and, being again by him introduced to the king, after instilling into the haughty prince some notions of the might and majesty of God, he not only told him his dream, but gave him such a satisfactory interpretation of it, that the prince, amazed at what he heard, could not forbear falling on his face, worshipping Daniel, and acknowledging his God the God of gods, and Lord of kings. Not satisfied with these

Yr. of Fl.

1743.

Ante Chr.

603.

Nabucolasar.

¹ Berof. apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 11. & contra Apion lib. x. & apud Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 49.

extraordinary demonstrations of esteem, he made him rich presents, invested him with the government of the whole province of Babylon, and appointed him chief of the governors of all the sages¹.

Yr. of Fl.
1747.
Ante Chr.
601.

*Nineveh
taken, and
an end put
to the As-
syrian em-
pire.*

In the mean time a peace being concluded between the Medes and the Lydians, by the mediation of Labynetus, that is, Nebuchadnezzar, and Syennesis, king of Cilicia, Cyaxares the Mede resolved to resume the siege of Nineveh, which the irruption of the Scythians, and the Lydian war, had obliged him to interrupt. Having entered into an alliance with Nebuchadnezzar, and confirmed it by a marriage between that prince and his daughter Amyite, the two kings marched against Nineveh, took that proud metropolis, levelled it with the ground, and put an end to the Assyrian empire².

Yr. of Fl.
1749.
Ante Chr.
599.

While Nebuchadnezzar was thus employed, Jehoiakim, laying hold of that opportunity, shook off the Babylonian yoke, after three years subjection. But his revolt cost him dear; for the king of Babylon, highly incensed against him, dispatched an army into Judæa, consisting of various nations, who, having laid the country waste far and near, took and murdered that unfortunate prince; and, dragging his body out of the city, left it unburied, according to Jeremiah's prediction³. He was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, against whom Nebuchadnezzar sent first an army, upon what provocation we know not; and, arriving afterwards in person before Jerusalem, which his troops had invested, he ordered Jehoiachin, who came out to him with his mother, and his whole court, in a most submissive manner, to be arrested, and carried captive to Babylon, after a short reign of three months and ten days. Having made himself master of the city, he ransacked and plundered it a second time, together with the temple, palace, and treasury; and carried off with him an immense booty, and such numbers of captives of all ranks and conditions, that scarcely sufficient hands were left to cultivate the land⁴. Before he returned to his own dominions, he placed Mattaniah on the throne of that desolate kingdom, changing his name into Zedekiah; at the same time imposing a certain tribute, and obliging him to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance⁵.

¹ Dan. ii. per tot.

² Herodot. lib. i. cap. 106.

³ Je-

rem. xxii. 18, 19. & xxxvi. 30.

⁴ 2 Kings xxiv. 8—16.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20. Jeremiah xx. 1. xxix. 1, 2. Ezek. xvii. 12.

⁶ Jerem. xxxvii. 1. ⁷ 2 Kings xxiv. 17. ⁸ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek.

ubi supra, 13, 14, 28.

Immediately

Immediately after this expedition, Jeremiah^a began to prophesy the increase of this prince's dominion; and particularly, that he should subdue Elam, a kingdom on the river Ulai, to the eastward of the Tigris. This country must have been the Susiana of the Greeks, and lay so opportunely for him, bordering almost on his dominions, that in all probability he was not long employed in the completion of this advantageous prophecy.

This mighty prince had always his victories and accessions of fortune preceded by prophecies from the mouth of Jeremiah, or some other prophet; nay, divers plots and seditions contriving against him, were crushed, while yet in embryo, by typical remonstrances from men divinely inspired. Thus, when the kings of the Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, and Zidonians, would have tempted Zedekiah, the thoughtless king of Jerusalem, to rise against the Babylonian, Jeremiah sent to each of the ambassadors in his court, a present of yokes and bonds, to be carried to their masters, with this declaration, "That the Lord of hosts, the God of the whole earth, had doomed them all to be servants to Nebuchadnezzar; that they should all serve him, his son, and son's son; that such as should but offer to reject his yoke, he would punish with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence, till they were utterly consumed by him; but that those who quietly submitted their necks, and faithfully obeyed the king of Babylon, should find mercy, and remain in the possession of their country^b."

But, how great and terrible soever he might have been, he was dreaded but for a time, by the western nations especially; who, notwithstanding the severe remonstrance and declaration of Jeremiah, were meditating how they should free themselves from the yoke of the king of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar, understanding that the Egyptians, the Jews, and other nations, were concerting means to withdraw themselves from his obedience, and that Zedekiah, whom he had appointed king of Jerusalem, had been encouraged by Pharaoh Hophrah, or Apries, king of Egypt, to set him at defiance, resolved particularly to punish such ingratitude^c. Putting himself at the head of his army, he advanced to the frontiers, at the same time to chastise all these presumptuous nations; where being arrived, and considering with himself, that he had a num-

^a Jerem. xlix. 34—39.

^b Jerem. xxvii.

^c 2 Kings

xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17.

ber of them to deal with, he remained in suspense for a while, dubious where he should first open the war; till at last he referred this important business to the ordinary methods of divination, in practice with the Chaldees; who, having consulted the entrails of animals, their images, or teraphim, and their arrows (Z), delivered it as their opinion, that the war should first break out against the Jews^d. The Babylonian army then advanced into that kingdom, and, in a few days, became master of all their cities, except Lachish, Azekah, and Jerusalem^e; which last, in the latter end of December, the same year, was blocked up by Nebuchadnezzar, with all his formidable army, and a close and vigorous siege ensued.

Receiving intelligence that Pharaoh Hophrah was on his march to relieve Jerusalem, he raised the siege, and marched to give the Egyptian battle, before he could possibly be joined by any of the other discontented nations; but, before he left Jerusalem, he took care to send all the captive Jews in his camp, amounting to eight hundred and thirty-two persons, under a strong guard, to Babylon. He then moved against the Egyptians, who not daring to abide the onset, retreated in proportion as Nebuchadnezzar advanced; though others tell us they ventured a battle, which ended in their overthrow.

The Egyptians being thus repelled, he returned and renewed the siege of Jerusalem with fresh vigour; and, hav-

^d Ezek. xxi. 19—24.

^e Jerem. xxxiv. 7.

(Z) This practice of divining by arrows, continued among the Arabs till Mohammedism prevailed, which absolutely forbids it; and appears to be the very same in use with the Babylonians at this time. "The arrows used by them for this purpose, were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers; and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Seven such arrows were kept at the temple of Mecca; but generally in divination they made use of three only; on one of

which was written, "My Lord hath commanded me;" on another, "My Lord hath forbidden me;" and the third was blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprize in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them, and drew them over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any thing of moment was undertaken."

ing

ing in the end made himself master of the place, vented his rage on the king, the inhabitants, and the city itself, in the manner we have already described.

Nebuzaradan, one of the Babylonian generals, carried with him several prisoners of great distinction to the king at Riblah, whither he had retired during the siege, and they were all by his orders put to death. Among these were Seraiah the high-priest, Zephaniah the second priest, Zedekiah's chief general, and several of his favourites and counsellors ^f.

Nebuchadnezzar, having thus put an end to the Israelitish kingdom, and appointed Gedaliah as a kind of governor over the remnant of the meaner people, whom he left behind to cultivate the land ^g, returned once more to his metropolis, adding great strength and glory to it, by the immense booty he brought with him, and a numerous accession of new inhabitants.

With the gold he amassed in this expedition, it is thought he erected ^h the monstrous colossus of that metal, in honour of his god Bel, in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon. It was sixty cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth, and entirely of gold. Having summoned together all his princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, and the rulers of provinces, to the dedication of this idol, proclamation was made, that all people, nations, and languages, should, on hearing the sound of various musical instruments, fall down and worship the golden image. Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up, on pain of being immediately thrown into a burning furnace. It was on this occasion, that the three Hebrew youths, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, refusing to comply with the king's command, were miraculously preserved in the midst of the flames. Nebuchadnezzar, who was an eye-witness of the prodigy, acknowledging the might and power of the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, decreed, that whosoever should blaspheme his name, should be cut in pieces, and his house should be turned into a dunghill ⁱ.

This mighty prince, in the twenty-second year of his reign, crossed the Euphrates, once more to make war on the western nations. It had been prophesied, that he should subdue Egypt, and treat her as he had treated Judah; and that the same fate should befall the city of Tyre.

Yr. of Fl.
1763.
Ante Chr.
585.

^f 2 Kings xxv. 18—21.
lib. ii. p. 37.

^g Ibid. ver. 23.
ⁱ Dan. iii. per tot.

^h Prideaux,

Yr. of Fl.

1776.

Ante Chr.

572.

In completion of these prophecies, he sat down with his army before Tyre; but, after a thirteen years siege, had nothing but an empty city for his pains, most of the inhabitants having retired, with their best effects, to a neighbouring island^k. During this long siege, he completely reduced, by detached parties, the Sidonians, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites; he sent Nebuzaradan with a party into Judæa, to revenge the death of Gedaliah; and he carried off into captivity seven hundred and forty-five persons, the poor remains of that unhappy people, thus completing the desolation of the land^l.

From Tyre Nebuchadnezzar marched into Egypt, which was promised him as a reward for the toil he and his army had undergone before Tyre. That kingdom was then in great confusion and disorder, occasioned by a civil war between Apries and Amasis. Of this the Babylonian taking advantage, entered the country, slew great numbers of the natives, enriched himself and his army with the spoils of that wealthy kingdom, and returned, carrying with him an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. That he made himself master of Egypt; that he spoiled and laid waste that country, and carried great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity, is manifest from the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel: but whether or no he appointed Amasis, so famed among the Egyptians, his lieutenant or viceroy there, as some have conjectured, is what we will not take upon us to assert, since we know nothing for certain concerning this expedition, but what we learn from the above mentioned prophets. It must have been about this time that he conquered the Ethiopians, Libyans, and the other nations mentioned by Ezekiel^m.

Thus far we have seen him a warrior, far excelling all the Babylonian princes who went before him; and, having done with his martial exploits, we must retire with him to Babylon, and take a view of his transactions there. As the magnificence of that city is wholly attributed to him, we shall here describe it as one of the chief works of that monarch who was equally great in peace and in war. In this description we shall tread in the footsteps, and follow the method of the learned dean Prideauxⁿ.

^k Ezek. xxvi. 2—16. xxvii. xxviii. &c.
Ezek. iv. 5, 6. ^m Ezek. xxx. 4—10.
Connect, book ii. part 1. p. 94. & seq.

^l Jerem. lii. 34.
ⁿ Prideaux

Semiramis is said by some, and Belus by others^o, to have founded this city. But, by whomsoever it was founded, Nebuchadnezzar was the person who put the last hand to it, and made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works in and about it were the walls of the city, the temple of Belus, Nebuchadnezzar's palace, the hanging-gardens, the banks of the river, the artificial lake, and canals.

Babylon described.

The city was surrounded with walls, in thickness eighty-seven feet, in height three hundred and fifty feet, and in compass four hundred and eighty furlongs^p, or sixty of our miles. Thus Herodotus, who was himself at Babylon; and though some disagree with him in certain particulars, yet most writers give us the same, or nearly the same dimensions^q (A). These walls formed an exact square^r, each side of which were a hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles in length, all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime, which issues out of the earth in that country, and in a short time grows harder than the very brick and stone, which it cements. The city was encompassed, without the walls, with a vast ditch filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides; and, as the earth that was dug out of it served to make the bricks, we may judge of the depth and largeness of the ditch from the height and thickness of the walls. In the whole compass of the wall there were a hundred gates, that is, twenty-five on each of the four sides, all made of solid brass. Between every two of these

^o Abyden. ex Megasth. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. p. 457. Quint. Curt. lib. v. cap. 1. ^p Herodot. lib. i. cap. 178.
^q Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 26. Philostr. lib. i. cap. 18. ^r Quint. Curt. lib. v. cap. 1. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 743. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 69. Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. lib. vii.

(A) Diodorus Siculus diminishes the circumference of these walls very considerably, and takes somewhat from the height of them, as in Herodotus, though he seems to add to their breadth, by saying, that six chariots might drive abreast thereon; while the former writes, that one chariot only might turn upon them; but then he places buildings on each side of the top of these walls, which, according to him, were but one story high; which may pretty well reconcile them together in this respect. It is observed, that those who give the height of these walls but at fifty cubits, speak of them only as they were after the time of Darius Hystaspis, who had caused them to be beaten down to that level.

gates, at proper distances, were three towers; and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side, and each of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the walls where towers were needful for defence^a: for some parts of them being upon a morass, and inaccessible by an enemy, there the labour and expence was spared. The whole number, then, of these towers amounted to no more than two hundred and fifty, whereas a much greater number would have been necessary to have made the uniformity complete all round. From the twenty-five gates in each side of this square, there was a strait street, extending to the corresponding gate in the opposite wall, whence the whole number of the streets must have been but fifty; but then they were each about fifteen miles long; twenty-five of them crossing the other twenty-five exactly at right angles^b. Besides these four streets, we must reckon four half-streets, which were but rows of of houses facing the four inner sides of the walls. These four half-streets were properly the four sides of the city within the walls, and were each of them two hundred feet broad^c, the whole streets being about a hundred and fifty of the same. By this intersection of the fifty streets, the city was divided into six hundred and seventy-six squares, each of four furlongs and a half on each side, or two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares on every side towards the streets stood the houses, all of three or four stories in height, and beautified with all manner of ornaments; and the space within each of these squares was all void, and taken up by court-yards and gardens, either for pleasure or convenience.

A branch of the Euphrates divided the city into two, running through the midst of it, from north to south, over which, in the very middle of the city, was a bridge, a furlong in length^d, or rather more, and indeed much more, if we believe some authors, who say it was no less than five stadia or furlongs in length, though but thirty feet broad, a difference we shall never be able to decide: this bridge, however, is said to have been built with wonderful art^e, to supply a defect in the bed of the river, which

^a Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 68.

^b Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 180.

^c Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 67.

^d Herodot. ubi supra, Philostr.

lib. i.

^e Strab. ubi supra, p. 738.

^f Diod. Sic. lib.

ii. p. 68.

Herodot. lib. i. cap. 186.

Quint. Curt. lib. v.

cap. 4. Philostr. lib. i. cap. 18.

was composed of sand. At each end of this bridge were two palaces¹; the old palace on the east side, the new on the west side of the river; the former of which took up four of the squares above mentioned, and the latter nine. The temple of Belus, which stood next to the old palace, employed another of the same squares.

The whole city stood in a large plain, in a very fat and deep soil²; that part or half of it, on the east side of the river, was the old city³; and the other on the west was added by Nebuchadnezzar, both being included within the square bounded by the walls above mentioned. The form of the whole was seemingly borrowed from Nineveh, which was also four hundred and eighty furlongs; but, though it was equal in dimensions to this city, it was less with respect to its form, which was a parallelogram⁴, whereas that of Babylon was an exact square; it is supposed, that Nebuchadnezzar, who had destroyed that old seat of the Assyrian empire, proposed that this new one should exceed it in magnitude and magnificence⁵.

But it plainly appears that it was never wholly inhabited; so that, even in the meridian of its glory, it may be compared with the flower of the field, which flourishes to-day, and to-morrow is no more; for, as we shall see in the course of this work, it never had time to grow up to what Nebuchadnezzar visibly intended it should rise; for Cyrus removing the seat of the empire soon after to Shushan, Babylon fell by degrees to utter decay (B).

¹ Berof. apud Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. x. cap. 11. ² Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 193. ³ Berof. ubi supra. ⁴ Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra, p. 65. ⁵ Vide Prid. Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Testament, vol. i. book ii. p. 97. in 8vo.

(B) But so far was it from being finished according to its original design, that, when Alexander came to Babylon, Q. Curtius tells us, "no more than ninety furlongs of it were then built; which can no otherwise be understood than of so much in length; and if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length (which is the utmost that can be allowed), it will follow, that no more than eight thousand one hundred square furlongs were then built upon, but the whole space within the walls contained fourteen thousand four hundred square furlongs, and therefore there must have been six thousand three hundred square furlongs unbuilt, which, Curtius tells us, were ploughed and sown. Besides, the houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space on each side, between house and house."

*Temple of
Belus.*

The next great undertaking of Nebuchadnezzar was the temple of Belus. The wonderful tower, however, that stood in the middle of it, was not his work, but built many ages before; that and the famous tower of Babel being, as is commonly supposed, the same structure^a. This tower, as to its form and dimensions, we have described already; and therefore shall only add, that the ascent was by stairs on the outside, drawn in a sloping line from the bottom to the top eight times round it; exhibiting the appearance of eight towers, one above the other. The eight towers, as they are called, were each of them seventy-five feet high. Till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, it is thought this tower was the whole temple of Belus; but he made great additions thereto, by vast edifices erected round it^b, in a square of two furlongs on every side, and just a mile in circumference, which exceeded the square at the temple of Jerusalem by one thousand eight hundred feet^c. On the outside of these buildings was a wall, which inclosed the whole; and in consideration of the regularity wherewith this city was to all appearance marked out, it is supposed, that this wall was equal to the square of the city wherein it stood, and is so concluded to have been two miles and a half in circumference. In this wall were several gates leading into the temple, and all of solid brass; supposed to have been made out of the brazen sea, brazen pillars, and other vessels and ornaments of the kind, which Nebuchadnezzar had transported from Jerusalem; for in this temple he is said to have dedicated the spoils of that expedition^d.

In the same place were several images or idols of massy gold, one of them forty feet in height, the same, as supposed with that which Nebuchadnezzar consecrated in the plains of Dura. This last is said to have been sixty cubits, or ninety feet high, which, though it vastly exceeds the dimensions of the former; yet is thought to have been so extraordinary for size, that attempts have been made to prove they were the same, by supposing that in the ninety feet, the height of the pedestal is included, and that the forty feet are reckoned for the height of the statue without the pedestal. As it is said to have weighed one thousand talents of Babylon, it is thence computed that it was worth three millions and a half of our money^e. In a word, the

^a Bochart. Phaleg. par. i. lib. i. cap. 9.

^b Prid. Connect. vol. i. part i. book ii. p. 100. in 8vo.

^c Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7.

^d Herodot. ubi

^e Prid. ubi

supra, p. 101.

weight

weight of the statues and decorations according to Diodorus Siculus, amounting to five thousand and odd talents in gold, the whole is estimated at above one-and-twenty millions of our money; and the like sum is allowed for the treasure, utensils, and ornaments.

Next to this temple, on the east side of the river, stood the old palace of the kings of Babylon, four miles in circuit². Exactly opposite to it, on the other side of the river, was the new palace built by Nebuchadnezzar, eight miles in circumference³.

The two palaces.

But nothing was more wonderful at Babylon than the hanging gardens, which Nebuchadnezzar made in complaisance to his wife Amyite, who being a Mede, and retaining a strong inclination for the mountains and forests of her own country, desired to have something like them at Babylon. They are said to have contained a square of four plethra, or four hundred feet, on each side, and to have consisted of terraces one above another, carried up to the height of the wall of the city; the ascent from terrace to terrace being by steps ten feet wide. The whole pile consisted of substantial arches upon arches, and was strengthened by a wall surrounding it on every side, twenty-two feet thick. The floor on each of them were formed in this order: first, on the tops of the arches was laid a bed or pavement of stones sixteen feet long, and four feet broad; over this was a layer of reed mixed with a great quantity of bitumen; and over this two courses of brick, closely cemented together with plaster; above all these were thick sheets of lead, and on these again the earth or mould of the garden. This floorage was designed to retain the moisture of the mould, that was so deep as to give root to the greatest trees which were planted upon every terrace, together with great variety of herbs, flowers, and vegetables, pleasing to the eye. Upon the uppermost of these terraces was a reservoir, filled by a certain engine with water from the river, from whence the gardens on the other terraces were supplied.

The hanging gardens.

The other works attributed to Nebuchadnezzar by Berossus and Abydenus were the banks of the river, the artificial canals, and the finishing the great artificial lake, said to have been sunk by Semiramis. The canals were cut out on the east side of the Euphrates, to convey the waters of that river, when it overflowed its banks, into

The banks, artificial canals, and lake.

² Strab. lib. xvi. p. 731.
Philostrat. ubi supra.

³ Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

the Tigris, before they reached Babylon^a. The chief of these canals was the Naarmalcha, of which we have spoken before.

The lake was on the west side of Babylon, and, according to the lowest computation, forty miles square, one hundred and sixty in compass, and in depth thirty-five feet, as we read in Herodotus, or seventy-five according to Megasthenes. This lake was dug to receive the waters of the river, while the banks were building on each side of it: but both the lake, and the canal that led to it, were preserved after that work was completed, being found of great use, not only to prevent all overflowings, but to keep water all the year, as in a common reservoir, to be let out, on proper occasions, by sluices, for the improvement of the land.

The banks were built of brick and bitumen, on both sides of the river, to keep it within its channel; and were carried on each side throughout the whole length of the city, and even farther, according to some authors, who reckon they extended one hundred and sixty furlongs, or twenty miles; whence it is concluded they must have begun two miles and a half above the city, and have been continued an equal distance below it, the length of the city being no more than fifteen miles. Within the city they were built from the bottom of the river, and of the same thickness with the walls of the city itself. Opposite to each street, on either side the river, was a brazen gate in the wall^b, with stairs leading down from it to the river: these gates were open in the day, and shut at night.

Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, attribute all these works to Nebuchadnezzar; but Herodotus tells us, the bridge, the banks, and the lake, were the work of a queen who reigned after him, called Nitocris, who may have finished what Nebuchadnezzar left imperfect, and thence have had the honour this historian gives her of the whole^c.

The tower or temple stood to the time of Xerxes. But that prince, in his return from the Grecian expedition, having first plundered it of its immense wealth, demolished the whole, and laid it in ruins. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, proposed to rebuild it, and accordingly set ten thousand men on

^a Berof. apud Joseph. Abyden. apud Euseb. Herodot. lib. i. cap. 185. Megast. ubi supra. ^b Comp. Berof. ubi supra, with Herodot. ubi supra. ^c Vide Prid. ubi supra. p. 105.

work to clear away the rubbish. But his death happening soon after, a stop was put to all farther proceedings in that design. After the death of that conqueror, the city of Babylon began to decline apace; a decay chiefly owing to the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built by Seleucus Nicator, as it is said, to mortify the Babylonians, and peopled with five hundred thousand persons drawn from Babylon, which continued declining till the very people of country were at a loss to tell where it had stood.

We have now seen this first Babylonian monarch, properly so called, in all his majesty, both at home and abroad: what we have remaining to say of him will be of a different nature; for we shall see him under great trouble and anxiety of mind, and even, as the text is commonly understood, degraded beneath the meanest of the race of mankind, and exhibited as an example of terror to all such princes as are swoln with vanity, and intoxicated with power.

He was scarce returned from his late wars, when he had the famous dream of the tree that was to be hewn down. His wise men, astrologers, and Chaldeans, whom he consulted in the first place, not being able to give him any satisfactory interpretation of such an extraordinary vision, he at length revealed it to Daniel, who having heard it "was astonished for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him." At length, after he had recovered from his surprize, he deprecated the evil omen, and excused himself to the king, who was very solicitous with him to utter the truth without fear or disguise. Thus adjured, he told him, the tree he saw was meant of himself; that, by the order of the watcher, and the holy one, concerning the tree, it was signified, that he should be driven out from the society of men, and become as a beast; and that in fine, he should so continue, till he had been brought to a due sense of the supremacy and omnipotence of God: that the stump of the tree, which was to be left, signified that the kingdom should nevertheless revert to him once more after all his misfortunes.

This extraordinary sentence, thus pronounced by a man whom he must entirely have relied on, seems to have made no lasting impression upon him, as it was not immediately executed. About twelve month afterwards, as he was walking in his palace, or on the uppermost of the terraces of his hanging garden, contemplating the glories of the city he had adorned, unable to contain the pride of his heart, he exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon, that

Yr. of Fl.
1778.
Ante Chr.
570.

*Nebuchad-
nazzar's
dream of
the tree.*

Yr. of Fl.
1779.
Ante Chr.
569.

*His pride
and meta-
morphosis.*

• Dan. iv. 29, & seq.

I have

I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" He had no sooner pronounced this insolent ejaculation, than there came a voice from heaven, saying, "O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken, the kingdom is departed from thee^d." Immediately he was driven from the society of men, and dwelt with the beasts of the field, and he eat grass as an ox; and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like bird's claws. Thus runs the letter of the text, which is sometimes taken in the literal meaning, on the supposition that, losing his senses, he wandered about in the fields, and there took up his abode with the cattle, till seven times, or seven years, had passed over his head^e; but, concerning this metamorphosis, and the duration (C) of it, there are a great variety of opinions.

During this interval the reins of government were managed by his son Evil-Merodach, whose misconduct drew upon him the heavy displeasure of his father, when he came to understand the particulars of his administration; for, when his seven years of humiliation expired, he resumed the reins, and threw his son into the prison where Jehoiachin, the captive king of Judah, had lain upwards of thirty years. Having thus satisfied his injured subjects by this exemplary justice on his own son, and given the honour and praise due to God, and acknowledged him to be above all; and all this by a public decree, he continued in the possession of his kingdom a year longer, and then died,

Yr. of Fl.

1786.

Ante Chr.

562.

His death.

^d Dan. iv. 31, & seq.

^e Prid. ubi supra.

(C) "Origen believed the thing to be impossible, and turned it into allegory. Bodin thought he was really changed into a bull, and that he lost even the soul of a man; while others maintain he was changed as to the body only, retaining his reason, as Apuleius did while an ass. Some rabbins have pretended that the soul of Nebuchadnezzar deserted his body, and, for a time, gave place to the soul of an ox, which degraded him into all the inclinations and sensations of that animal (1)." There

are many other conjectures concerning the manner of this accident, with which it is needless to trouble the reader, any more than with the various opinions concerning its duration, some maintaining that the seven years of Nebuchadnezzar must be reduced to three and a half; others are for reducing it to twenty-one months; and Peter Comestor allows but seven. But the bulk of commentators conclude, that we need no interpreter but Daniel himself, who plainly means whole years.

(1) Calmet, Dict. Bibl.

after

after having reigned forty-three years alone, and about twenty months with his father.

The circumstances of his death are omitted in Scripture; but may be supplied from those prophane writers who tell us, that, after all the great things they report him to have done, he ascended to the top of his palace, and that, being there suddenly seized by a spirit from heaven, he prophesied to this effect, and in these words: "Behold, O Babylonians, I foretel you a calamity at hand, which, not the fates, nor our forefather Belus, nor even our queen Beltis may possibly avert. A Persian mule shall come, and, by the assistance of your own gods, shall load your necks with the most galling yoke; and this destruction shall befall you by the means of a Mede, in whom the Assyrians were wont to glory. O would that he, ere thus he betrays my people, were swallowed up by some whirlpool, or overwhelmed in the depths of the sea; or that hurried away into some lonely desert, he might there remain a wanderer, never to behold again the footsteps of mankind, and never to see aught but birds and beasts of prey! O grant unto me, before he is agitated by this rage of mind, to share a happier end!" Thus saying, he was suddenly snatched from the sight of men: the same end Semiramis is said to have made^f.

His prophecy.

He was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach, Ilvoradam, Ebidan-Merodach, or Evil-Maluruch, who, by a false step he took in his father's life-time, may, perhaps, be said to have laid the foundation of that animosity in the Medes and Persians, which brought on the dissolution of the Babylonian empire. For having, in a great hunting match, on occasion of his marriage with Nitocris, entered the country of the Medes, and some of his troops coming up at the same time to relieve the garrisons in those places, he joined them to those he had already with him, and, without the least provocation, began to plunder and lay waste the neighbouring country. Hereupon Astyages, the Mede, attended by his son Cyaxares, his grandson Cyrus, then near sixteen years of age, and such troops as could be assembled on so sudden an emergency, marched out to meet him, determined to repel force by force. The parties engaging, Evil-Merodach was put to the rout, and pursued, with great slaughter, quite to his own borders^g.

Evil-Merodach, in the very beginning of his reign, delivered Jehoiachin, the unhappy king of Judah, from the prison to which he had been confined for the space of

^f Megasth. ex Abyd. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 41. p. 456. ^g Cyropæd. lib. i.

thirty-seven years, and treated him ever afterwards as a king. We know nothing farther concerning Evil-Merodach, except that, indulging himself in sloth and wickedness, he was treacherously murdered by his sister's husband, Neriglissar, after he had reigned two years and somewhat more ^b.

Yr. of Fl. Neriglissar, Niriglissaroor, or Niricassolassurus, who is
1788. represented as the chief of the conspirators against Evil-
Ante Chr. Merodach, usurped the throne. This prince, jealous of
560. the growing power of the Medes and Persians, dispatched
Neriglissar. ambassadors into Lydia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Caria, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, and even to the Indies, to excite the like jealousies in the princes of those countries, and instigate them against the two above mentioned nations, as their common enemies ¹. Cyaxares informed of these intrigues, recalled Cyrus out of Persia with a body of thirty thousand men, and appointed him commander in chief, both of the Medes and Persians, in the impending war with the Babylonians. Three years were spent by both parties in forming alliances and making preparations. In the beginning of the fourth, the Medes and Persians on one side, under the command of Cyrus, and the Babylonians on the other, with their allies, under the conduct of Neriglissar, and Cræsus king of Lydia, took the field. The Babylonian army consisted of a mixed multitude of various nations: for Cræsus, king of Lydia, came with ten thousand horse and upwards of forty thousand light-armed foot; Artamas, king of the Greater Phrygia, brought forty thousand foot, mostly pikemen, and eight thousand horse; Aribæus, king of Cappadocia, led with him six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, mostly armed with missile weapons; Maragdas, the Arabian, conducted ten thousand horse, a hundred chariots, and a great number of slingers. These were the confederates of Neriglissar, and such the quotas they respectively furnished.

The confederate army under him.

As for Neriglissar himself, he headed no more than twenty thousand horse, two hundred chariots, and infantry proportionable. Whether or no this confederate army received any farther addition is not certain; but the Carians, Cilicians, Paphlagonians, and some others, seem to have receded from their first engagements. The army of the Medes and Persians did not amount to above one third of that under the Babylonian king, till they were joined by a considerable reinforcement under Tigranes the Armenian.

^b Berof. apud Joseph. lib. i. contra Apion.

¹ Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i. p. 36, & seq.

In the midst of these great preparations for war ambassadors arrived from India, to enquire into the grounds and causes of it, with an offer of mediation, if it might be accepted, and with a threat, in case it was rejected, of joining those who should appear to have justice on their side.

How this embassy concluded, is uncertain; but the war began very much to the disadvantage of Neriglissar; for Cyrus subdued the Chaldæans in the mountainous country, from whence they were wont to make their incursions upon the country of Armenia. These Chaldæans, as they are called, can have been no other than the proper Assyrians, who, for ought that appears, may have been formerly so called; but the proper Chaldæans, and their mountains, were at a great distance from any part of Armenia. These Chaldæans, according to Xenophon's description, were the most valiant race of men in all those parts, carrying no other arms than a wicker shield and two javelins. They entered willingly into foreign pay, as being naturally addicted to war, and very poor; but they were subdued by Cyrus, and obliged to make peace with their next neighbours the Armenians¹.

War between him and the Medes and Persians.

Chaldæans next to Armenia.

The two armies now appeared in sight of each other: the Assyrians, or Babylonians, under Neriglissar, encamped and fortified themselves with strong entrenchments, while the Medes and Persians covered themselves only with the villages and hills in the neighbourhood. In this posture they continued for some days. At length, the Assyrians leaving their entrenchments, and drawing up in battle-array, Cyrus advanced to attack them; and, closing in with the enemy, broke through their first battalions. The Babylonians, unable to stand the shock, immediately betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Cyrus pursued the enemy close to their entrenchments, but, not thinking himself in a condition to force them, he sounded a retreat. Neriglissar was killed in the battle; and Cyrus, returning next day to the charge, drove the Babylonians from their camp, killed great numbers of them, and took many prisoners, with the baggage of the whole army².

Battle between the Babylonians and the Medes.

Neriglissar slain.

The death of Neriglissar was a great loss to the Babylonians: he was a prince of great courage, conduct, and wisdom; the preparations he had made for the war shewed his wisdom, and his behaviour in battle evinced his valour. But nothing made the Babylonians more sensible of their loss, than the tyrannical government of his son

¹ Cyropæd. lib. ii. p. 62—76.

² Ibid. & lib. iv. p. 87—104.

and successor Laborofoarchod, Labafforafc, or Chabaf-foarach, who was, in every respect, the reverse of his father, addicted to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice. Two instances of his barbarity towards the Babylonian lords Gobryas and Gadates, are particularly mentioned. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting match, to which he had invited him, for no other reason but because he pierced with his dart a wild beast which the king had missed. The other he caused to be made an eunuch, because one of his concubines had commended him as a handsome man. These outrages provoked these noblemen, with the provinces they governed, to revolt to Cyrus, and facilitated the conquest of Babylon. These king took the field against Gadates, but being met by Cyrus, was put to flight, and obliged to retire to his metropolis. Cyrus pursued him to the very walls of Babylon, and there shewed himself twice, in order to provoke him to battle. But finding he could not draw him into the field, he spent the rest of the summer in ravaging the country, and then marched back into Media^k. As soon as Cyrus was retired, Laborofoarchod, being now in no dread of the enemy, gave a loose to all the wicked inclinations that were predominant in him; insomuch that his own subjects, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign^l. As he did not complete a year he is omitted in the canon.

Laborofoarchod was succeeded by Nabonadius, who had the chief hand in the murder. He is called by Herodotus, Labynitus; by Abydenus, Nabannidochus; by Josephus, Naboandal; and by the prophet Daniel, Belshazzar. He was the son of Evil-Merodach, by Nitocris, and the grandson of the great Nebuchadnezzar. Had he been left to himself, the Babylonians would not have bettered themselves by the change of their monarch; but his mother Nitocris, who was a woman of extraordinary abilities, took the main burden of all public affairs upon herself; and, while her son followed his pleasures, did all that could be done by human prudence to sustain the tottering empire. She perfected the works which Nebuchadnezzar had begun for the defence of Babylon; raised strong fortifications on the side of the river; and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, twelve feet high, and fifteen wide. She

^k Cyropæd. lib. v. p. 123—140.
contra Apion.

^l Berof. apud Joseph. lib. i.

likewise built a bridge across the Euphrates, and accomplished several other works, which were afterwards ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar^k. Philostrates, in describing this bridge, tells us, that it was built by a queen, who was a native of Media^l; whence we may conclude this illustrious queen to have been by birth a Mede. Nitocris is said to have placed her tomb over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, with an inscription to the following effect,

IF ANY KING OF BABYLON AFTER ME SHALL BE IN DISTRESS FOR MONEY, HE MAY OPEN THIS SEPULCHRE, AND TAKE OUT AS MUCH AS MAY SERVE HIM; BUT IF HE BE IN NO REAL NECESSITY, LET HIM FORBEAR, OR HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT OF HIS PRESUMPTION.

This monument and inscription are said to have remained untouched till the reign of Darius, who considering the gate was useless, no man caring to pass under a dead body, and being invited by the hopes of an immense treasure, broke it open: but, instead of what he sought, is said to have found nothing but a corpse; and another inscription, to the following effect,

HADST THOU NOT BEEN MOST INSATIABLY AVARITIOUS, AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU WOULDST NEVER HAVE VIOLATED THE ABODE OF THE DEAD^m.

Herodotus mentions a Labynitus, whom in two places, he calls the king of the Babylonians; and a Labynitus, whom he styles emperor of Assyria, and reports to have derived his name from his father. It was, according to him, under this Labynitus that Babylon was taken. As for the Labynitus, who reconciled the Medes and Lydians, he could be no other than Nebuchadnezzar.

Of the reduction of this proud metropolis of the East, in the reign of Nabonadius, Labynitus, or Belsazzar, authors give the following account. Cyrus, having subdued the several nations inhabiting the great continent, from the Ægean sea to the Euphrates, and likewise Syria and Arabia, entered Assyria, and directed his march towards Babylon. Nabonadius, hearing that he was advancing to his metropolis, marched out to give him battle;

^k Herodot. lib. i. cap. 185, 186, 188.
^l Apol. lib. i. cap. 18.

^l Philostrat. in Vit.

^m Herodot. lib. i. cap. 187.

*Cyrus lays
siege to Ba-
bylon.*

but, being put to flight, he returned to Babylon, where he was immediately blocked up, and closely besieged by Cyrus. The siege of this important place was no easy enterprize. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city stored with all kinds of provisions for twenty years. However these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from prosecuting his design; but, despairing of being able to take the place by storm, he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch, reckoning that, if all communication with the country were cut off, the more people there were within the city the sooner they would be obliged to surrender. That his troops might not be overfatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, appointing each body its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their high walls and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the ramparts; and looked upon all his operations, as so much unprofitable labour^a.

Cyrus, having spent two years before Babylon, without gaining any considerable advantage, at length resolved upon the following stratagem, which put him in possession of it. He was informed that a great annual solemnity was to be kept in the city; and that the Babylonians, on that occasion, were accustomed to spend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he thought a proper time to surprise them; and accordingly sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which had been lately dug by Nitocris, with orders, at an appointed time, to break down the great bank which was between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the same time he appointed one body of troops at the place where the river entered into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march in by the bed of the river, which was two stadia in breadth, as soon as they should find it fordable. Towards the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both sides the river above the city, that the water might discharge itself into them, and by these means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained. Then the two above mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, entered the channel, one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by

^a Herodot. lib. i. cap. 178 & seq. & Cyropæd. ib.

Gadates. Finding the gates left open, in consequence of the general disorder of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without opposition. Meeting at the palace, according to their agreement, they surprised the guards, and cut them in pieces. Those who were in the palace, opening the gates to know the cause of this confusion, the Persians rushed in, took the palace, and killed the king, who, sword in hand, came out to meet them. The king being killed, and those who were about him put to flight, the rest submitted, and the Medes and Persians became masters of the place^o. The reduction of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, and fulfilled the prophecies which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel had uttered against that proud metropolis^p. On that very night, while the king entertained a thousand of his lords at a great banquet, in which he used the sacred vessels, which his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, he saw a hand appear and write an unknown inscription upon the plaister of the wall. Alarmed at this phenomenon, he consulted his sages and soothsayers, who owned it was above their comprehension. Then recourse was had to the prophet Daniel, who read the inscription in these words: MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN; and gave the following interpretation; "God has numbered thy kingdom and finished it. Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting. Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." A dreadful denunciation of vengeance which was immediately executed^q (D).

^o Idem, *ibid.*

^p Isai. xiii. xiv. xxi. xliii. xlv. xlvii.

Jerem. xxv. l. li. Dan. v. 21. xi. 8. 12. 15.

^q Dan. v. 15, &c.

(D) As the whole history of Babylon, from the death of Nebuchadnezzar to the reduction of that city by Cyrus, is overcast with an impenetrable mist, writers are strangely puzzled to find out Daniel's Belshazzar among the last kings that reigned there, and equally at a loss concerning his Da-

rius the Mede, who was in that kingdom succeeded by Cyrus. Those who want to see what has been conjectured on the subject, in order to reconcile the sacred and profane historians, (a task hitherto found impracticable) may consult the following authors (1).

(1) Berof. apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. cap. 11. Megasthen. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. Scaliger in Not. ad Fragm. Veter. Græcor. Select. de Emendat. Temp. lib. vi. cap. de Regib. Babyl.

C H A P. XI.

*The History of the Ancient Phrygians, Trojans,
Lycians, Lydians, &c.*

S E C T. I.

*A Brief Account of Asia Proper.**Asia Proper.*

THE different and various acceptations of the word Asia, have created a great deal of confusion among writers, and often led readers into considerable mistakes. There is a seeming contradiction between the sacred and profane writers, as to the provinces comprehended under the name of Asia, which cannot easily be reconciled. That vast continent, which was known to the Greeks and Romans under the name of Asia, was divided by the ancient geographers first into the Greater and Lesser Asia. The Lesser, commonly termed Asia Minor, comprehended a great many provinces; but that which included Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia, was named Asia Proper, or Asia properly so called[†]. Tully, enumerating the regions contained in Asia Proper, makes no mention of Æolis or Ionia, though undoubtedly part of Asia Proper, because they were comprehended partly in Lydia, and partly in Mysia. Lydia, beside the inland country, commonly known by that name, contained also Ionia, lying on the sea-side, between the rivers Hermus and Mæander; and Æolis, extending from Hermus to the river Caicus[‡], or to the promontory Lectum[§], the ancient boundary between Troas and the sea-coast of the Greater Mysia. Asia Proper comprehended Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Æolis, and Ionia. This tract was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north, by Bithynia and Pontus, extending from Galatia to Propontis; on the east, by Galatia, Pamphilia, and Lycia; on the south, by part of Lycia and the Rhodian Sea; on the west, by the Hellespont, by the Ægean, Icarian, and Myrtoan Seas. It lies between the 35th and 41st degree of north latitude, and extends in longitude from 55 to 62 degrees.

[†] Cic. in Orat. pro Flacco.
lib. xii. p. 393.

[‡] Ptol. lib. v. c. 2.

[§] Strabo

As Asia Proper is but a part of Asia Minor, so the Lydian Asia is only a part of Asia Proper (E). Asia, in this acceptation, comprehends Lydia, Æolis, and Ionia; and is that Asia whereof mention is made in the Acts, and St. John's Revelation*. Aristotle tells us†, that Smyrna was at first possessed by the Lydians; and Scylax Coryandensis reckons it among the cities of Lydia; as also Ephesus, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Thyatira, are reckoned by Ptolemy among the cities of Lydia, as is, Laodicea by Stephanus‡.

The Lydian Asia.

The Proconsular Asia, so called because it was governed by a proconsul, according to the distribution of the provinces of the empire made by Augustus, comprehended Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Mysia, Phrygia, and the Proconsular Hellepont. By the same emperor Pontus and Bithynia, were made a prætorian province, and Asia a consular, containing all that part of Asia which lay on this side the river Halys and mount Taurus. In the time of Constantine the Great, the Proconsular Asia was much abridged, and a distinction brought in between the Proconsular Asia, and the Asiatic Diocese; the one being governed by the proconsul of Asia, and the other by the vicarius, or lieutenant of Asia. The Proconsular Asia, according to the description which Ennapius gives us of it‡, seems to have been much the same with the Lydian Asia above mentioned. In the reign of Theodosius the Elder, who succeeded Valens, the Consular Hellepont was taken from the vicarius of Asia, and added to the Pro-

The Proconsular Asia.

* Acts xvi. † Aristot. lib. de Poetica apud Plutarch. in lib. de Vita & Poesi Homer. ‡ Steph. de Urbib. § Eunap. in Vita Maximi.

(E) That in ancient times Lydia was called Mæonia, and the Lydians Mæonians, is manifest from Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius Afer, Strabo, Pliny, Stephanus, and others: and that Mæonia was called Asia, is no less plain from Callinus, who flourished before Archilochus, from Demetrius Scephius, contemporary with Crates, and Aristarchus the grammarian, from Euripides, Suidas, the great etymologist, &c. nay, that Lydia was formerly called Asia, is expressly affirmed by the ancient scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius. From whence Lydia borrowed the name of Asia, is altogether uncertain; some deriving it from a city of Lydia, seated on mount Tmolus; others from one Asias, king of Lydia, who, according to the Lydians, communicated his name to the whole continent. But, be that as it will, it is certain, that Lydia has a better claim to the name of Asia, than any other part of that continent.

consular Asia; but under Arcadius the Proconsular Asia was abridged of all the inland part of Lydia. However, the southern part of Lydia, lying between the Mæander and Cayster, and the maritime provinces from Ephesus to Afios, and the promontory Lectum, were left to the Proconsular Asia *.

The Asiatic Dioceſe.

The Asiatic Dioceſe (F) is sometimes taken in a more strict sense, as distinct from the Proconsular Asia, and the provinces under the jurisdiction of the proconsul; and sometimes in a more extensive sense, as comprehending also the Proconsular Asia. According to this acceptance, all Asia, in the reign of Theodosius the younger, consisted of eleven provinces, three whereof were under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of Asia, viz. the Proconsular Proper, which he governed by himself, the Consular Helleſpont, and that of Rhodes, with the other islands called Cyclades, which were first made a province by Vespasian, and placed under a president †. Eight were governed by the vicarius or lieutenant of Asia; viz. Lydia, Caria, Phrygia Salutaris, Phrygia Pacatiana, Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and Pisidia; these eight constituted what was properly called the Asiatic Dioceſe ‡.

The name of Asia.

As to the common name of Asia, there is a great variety of opinions among the learned, some deriving it from Asia, the daughter of Oceanus and Thetis, wife of Iapetus, and by him mother to Prometheus; others from Afius, son of Atys king of Lydia, from whom that kingdom first, and in length of time the whole continent, was named Asia. Bochart is of opinion §, that it took its name from the Phœnician word Aſi, signifying the *middle*, because Asia Minor, which says he, communicated its name to Asia the Greater, lies as it were in the middle, between Europe and Africa; but these are mere conjectures.

Climate and fertility.

This country is justly esteemed the most agreeable and fruitful division of the globe, whether we consider the fertility of the soil, temper of the climate, nature of the seasons,

* Hieroclis Notitia Imp. in Append. Geograph. Sacr. p. 27. Photius, de Ordine Metropolit. p. 43. & in tom. i. Juris Græco-Romani, p. 90. Subscript. Concil. Chalced. act. vi. Constantinop. vi. act. xvii. &c. † Sextus Rufus, in Breviario. ‡ Alciat. Parerg. lib. v. cap. 13. § Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 36.

(F) The word *Dioceſe*, in tract of country comprehending several provinces under the here speaking of, imports a jurisdiction of one chief ruler.

or the excellence and variety of its productions and fruits. In these respects it was preferred by Tully to all the countries of the known world. The common epithet, whereby the Latin poets distinguish this from other regions, is that of *rich*, alluding not only to the richness of the soil, but also to the wealth and opulence of the inhabitants, which we may easily judge of, from the immense sums that some of the Roman governors are said to have extorted from them, namely, Marc Antony, who, as we are told by Plutarch^a, obtained from the inhabitants of Asia Minor, in the space of one year, the sum of twenty thousand talents.

Asia Minor is at present divided into four parts, viz. Natolia, properly so called, on the west; Caramania, on the south; Aladulia, on the east; and Amasia, on the north. By the Turks the whole country, called by them Nadalu, is divided into five districts under the government of five beglerbeks, who reside at Cotyæum, Tocat, Trabezond, Marosch, and Iconium. These are subdivided into lesser governments, denominated from the city or town where the governor resides.

Its present division.

S E C T. II.

The Description of Phrygia.

WHENCE the small country before us borrowed the name Phrygia is not determined. Some derive it from the river Phryx (now Sarabat) which divides Phrygia from Caria, and empties itself into the Hermus^b; others from Phrygia, the daughter of Asopus and Europa. The Greek writers tell us^c, that the country took its name from the inhabitants, and these from the town of Brygium in Macedonia, from whence they first passed into Asia, and gave the name of Phrygia, or Brygia, to the country where they settled. Bochart is of opinion^d, that this tract was called Phrygia from the Greek verb *φρυγισιν*, to burn or parch, which, according to him, is a translation of its Hebrew name, derived from a verb of the same signification.

No less various are the opinions of authors, as to the exact boundaries of this country; an uncertainty which

Its divisions.

^a Plutarch. in Lucull. & Antonio. ^b Plin. lib. v. cap. 29. ^c Meffal. Corvin. de Progen. Aug. ^d Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 8. Strabo, lib. xii. p. 388.

gave rise to an observation made by Strabo, viz. that the Phrygians and Mysians had distinct boundaries; but that it was scarce possible to ascertain them. The same writer adds, that the Trojans, Mysians, and Lydians, are, by the poets, all blended under the common name of Phrygians, which Claudian extends to the Pisidians, Bithynians, and Ionians. Phrygia Proper, according to Ptolemy, whom we choose to follow, was bounded on the north by Pontus and Bithynia; on the west by Mysia, Troas, the Ægean Sea, Lydia, Mæonia, and Caria; on the south by Lycia; on the east by Pamphylia and Galatia. It lies between the 37th and 41st degree of north latitude, extending in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The inhabitants of this country, mentioned by Ptolemy, are the Lycaones and Anthemisenii towards Lycia; and Moccadelis or Moccadine, the Cyddefes or Cydisses towards Bithynia; and between these the Peltini or Speltini, the Moxiani, Phylacenses, and Hierapolitæ. To these we may add the Berecynthes mentioned by Strabo*.

Phrygia is commonly divided into the Greater and Lesser Phrygia, called also Troas. But this division did not take place till Troas was subdued by the Phrygians; and hence it is more considered by some Roman writers as a part of Phrygia, than Bithynia, Cappadocia, or any other of the adjacent provinces. In after ages, the Greater Phrygia was divided into two districts or governments, one called Phrygia Pacatiana, from Pacatianus, who, under Constantine, bore the great office of the præfectus prætorio of the East; the other Phrygia Salutaris, from some miraculous cures supposed to have been performed there by the archangel Michael.

Its soil and climate.

This country, and indeed all Asia Minor, as lying in the fifth and sixth northern climates, was in ancient times greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grain, being, for the most part, a plain country covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. It was in some parts productive of bitumen, and other combustible substances. It was well stocked with cattle, having large plains and pasture grounds. The air was anciently deemed most pure and wholesome, though it is now in some parts thought extremely gross, great part of the country lying uncultivated.

The cities of note in Phrygia Major were, 1. Apamea or Apamia, a famous mart, and the metropolis of all

* Strabo, lib. xii. sub fin.

Phrygia, till the above mentioned division of Constantine took place. It was seated at the confluence of the Marſya and Mæander. Pliny^f places it at the foot of the hill Signia, ſurrounded by the rivers Marſya, Obrima, and Orga, which empty themſelves into the Mæander; where-in he ſeems to confound the ſituation of the ancient Celænzæ with that of the new city called Apamea. Celænzæ indeed ſtood at the foot of the hill, on which the Marſyas has its ſpring; but Antiochus Soter, ſon to Antiochus Seleucus, who built Apamea of Syria, carried the inhabitants from thence to the new city, which he built about ten miles from thence, where the Marſyas and Mæander begin to flow in one channel; this city he named Apamea from his mother Apamea, wife to Seleucus Nicanor^g. As there are many other cities bearing the ſame name, this for diſtinction ſake is commonly called Apamea Cibotos; but, as to the original of this appellation, authors are not agreed. (G).

Laodicea, now Eſkihiffar, ſeated on the banks of the river Lycus, not far from Apamea. It was firſt called Dioſpolis, afterwards Rheas, and at laſt Diocæſarea and Laodicea. We are told by Stephanus, that Jupiter, appearing to Antiochus, the ſon of Stratonice, in his ſleep, commanded him to build a city, which he did accordingly, calling it Dioſpolis from Jupiter, and Laodicea from his wife Laodice. It was afterwards greatly increaſed by Hiero, by Zeno the Rhetorician, and his ſon Polemon^h, who, being

^f Plin. lib. v. cap. 29.
xxxviii. Marſianus, lib. vi.

^g Strabo ubi ſupra. Liv. lib.

^h Strabo, ibid.

(G) As the word *Kιβωτός* ſignifies *ark* or *coffer*, ſome have ſuppoſed, that it was ſo called, becauſe the ark reſted on the hill from which the river Marſya ſprings. But theſe writers confound the ſituation of Celænzæ with that of Apamea; the former, which never bore the name of Cibotos, was ſituate at the foot of the hill Signia, but Apamea Cibotos, at ten miles diſtance. As thoſe who traded from Italy and Greece to Aſia Minor,

uſed to convey their wares to this city as a place of general reſort, Salmaſius thinks it was called Cibotos from its being, as it were, the common treaſury of thoſe countries. It is worth obſerving, that there are no fewer than nine cities bearing the ſame name, viz. Apamea of Phrygia, of Bithynia, of Piſidia, of Media, of Babylo-nia, of Meſopotamia, of Piſidia, of Sittacene, of Syria; all ſituated between two rivers (1).

(1) Vide Bochart Phaleg. lib. xvii. Salmaſ. Plinianæ Exercitat. cap. 40. p. 389.

honoured

honoured by Cæsar Augustus with the title of king, might, perhaps, out of complaisance to that prince, add his name to that of Jupiter, calling the city Diocæfarea, the city of Jupiter and Cæsar. However, the name of Laodicea, which Strabo derive from the river Lycus¹, prevailed. This city became famous for its wool, which was universally preferred, on account of its softness, as the same author witnesses, even² to that of Miletus, so much extolled by the ancients. With this the inhabitants carried on a very considerable trade, and were accounted the most wealthy people of all Asia Minor. At Laodicea was one of the seven churches mentioned in the Apocalypse; but at present not so much as the ruins of it are any where to be seen, that propheticall ~~thing~~ being fully accomplished; "I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot—because thou art luke-warm—I will spue thee out of my mouth³ (H)."

Hierapolis, famous for its mineral waters, which, according to Strabo⁴, when exposed to the air, petrified in the space of a year, and yet were endued with such a virtue, as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and prove a present remedy against innumerable distempers⁵. Near this city was to be seen an opening on the edge of a hill of great depth, always overspread with a thick fog, and exhaling such a pestilent steam, that no living creature could come within the reach of it, without being immediately stifled. Strabo and Pliny except the Galli or eunuchs of Cybele; Ammianus, and Dio Nicæus, except all eunuchs⁶ (I).

Gordium,

¹ Id. *ibid.*
xiii. sub. fin.

² *Ibid.*

³ Revel. iii. 15, 16.

⁴ Strabo, lib.

prima, sect. 13.

⁵ Vitruvius, lib. viii. cap. 3.

Ulpianus, *Lege*

⁶ Ammian. lib. xxxvii. cap. 6.

(H) Ferrari, in his dictionary, tells us, that Laodicea is still called Laudichia, and by the Turks Nove Lefche; that it is, one of the archbishopricks of Asia Minor, &c. But he is either mistaken, or the town was not quite demolished in his time; at present it lies in ruins, and is only the habitation of wild beasts. Several travellers, misled by the similitude of names, have taken the

village Laotik, near Angoura, for Laodicea. At Eskihissar, as it is now called, there are still to be seen four theatres of white marble, as entire as if they had been but lately built; near one of them is an inscription in honour of the emperor Titus, which the reader will find in Spon's Account of the Seven Churches, lib. iii.

(I) Strabo, an eye-witness says, that in his time this plutonium

Gordium, the seat of Gordius, king of Phrygia, and famous for the Gordian knot, which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. This town was situated on the borders of Phrygia, towards Cappadocia, and not between the two Phrygias, where Justin places it. Not long after the death of Gordius it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as Strabo calls it; and continued in this despicable condition till the triumvirate of Augustus, when it was again made a city, and called Juliopolis, by Cleo, a famous robber, native of that place (K).

Colosse, now Chonos, on the south side of the Meander, to the people whereof St. Paul wrote that Epistle, which is part of our canon.

Sipylos, the residence of king Tantalus, and therefore called also Tantalus. Some place this city in Mæonia, supposing Tantalus to have reigned there. It is observable, that four cities, viz. Sipylos, Archæopolis, Colpe, and Lebade, were successively built on the same spot, and destroyed by earthquakes.

Synnada, Synada, or Synnade, noted for its marble quarries. This city was by Constantine the Great, declared the metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris, after his divi-

tionium or opening was inclosed with balusters, taking up half an acre of ground in compass; that the pestilent steam kept within that inclosure, so that one might approach the baluster without the least danger; but whoever advanced one step farther was immediately stifled. What Strabo affirms is vouched by Ammianus, Dio Nicæus, both eye-witnesses, Apuleius, and many others. The city of Hierapolis is now called Bamboakkale; and some footsteps of what it once was, are to be seen in the many heaps of ruins, and fine pillars, in the fields where it stood; inasmuch that Dr. Smith, after viewing them, could not help thinking this city to have been inferior to none.

(K) This Cleo, having, with a band of robbers, possessed himself of a strong hold on Mount Olympus, called Collydium, by frequent excursions from thence prevented the officers of Labienus, prefect of Asia, from gathering the annual tributes; on which consideration, he was by Marc Antony rewarded with large territories. But, in the Actiac war, revolting from Antony, he sided with Augustus, who added great part of Morea to what Antony had bestowed on him, created him priest of Jupiter Acrettenus, worshipped by the Myrians, and high-priest of Bellona, adored in Commana of Pontus, a dignity no ways inferior to that of king (1).

(1) Strab. lib. xii. p. 391.

son of Phrygia into Pacatiana and Salutaris took place. Besides these, and several other cities of less note, mentioned by the ancients, there were in later times some of no small account; such as Saqua, the habitation of Etrogul, father of Ottoman the first king of the Turks; Chara-Chifar, by the Greeks called Melampyrus or the Black Tower, Cilleuxa, Einegiol, &c. taken by the Ottoman from the Christian princes, at the first rise of the Ottoman empire.

Rivers.

The rivers of this country, which we shall take notice of, are, the Mæander, now Madre and Mindre, a river so celebrated by the ancients for its windings and turnings, that all such turnings are from thence called Mæanders. It rises on the hill Celænæ, the same as Aulocrene mentioned by Pliny, at the foot of which stood anciently a famous city of the same name. Pliny^a and Strabo^o derive it from a lake on the top of the said hill. It passes through Phrygia, divides Caria from Lydia, and after six hundred windings^p, by which it seems to flow back to its fountain-head, empties itself into the Archipelago, between Priene and Miletus (L).

The river Marfyas, so named from Marfyus, a celebrated musician, who, challenging Apollo, was by him overcome, and slayed for his presumption. Most of the ancients tell us, that this river hath its spring near that of the Mæander; but Maximus Tyrius, who was upon the spot, derives them both from the same source^q. It rushes down from a considerable height between rugged rocks, and precipices with great noise, on which account it was called by Herodotus^r Cataracta. It has not only the same spring with the Mæander, but flows in the same channel through the town of Celænæ, standing at the foot of the

^a Lib. xxxviii.
lib. i.

^o Lib. xii. p. 366.

^p Dio Prusæus,

^q Serm. xxxviii.

^r Lib. vii. cap. 26.

(L) The Cayster, now Minderfcare, bears such a resemblance to the Mæander, that many of our modern travellers, and among them Pietro della Valle, du Loir, and Monconis, have mistaken the one for the other. The Turks call the Cayster Cutchouk-mindre and Minderfcare, that

is, the Little Mæander, or the Black Mæander; and the Mæander itself, Boyouc Mindre, the Great Mæander. Some have observed, that it forms in its course the following Greek characters, ξ, ζ, ς, ω, ς; some pretend that Dædalus formed his labyrinth on this plan (2).

(2) Vide Spon. Voyag. d' Italie, &c. tom. i. p. 244.

river on which it rises. Leaving the town it divides itself into two branches, forming these two rivers, the one the most winding stream in the world, the other without so much as one turning during its whole course, and therefore flowing with an incredible rapidity. Near Apamea, after a course of ten miles only, the Marfyas is again received within the banks of the Mæander, which it left at Celænæ; so that in reality these two rivers are but two branches of the same original stream.

Sangarius, Sangaris, or Sangurus, is numbered by Pliny among the rivers of note¹; it springs from the hill Dindymus, washes Phrygia and Bithynia, and empties itself into the Black Sea. Phryx, which divides Phrygia from Caria, and disembogues itself into the Hermus, now Sarabat. Hermus, much celebrated by the poets for its golden sands, takes its rise near Dorylaum, and falls into the Archipelago near Smyrna. Myfias, Orga, Obrima, &c.

S E C T. III.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, &c. of the Ancient Phrygians.

THE Phrygians deemed themselves the most ancient people of the world, which opinion seems to have prevailed even among the Egyptians, at least in the time of Psammeticus, who, in point of antiquity, looked upon all other nations with an eye of contempt. *Their antiquity.*

As to their origin all is dark and uncertain: some suppose them descended from Togarmah, one of Gomer's sons; and of this opinion are Josephus and St. Jerom, which last adds, that they were known to the Hebrews under the name of Tigrammanes. Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, and Eustathius, led by the similitude of names, derive them from the Brygians, a people of Macedonia, who, passing into Asia Minor, were, with a small alteration, called Phrygians, and the country which they settled in named Phrygia. All that can be concluded from this similitude of names, is, that they were both derived from the same origin: but, in order to prove that the Phrygians were a colony of the Brygians, rather than the Brygians a colony from Phrygia, recourse must be had to some other argument. Bochart² is of opinion, that the Phry-

Origin.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat.

² Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 8.

gians were the offspring of Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, the word Phrygia being the Greek translation of his name. Josephus makes Gomer the father of the Galatians, but he, by the Galatians, must necessarily mean the Phrygians inhabiting that part of Phrygia, which the Galatians had made themselves masters of: the descendants of Gomer being placed by Ezekiel * northward of Judæa, near Togarmah (which Bochart takes to be Cappadocia) long before the Gauls passed over into Asia. We are willing to let Gomer enjoy the fine country which Bochart is pleased to give him, and allow him the honour of being the progenitor of the Phrygians, since we know no other person on whom it can be conferred with any degree of probability.

Their character.

The ancient Phrygians are described as superstitious, voluptuous, and effeminate, without any prudence or forecast, and of such a servile temper, that nothing but stripes and ill usage could make them comply with their duty; which gave rise to several trite and well known proverbs (M). They are said to have been the first inventors of divination by the singing, flying, and feeding of birds. Their music, commonly called the Phrygian mood, is alleged by some as an argument of their effeminacy.

Their government.

Their government was certainly monarchical; for all Phrygia was, during the reigns of some kings, subject to one prince. Ninnacus, Midas, Manis, Gordius, and his descendants, were undoubtedly sovereigns of all Phrygia. But, some time before the Trojan war, we find this country divided into several petty kingdoms, and read of divers princes reigning at the same time. Apollodorus † mentions a king of Phrygia contemporary with Ilus king of Troy. Cedrenus ‡ and others speak of one Teuthrans,

* Ezek. xlviii. 6.

† Lib. iii.

‡ Cedrenus, p. 104.

Sophocl. in Ajace. Calaber. lib. iii.

(M) “ Phryges sero sapiunt, Phryx verberatus melior, Phryx non minus quam Spyntharus, &c.” which proverbs intimate their servile temper; and shew, that they were more fit to bewail misfortunes in an unmanly manner, than to prevent them by proper measures. Their music too was suited to

their effeminate temper. The Doric mood was a kind of grave and solid music; the Lydian, a doleful and lamentable harmony; but the Phrygian chiefly calculated to effeminate and enervate the mind. But this character is contradicted by others.

king

king of a small country in Phrygia, whose territories were ravaged by Ajax, himself slain in single combat, his royal seat laid in ashes, and his daughter, by name Tecmessa, carried away captive by the conqueror. Homer² makes mention of Phoreys and Ascanius, both princes, and leaders of the Phrygian auxiliaries, that came to the relief of Troy. Tantalus was king of Sipylus only, and its district, a prince no less famous for his great wealth, than infamous for his covetousness, and other detestable vices. That Phrygia was subdued either by Ninus, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, or by the Amazons, as we read in Suidas⁷, is not sufficiently warranted. Most authors, that speak of Gordius, tell us, that the Phrygians, having sent to consult an oracle, in order to know how they might put an end to the intestine broils, which rent their country into many factions and parties, received for answer, that the most effectual means to deliver themselves and their country from the calamities they groaned under, was to commit the government to a king. This advice they followed accordingly, and placed Gordius on the throne.

As to their commerce, all we can say is; that Apamea was the chief emporium of all Asia Minor. Thither resorted merchants and traders from all parts of Greece, Italy, and the neighbouring islands. Besides, we know from Syncellus, that the Phrygians were for some time masters of the sea, and none but trading nations ever prevailed on that element. The country produced many choice and useful commodities, which afforded considerable exports. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. But, as most of the Phrygian records are lost, we will not dwell on conjectures so difficult to be ascertained.

*Their trade,
laws,
learning.*

We have no set form of their laws; and as to their learning, since we are told, that, for some time, they enjoyed the sovereignty of the sea, we may at least, allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy, and add to these, from what we have said above, a more than ordinary knowledge of music.

Some have been of opinion, that the Phrygian language bore a great resemblance to the Greek; but the contrary is manifest from the few Phrygian words which have been transmitted to us, and carefully collected by Bochart² and

Their language.

* Iliad, B. 7 Suid. vit. 'Ορδίου.
Utrum Æneas unquam fuerit in Italia?

2 Bochart. Quæst.

Rudbechius ^a. To these we may add the authority of Strabo ^b, who, after attempting to derive the name of a Phrygian city from the Greek, concludes, that it is a difficult matter to discover any similitude between the barbarous words of the Phrygian language and the Greek. The Phrygian tongue, after the experiment made by Psammetichus king of Egypt, was looked upon by the Egyptians as the most ancient language of the world. But other nations, particularly the Scythians, refused to submit to their opinion, as founded on an argument of no real weight. "As the two children," say they, "had never heard the voice of any human creature, the word *bec*, or *bekkos*, the first they uttered, was only an imitation of the goats that had suckled them, and happened to be a Phrygian word signifying *bread* (L)."

*Their religion.
Cybele their chief deity.*

The ancient Phrygians were greatly addicted to superstition. They had many idols; but the goddess Cybele seems to have been their principal deity. She was called Cybele, Berecynthia, Dindymene; from Cybelus, Berecynthus, Dindymenus, all hills of Phrygia, and Idæa from Mount Ida in Troas, because on these hills she was worshipped in a particular manner. She was also named Cubebe, because her priests, when seized with their frantic fits, used to throw themselves on their heads (M). The history of Cybele is variously related by the Greek, Phrygian, and Roman mythologists. The first pretend that she sprang from one of the stones used by Deucalion and Pyrrha for repeopleing the earth after the deluge; and expatiate on the absurd fable of Accestis and Attis, as it is particularized by Arnobius. The Phrygians affirm she was daughter of their first king Meon, debauched by Attis, whom her father caused to be put to death; and that she afterwards wandered with Apollo to the country of the Hyperboreans. According to the Roman mythology, she was the daughter of heaven and earth, and wife of Saturn, the same with Ops, Rhea, Vesta, and the Dea Bona ^c.

^a Rudbec. in Atlant. tom. i. p. 36.

^b Strab. lib. xii.

^c Vide Arnob. contra Gentes, lib. viii. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. ii. iv. Liv. decad. iii. lib. ix.

(L) Goropius Becanus makes use of the same argument to prove, that the High-Dutch is the original or mother-tongue of the world, because

the word *becker* in that language signifies a *baker*.

(M) From the Greek verb *κεκέναι*, in caput provolvi.

This

This goddess was pictured sitting in a chariot drawn by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and attired with a garment seeded with flowers of different colours. Allegorists, by Cybele mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon; the key she holds in her hand intimates that the earth, which during the winter, is in a certain manner locked up, begins to open in the spring, and the seeds to shoot up; her garment, variegated with flowers of divers colours, is a symbol of the earth beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers; the lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all sorts of animals, which she both produces and nourishes; finally, Saturn, that is, Time, is feigned to be her husband, to signify that the earth produces nothing but in time. Eusebius^d and others are of opinion, that Cybele was a woman famous for her skill in remedies against such distempers as young children are subject to, and that on this knowledge are grounded all the stories related of her.

How pictured.

Cybele had her peculiar priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices. Her priests were called in the Phrygian language Cubeboi, for the reason we have alleged above. The Greeks and Latins named them Curetes, Corybantes, and Galli, from the river Gallus flowing through Pessinus, where this goddess had a magnificent temple. They were also styled *Idæi dactyli*; but it is no easy matter to account for this appellation. What different authors have written on the subject, is no other than a collection of absurd contradictions^e (N).

Her priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices.

The

^d Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. Euseb. de Præp. Evang. Vide Strab. lib. x. Apollon. in Argonaut. Fr. not. in Scholiast. Lucian. tom. ii. Natal. Comes, lib. ix. Myth. cap. 7. Diodor. p. 223. Dionys. lib. i. p. 38. 42. Newton. Chron. of Anc. Kingdoms, chap. ii. p. 146.

(N) Clemens Alexandrinus ascribes to the Curetes the invention of musical chimes, and of the letters called Ephesian. These Curetes were no less esteemed for their skill and knowledge in religious matters, and mystical practices, than for their arts and sciences. In Phrygia, they attended the mysteries of Cybele; in Crete, and the Terra Curetum, those of Jupiter, who had been brought up under their care and tuition in a cave of Mount Ida, where they danced about him in their armour with great noise, to drown the cries of the infant, and conceal him from his father Saturn, who sought his destruction. Cybele, or the Great Mother, was sometimes represented with a key, and sometimes with a drum,

*Her eunuch
priests.*

The ceremonies performed by these priests in honour of this goddess were these: at stated times they used to carry her statue about the streets, dancing and skipping round it; and, after having with violent gesticulations worked themselves up into a kind of frenzy, they began to cut and slash their bodies with knives and lancets. This ceremony was performed in commemoration of the grief wherewith Cybele was transported at the death of her beloved Attis. A pine-tree was yearly wrapped up in wool, and with great solemnity carried by the priests into the temple of the goddess, in commemoration of her wrapping up after the same manner the dead body of Attis, and carrying it to her cave; on these occasions the priests were crowned with violets, which were supposed to have sprung from the blood of Attis, when he had laid violent hands on himself. The victims immolated in honour of the Phrygian goddess were bulls or she-goats, whence the sacrifice was called *Taurobolium* or *Criobolium*. At Rome, a sow was yearly sacrificed to her, and the ceremony performed by a priest and priests sent for out of Phrygia on that occasion. Her priests (those at least who were known under the name of Galli) were all eunuchs; this castration the great goddess required of them in memory of Attis, who was said to have deprived himself of his virility; and the waters of the river Gallus were believed to inspire them with such a frantic enthusiasm, as impelled them to perform the operation on themselves without the least reluctance. They were not allowed to drink wine, because Attis, overcome with that liquor, disclosed his amours with Accestis, which he had ever before concealed with the utmost care. They abstained from bread, in commemoration of the long fast which Cybele kept after the death of the same Attis. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occasions, which tenet, some tell us, was common to all the Phrygians. The priests were placed after their death on a stone of ten cubits high^f.

^f Arnob. lib. v. Hieronym. Epist. ad Lætara.

in her hand; a circumstance Phœnicians first introduced, as which has made some think, Sir Isaac Newton observes, that she was the same Syrian goddess Astarte, whose chariot was also drawn by lions. Lucian tells us, that she was the Cretan Rhea, that is, according to some, Europa, the sister of Cadmus; and thus the Sidon.

Besides

Besides Cybele, who was the peculiar deity of Phrygia, the Phrygians worshipped divers others idols, namely, Bacchus, whom they styled Sabazios, and his priests and temples Saboi. Apollodorus acquaints us, that, while Bacchus was travelling through Phrygia, he was purified by Cybele, instructed in her mysteries, and presented by her with a stole, which was the first he ever used. Adagyus, whom Bochart takes to be Hermaphroditus, the son of Venus and Mercury, there being, at least to his ear, a great similitude of sound between Adagyus and Androgynus. Some rank also the Cabiri or Cabires among the Phrygian deities; and add, that they were so called from Cabyrus, a hill in Phrygia, or, as Stefimbrotus terms it, in Berecynthia. But others, with more appearance of truth, derive their name from the Hebrew word cabir, signifying *great or powerful*.

Other deities of the Phrygians. Bacchus.

Adagyus.

Cabiri.

We likewise read of some dances and songs used by the Phrygians in solemnizing the festivals of their gods, and sometimes on other occasions, which they called lityerfes, from Lityerfes son of Midas, king of Phrygia. Hesychius mentions certain Phrygian dances, called by him bricifmata, without doubt from the word Bryges, the ancient name of the Phrygians.

Dances and songs used by the Phrygians.

S E C T. IV.

The Reigns of the Kings of Phrygia.

THE succession and reigns of the kings of Phrygia are overcast with such an impenetrable mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is no easy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we shall here produce what occurs in history relating thereto, and appears most worthy of credit; though we cannot fix, with any degree of certainty, the date of their reigns and actions.

The first king of Phrygia we find mentioned in history is Nannacus, Annacus, or Cannacas. Suidas says, he reigned before the flood of Deucalion; and that, from thence, things exceeding ancient were proverbially said to be from the time of Nannacus. He lived to a very great age; for it is recorded of him, that, when he was above three hundred years old, he sent to enquire of all those oracles, that were in any repute, how long he should

Nannacus.

Bochart, ubi supra.

G g 3

live.

live. The oracles unanimously answered, that at his death all things were to perish; whereupon, repairing with his subjects to the temples of the gods, he strove there with many sighs and tears to appease their wrath, and avert the impending calamities; and thence "to weep like Nannacus," became a trite expression to signify an extraordinary grief or sorrow^b. Not long after, Nannacus died, and the flood of Deucalion ensued, which was attended with the destruction of mankind.

Midas.

Midas appears next, of whom all we can say is, that he resided at Pessinus, and designed to dispose of his daughter, by name Ia, in marriage to Attis, or Atys, as we have already mentioned.

Manis.

The next king we read of is Manis, a prince, as Plutarch informs usⁱ, of such prowess, and virtue, that the word Manic, derived from his name, became synonymous with *great*, whence Manic achievements were among the Phrygians the same as *great, glorious, heroic achievements*^k.

Gordius.

After these reigned Gordius, who was raised from the plough to the throne. His elevation is related thus: while he was one day ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke, and continued there all day. Gordius, terrified at this prodigy, went to consult the sooth-sayers of Telmissus, a city in Lydia, about so extraordinary an event; for the art of divining was, in a manner, hereditary to all the Telmissians. At his entering the city he met with a most beautiful young woman, who, upon his enquiring after the sooth-sayers, and acquainting her with the motives of his journey, informed him, as she was herself skilled in the art, that nothing less than a kingdom was prefaged by that omen; and at the same time proposed to share with him, in wedlock, the hopes with which she had inspired him. This offer seemed to him the greatest happiness that could attend a crown: he therefore readily accepted her proposal, gratifying at the same time his own inclination. Not long after a sedition breaking out among the Phrygians, the oracles, which they consulted on that occasion, were all unanimous in advising them to commit the government to a king, if they desired to put a stop to the growing evils. Upon this response the Phrygians having sent again to consult about the person whom they should raise to that dignity, their ambassadors were enjoined to acquaint them, that

^b Erasim. Chiliad.

ⁱ Plutarch de Isid. & Osir.

^k Erasim.

Adag. Chiliad. i. cent. iii. 77.

the first man, who after their return should visit in a cart the temple of Jupiter, was by the gods designed for their king. The ambassadors had scarce delivered the answer of the oracle, when Gordius appeared riding in his cart, and was immediately, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king of Phrygia. Gordius, acknowledging the crown from Jupiter, in memory of so signal a favour consecrated in his temple the cart to Regal Majesty, which, not by the Phrygians only, but other nations, was adored as a goddess. To the beam of the cart he fastened a knot woven by such art, and so perplexed, that the monarchy of the world was promised by the oracles to him who should untie it. Alexander the Great having attempted it in vain, cut it at last with his sword, and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle. We know nothing more of Gordius, but that he built the city of Gordium, which was his residence, and that of all the princes of the Gordian family. Plutarch writes^m, that his son Midas was born of the goddess worshipped by the Romans under the name of Bona Dea; but, whether she was wife to Gordius, is much questioned by the mythologists (O).

Gordius was succeeded by his son Midas, of whom it was recorded, that, when he was a child, a swarm of ants was observed very busy one day, while he was asleep, in conveying their stores of wheat into his mouth; whereupon the oracles being consulted, returned answer, that immense riches were presaged by that omen. The prediction was completely fulfilled; for he is accounted by all the ancients, one of the richest princes that ever reigned. Strabo saysⁿ, that he drew vast treasures from mines of metal, discovered perhaps in his reign, on Mount Bermius. He is celebrated by some writers for the comeliness of his person; by others, for the religious bent of his mind. He is said to have been instructed by Orpheus in the mysteries of religion, and to have filled Phrygia with new deities, temples, priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices^o. He introduced the custom of mourning over the dead with doleful songs or dirges; and, by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceased mother,

^m Plutarch. in Vita Cæsaris.

ⁿ Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 680.

^o Arrian. lib. ii. Justin. lib. xi.

(O) Different accounts of and they are all equally uncertain their succession, are given by (1),

Ælian, Arrian, Justin, &c.

(1) Ælian. Vit. H. lib. i. cap. 1. Arrian. lib. iii. Justin. lib. xi. cap. 7.

brought the Phrygians by degrees to worship her as a goddess^p. He built the town of Ancyra^q, where an anchor of his contrivance was to be seen in the temple of Jupiter, when Pausanius travelled through Greece. He is said to have reigned not over Phrygia only, but also Dardania. Cleobulus Lyndius, one of the seven sages of Greece, honoured his monument with an epitaph, which is falsely ascribed by some to Homer^r. His wife, by name Hermodica, is celebrated by Heraclides for her beauty and wisdom, and said to have been the first that taught the inhabitants of Cyme to coin money^s. By her, Midas had three sons, Gordius, Ancharus, and Otreus; his fourth son Lityerces was a bastard (P).

Gordius II.

After Midas, reigned his eldest son Gordius; but all we can say of him is, that he surrounded the town of Gordium with a wall^t. His brother Ancharus is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even sacrificed his life for the public welfare. The fact is related thus^u: during the reign of his father Midas, the

^p Suidas *Ελλην.*

^q Nonnus, in Orat. xxx. Greg. Naz. Pau-

san. in Atticis. Suidas *Μιδας*.

^r Plutarch, in Vita, & Antholo-

gium Planudis.

^s Heraclides in Pelitiis.

^t Stephan. p. 99.

^u Plutarch in Parall. Stobæus, Serm. vii.

(P) Nothing has rendered the name of Midas more famous than the Greek proverb *Μιδας οὐς ὤτα*, that is, *Midas has asses ears*; but what gave rise to that saying, is variously reported. The poets tell us, that, in a trial of skill between Pan and Apollo, both famous musicians, and rivals in that art, Midas gave sentence in favour of the former, whereupon Apollo clapped a pair of asses ears on his head: this badge of ignorance he artfully concealed a long time under his diadem; but at last it was unfortunately discovered by his barber, and made public. Others say, that Midas, having offered an affront to Bacchus, was by the incensed deity me-

tamorphosed into an ass. Canon in his first narration, tells us, that Midas, having found a treasure, became very rich; that, being instructed by Orpheus on Mount Pierius, he got himself by various artifices proclaimed king of the Brygians; that in his reign Silenus appeared on Mount Brime; that whatever Midas touched was immediately turned into gold; and that, making use of this prodigy, he persuaded his subjects to remove out of Europe into that country which lies on the Hellespont; that he settled in *Myſia*, and there changed the name of his subjects; calling them no more Brygians, but Phrygians (2).

(2) Canon. apud Phot. Biblioth.

earth

earth opened to a prodigious depth, and swallowed up great part of the city Celænæ; whereupon Midas, having recourse to his oracles, understood that the opening would not close till the most valuable thing in human life were thrown into it. This answer was no sooner imparted to the inhabitants, than the gold, silver, jewels, and whatever else of any value came to their hands, was eagerly sacrificed to the common safety. But, all to no effect, the chasm continued still open. Ancharus considering with himself, that nothing in the world was of such value as a human soul, embraced his father, took leave of his wife Timothea, and, mounting on horseback, rode full speed into the opening, which immediately closed. His example was long after followed in a parallel case by Curtius the Roman.

Otreus is styled by Homer * king of all Phrygia, and said to have been a contemporary with Anchises; whence we may conclude, that he succeeded his brother Gordius. *Otreus.*

Lityerses reigned at Celænæ, and is described as a rustic, unfociable, and inhuman tyrant. Sositheus, the tragedian, paints him as a man of an insatiable and canine appetite, he having in one day emptied three large baskets of bread, and drank twelve gallons of wine. He took great pleasure in agriculture; and used often to labour in the fields like a common husbandman. But, as acts of cruelty were what he chiefly delighted in, he used to oblige such as happened to pass by while he was reaping, to join with him in the work; and then, cutting off their heads, bind up their bodies in the sheaves. For these, and such cruelties he was put to death by Hercules, and his body thrown into the Mæander †. However, his memory was cherished by the reapers of Phrygia; and a hymn, from him called Lityerses, sung in harvest-time, in honour of their fellow-labourer ‡. *Lityerses.*

Midas II. was king of all Phrygia; but whose son he was, or whom he succeeded, is what we find no where recorded. He was an usurper, and seized on the crown in the following manner: one night, under pretence of offering a solemn sacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of Gordium, attended with a numerous band of Phrygians, playing on all sorts of musical instruments, *Midas II.*

* Homer in Hymnia. † Athenæus, lib. x. cap. 1. Suidas *Antiquar.* Pollux, lib. x. ‡ Theocritus, Idill. x. Erasmus adag. Chiliad. iii. cent. iv, ad 75.

with swords and daggers concealed under their garments. The citizens, led by their curiosity, and not suspecting any treachery, followed them out of the town, when the conspirators, all on a sudden throwing away their musical instruments, fell upon the multitude sword in hand, seized the city, and in that terror and confusion, no body daring to oppose them, proclaimed Midas king of Phrygia^a.

Gordius
III.

Midas II. was succeeded by Gordius III. perhaps his son. He is mentioned by Herodotus^b as father to Midas, which is all we find recorded of him. Herodotus does not style him king; but, as his son reigned, it is not unlikely that he held the crown before him.

Midas III.

Midas III. son of Gordius, was the first among foreign princes that sent donations to the oracle at Delphi; he presented that deity with the royal seat or tribunal. Herodotus, in whose time it was still to be seen, commends it as a piece of most exquisite workmanship^c; at that time it stood by the golden cups, with which Gyges king of Lydia had presented the same oracle; for, after Midas, Gyges was the first of the Barbarians who sent presents to Delphi². Perhaps this Midas was succeeded by another Gordius; for we find, that the kings of Phrygia took alternately the names of Gordius and Midas.

Yr. of Fl.
1713.
Ante Chr.
635.

Midas IV.

Midas IV. lived in calamitous times, when the Cimmerians, being driven out of Europe by the Scythians, invaded Asia Minor, possessed themselves of Sardis, and made a dreadful havock of the Lydians, Paphlagonians, and Phrygians. Midas finding himself in no condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, and foreseeing the many evils to which he was inevitably exposed, thought best to prevent them, by putting an end to his unhappy life, by drinking bull's blood^d. Plutarch says^e, that Midas thus ended his life, being driven to despair by frightful dreams and apparitions; but these, in all likelihood, were occasioned by the terror and consternation he was in at the approach of so dreadful and merciless an enemy. Midas had two sons, Adrastus, and another, whose name is not mentioned in history. Adrastus, having unfortunately killed his brother in his father's life-time, and being thereupon banished Phrygia, repaired to the court of Croesus king of Lydia, who not only purified him, according to the custom of those days, from the

^a Polyænus, lib. vii.

viii. cap. 138.

^b Herodot. lib. i. cap. 14. & lib.

^c Herodot. lib. i. cap. 14.

² Hero-

dot. ib.

^d Strab. lib. i. Eustathius in Odyss. A.

^e Plu-

tarch. in Q. Flaminio.

Blood he had innocently shed, but earnestly pressed him to remain at his court, assuring him he should want for nothing. Adrastus complied with this request, and, being entrusted with the education of the king's favourite son, by name Atyr, he unfortunately killed him too at the chace; an accident which so grieved him that he laid violent hands on himself, though Cræsus had generously forgiven him. In him ended the royal family of Phrygia, which became a province of the Lydian monarchy, and continued in that state till Cræsus was conquered, and all Lydia reduced by Cyrus.

S E C T. V.

The History of Phrygia Minor.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime, called Hellespontiacæ, and the Mediterranean, termed Epictetus. The former borrowed its name from the Hellespont, and extended along the coast from the town of Percote, to the promontory Lectum or Lecton, opposite to the north-side of the island of Lesbos. This part was properly called Troas, or Troia, though the Trojan kingdom extended from the river Asopus to the banks of the Caicus^f, including not only Troas, but also the Greater and Lesser Mysia. Epictetus, or the inland part of Phrygia Minor, extended to the neighbourhood of mount Olympus, in the Greater Mysia. This part at first belonged to Prusias king of Bithynia, who yielded it, by agreement, to Eumenes king of Pergamus; whence it was called Epictetus, that is, *acquired*. However, these appellations are frequently confounded, and both attributed to all Phrygia Minor.

Phrygia Minor lay between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among authors, as to the boundaries of the inland provinces. In general we may say, that Phrygia Minor, as comprehending both the Hellespontiacæ and Epictetus, was bounded by the Propontis on the north, by the Ægean Sea on the south, by Mysia Minor on the east, and the Hellespont on the west.

On the sea-coast were the cities of Percote, Abydus, Arisba, Dardanum, Rhetum, Sigeum, Troy or Ilium, Larissa,

*Cities of
Phrygia
Minor.*

^f Strab. lib. xiii. p. 582.

Colonzæ, Alexandria, and Troas. Percote is often mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, and Homer, which last speaks of one Merops, and his two sons, as being of this city^g. Abydos was built by the Milesians, on the Hellespont, and became famous for the poetical story of Hero and Leander. Here it was that Xerxes began his bridge, over which, in seven days and seven nights, he marched seventeen hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, exclusive of camels and carriages. Here all Alexander's cavalry, and most of his infantry, landed under the command of Parmenio, on their passing out of Europe into Asia. Geographers are generally of opinion that the castles of the Dardanelles were built on the ruins of Sestos and Abydos; but they are manifestly mistaken, for, those castles are directly opposite to each other; whereas Sestos was much nearer the Propontis than Abydos; and Strabo^h reckons three thousand seven hundred and fifty paces from the port of Abydos to that of Sestos. Besides, there are no remains of antiquity to be seen near the castles, but very remarkable vestiges three miles farther, where the channel is considerably narrowerⁱ (Q).

Arifba,

^g Homer. Iliad. A. ver. 229.

^h Strab. lib. xiii. p. 460.

ⁱ Tournefort Voyage au Levant.

Spon Voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c.

(Q) The Hellespont, every one knows, signifies *the sea of Helle*; for the ancients tell us, that a daughter of Athamas, king of Thebes, whose name was Helle, was drowned in that channel, as she was carrying the golden fleece to Colchis with her brother Phryxus (1). The name of Dardanelles is probably derived from Dardanum, an ancient city not far from the castles bearing that name. This strait was anciently called the Hellespont, and the strait of Abydos; but now it goes under the following names, the strait of Gallipoli, the channel of the Dardanelles, the arm of St.

George, from a famous church of St. George in a village called Peristafis, not far from Gallipoli; it is known to the Turks by the name of Boghas; or strait of the White Sea.

The mouth of the channel is defended by two castles, which Mahomet IV. built in 1659, to secure his fleet against the insults of the Venetians, who used to attack it in fight of the old castles. The waters, that pass through this strait from the Propontis, flow with great rapidity; when the north wind blows, no ship can enter; but, when the wind is south, the current is scarce perceptible. Tournefort tells

(1) Eustath. in Dionys. p. 810.

Arisba, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of Alexander's army, after he had passed the Hellespont. Dardanus, built by king Dardanus, was a promontory, bearing the same name. This city was the residence of Dardanus, and his successor Erichthonius. It communicated its name to the neighbouring country, and, in length of time, to all Troas. Some think, that the Dardanelles borrowed their name from this city. Here Mithridates and Sylla concluded a peace. Some say, with what foundation we know not, that Dardanus was the patrimony of Æneas. Rhæteum, memorable for the tomb of Ajax, who was said to have been interred there^k. Sigeum, seated on a promontory of the same name, whence that sea is called the Sigean Sea^l. On this promontory was the tomb of Achilles, which Alexander honoured with a visit (R).

Troy, or Ilium, a city made immortal by the inimitable poems of Homer and Virgil, was built by Tros, king of that country, who called it Troy from his own name, and Ilium from that of his son Ilus. It was seated on a rising ground near mount Ida, and about five miles from

^k Strab. lib. xiii. p. 409.

^l Virg. Æneid. ii. ver. 312.

us, that the mouth of the Hellespont is four miles and a half over; but Le Brun says (2), that it is only a mile and a quarter. Spon (3) informs us, that where the old castle stands, the Hellespont is near two miles broad; and that the very name of Abydo or Avido is unknown to the inhabitants of the place. But Le Brun assures us, that the streight at the old castles is only half a mile over, and that one of them is still called Sestos, and the other Abydos, or Avido: he adds, that this sea, where broadest, is but a mile and a quarter over, and half a mile where narrowest. Abydos was taken by the Turks, through the treachery of the governor's daughter, in the year 1330.

(R) Pliny (4) places not far from hence the tomb of Protefilaus, with trees set round it of a very extraordinary nature; for, when they are grown up to such a height as to be discovered from Troy, they begin to wither, and soon after die; then they shoot up again, and thrive till they are grown up to their former height, when they begin a-new to decay and wither; and this vicissitude of shooting up, and dying away has continued, says our author, ever since they were first planted; that is, since the death of Protefilaus, who, in the Trojan expedition, was the first among the Greeks that set foot in Asia, and the first that was slain.

(2) Voyage au Levant.

(4) Pliny, lib. xvi. cap. 44.

(3) Voyage d'Italie, &c.

the shore. There were scarce any remains of it to be seen in Strabo's time; and most of the ancient, as well as modern writers, confound the old and new Ilium. This new city, built nearer the sea-coast, was reduced to a village in the time of Alexander the Great, remarkable for nothing but a temple of Minerva, which that prince visited, after having defeated Darius on the banks of the Granicus, and enriched with offerings, bestowing ample privileges on the place, and honouring it with the title of city. He likewise ordered the buildings to be repaired, and the whole city to be embellished by Lyfimachus, one of his generals, who surrounded it with a wall of forty furlongs in circumference. It was again reduced to the condition of an inconsiderable village, when the Romans first entered Asia. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the ancient Trojans, no cost nor pains were spared to restore it to its ancient lustre, especially in the time of the Cæsars. Augustus sent thither a colony, embellished the city with many stately buildings, and enriched it with ample privileges and exemptions. Bellonius^m tells us, that in his time the walls were yet standing, with the ruinous monuments of their turrets; and that he spent four hours in compassing them, partly on horseback, and partly on foot. He observed round the walls a great many marble tombs of exquisite workmanship, with their covers entire. Two of these were still remaining when Mr. Sponⁿ visited those places; who informs us, that they were in the style of the ancient Romans, and not unlike those that are to be seen at Arles; whence he concludes them to be the remains of that Troy which was rebuilt by the Romans. Bellonius likewise observed the ruins of three great towers, one on the top of a hill not far from the shore, another about the middle, and the third at the bottom, with a great many large cisterns to receive the rain water. As to the so much celebrated rivers Xanthus and Simois, he calls them small brooks, and adds, that in summer, they are quite dry. But Sandys^o thinks they are not so contemptible. Spon^p observed on the south of the haven three columns lying among the briars, of which two were entire, and each of one single piece, being thirty feet long; the third, which was broken in three places, was thirty-five feet in length, and four feet nine inches in diameter; they were all three

^m Bellonius, lib. II. cap. 6.

^o Sandys, lib. i.

ⁿ Spon, ubi supra.

^p Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c.*

of granate. Le Brun^a speaks of great remains of a most noble structure, which he visited, at the distance of about five miles from the coast. The four gates of this great edifice, at that time entire, were about forty-five feet in height, and near them stood a wall of an extraordinary thickness, with fourteen gates of a competent size. The vestiges of this magnificent structure took up a hundred and thirty feet in length, and a hundred in breadth. Our author thinks, that these ruins may vie with any monuments of antiquity he ever saw. The harbour of Troy, so much spoken of by the ancients, is now quite choaked up with sand; however, there are still to be seen fragments of columns, to which they fastened their ships and galleys; and, as these were placed round it, Spon thinks, that the port was about a mile and an half in circumference.

Ruins to be seen at Troy.

Troas Alexandria was situated between the promontories of Lectum and Sigæum, and is named by Stephanus in the second place among the eighteen cities, which were so called from Alexander. It is sometimes named Alexandria without the appellation of Troas, and sometimes Troas without that of Alexandria or Alexandrea. Its first name was Antigonía, from its founder Antigonus, which was afterwards changed by Lyfimachus into that of Alexandria, in honour of Alexander^c. This is supposed to be the place meant by the apostle, Acts xx. 6. it being at that time the metropolis of the province; it lies now in ruins, and is called by the Turks Eske-Stamboul.

Troas.

Of the rivers that watered Troas, or Phrygia Minor, we shall only mention the Scamander and Simois. The first rises from Mount Ida, and, having received within its banks, not far from Troy, the Simois, discharges itself into the Ægean sea, over against the island of Tenedos. It is said, by Herodotus, to have been drunk up by the army of Xerxes. Its original name was Scamander; but it was afterwards called also Zanthus, because it was believed to communicate a yellowish tincture to the sheep that drank its waters^d. It was a custom among the Phrygian brides to bathe themselves before marriage in this river, using on that occasion the following words, "Receive, O Scamander, my virginity." Which opportunity one Cimon, an Athenian, taking hold of, under the dis-

Rivers.

^a Voyage du Levant. lib. xiii. p. 408.

^c Plini. lib. v. cap. 30. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 408. ^d Ælian. de Animal. lib. viii. cap. 21. Ubius Sequester de Fluminibus. Maxim. Tyrius, serm. xii.

guise of a river-god, deflowered Callirrhoe, a noble virgin, at that time betrothed, and thereby occasioned the abrogating that superstitious ceremony.

The Simois springs likewise out of Mount Ida, falls into the Scamander near Ilium, and discharges itself into the Ægean sea. Whatever these rivers were in ancient times, they are at present but small brooks, if the accounts of our modern travellers are to be depended upon.

Mount Ida.

Ida, the only mountain of this country that deserves notice, is rather a ridge of hills than a single mass; for it extends from the city of Zeleia, near the borders of Mysia Minor, to the promontory Lectum.

Soil and climate.

The soil of this district was anciently reckoned extremely fertile, producing whatever was requisite for the pleasures of life, and yielded to no spot that lay under the same happy parallel; nor at this day are there wanting signs of its fertility, though it is now in a great measure uncultivated and neglected. Our modern travellers describe the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont as a most beautiful and fertile tract of land, the hills covered with vineyards and olive plantations, and the vales productive of all sorts of grain[†].

Tenedos.

Over-against Troy lay Tenedos, about two leagues from the shore, and formed the Trojan harbour. It was first called Leucophrys, and afterwards Tenedos, from one Tenes or Tennes, who carried a colony hither from the continent. Tennes was son to Cynus, king of Colone in Troas, and described by Diodorus Siculus[‡] as a man of great probity and justice, greatly beloved by his subjects during his life, and adored by them after his death. Tennes, according to the tradition of the ancient inhabitants, was son of Cynus and Proclea, sister to Caletor, who was killed by Ajax in attempting to burn the ships of Protefilaus. Cynus, after the death of his wife Proclea, married Philonome; who falling in love with her stepson Tennes, and finding that she could by no means prevail upon him to comply with her incestuous desires, accused him to her husband, of having offered her violence. The evidence she produced in proof of her charge was a player on the flute. Cynus, giving more credit to his wife than to his son, caused him to be shut up in a chest, and thrown into the sea, which carried the chest safe to the island we are speaking of, where Tennes was received as sent by the gods, and with loud acclamations pro-

Tennes gives name to the island.**His adventures.**

[†] Tournefort, ubi supra.

[‡] Diod. Sicul. lib. v.

claimed king. Some writers tell us, that his sister, who was named Hemithea, not caring to survive her brother, was at her own request locked up with him in the chest. Some time after Cynus, being convinced of his son's innocence, failed to Tenedos to implore his pardon, and express the concern he was in for so hasty and inhuman a resolution. But Tennes, instead of receiving him, went to the harbour, where, with a hatchet, he cut the cable which fastened his father's ship to the shore. This hatchet was carried by Periclytus, a citizen of Tenedos to Delphos, and there lodged in the temple of Apollo. The Tenedians caused two others to be made resembling this in shape and size, which they consecrated in the temple of their city. These adventures gave birth to two famous proverbs among the ancients (S).

SECT.

(S) One is Τενιδιῶν αὐλητής, that is, *the Tenedian player on the flute*, a saying used by the ancients to reproach a false evidence. The other, Τενιδιῶν ἀξίαντες, that is, *the Tenedian ax*, an expression used to signify a quick and unalterable resolution. Aristotle, cited by Stephanus, explains this in a different manner. He says, that a king of Tenedos having enacted a law forbidding adultery on pain of death, the first that transgressed this law was his own son, who was therefore beheaded with an ax. Stephanus adds, that the heads of the two lovers, back to back, were represented on the medals of the island, and on the reverse the ax with which they were beheaded. It is certain, several medals of this kind have been found in that island. Some take these two heads to be those of Tennes and his sister Hemithea, others of Jupiter and some Amazon, who might have founded a city in Tenedos. The ax on the reverse was the instrument used by the inhabitants

in the execution of their criminals. Suidas tells us, that Tennes, after he was settled on the throne of Tenedos, ordered an officer to stand behind the judge in all public trials, with an ax in his hand, ready to strike off the head of such as should give false evidence; and hence Τενιδιῶν ἀν' ἄξοντες, Τενιδιῶν συνήγοροι, that is, *a man of Tenedos, an advocate of Tenedos*, were expressions used to signify a man or a judge of great severity. After the fall of Troy, the inhabitants were brought so low, that they gave themselves up to their neighbours. Tenedos was one of the first conquests of the Persians after the overthrow of the Ionians at the isle of Lada. It was reduced by the Athenians, or at least sided with them against the Lacedæmonians, since Nicolochus, admiral of Lacedæmon, ravaged this island, and raised contributions in it, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Athenian generals. The Romans enjoyed Tenedos in their turn; and the temple of that

S E C T. VI.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the Trojans.

Antiquity.

*From
whom de-
scended.*

THE inhabitants of Lesser Phrygia, or Trojans, so called from Tröy, the metropolis of that country, were, without all doubt, a very ancient people; but, as to their original, there is a great disagreement among authors. Some make them Samothracians by descent, others say they were Greeks, and tell us, that Teucer, according to them the first king of Troy, was by birth an Athenian, and lord of a village named Axonus. Some derive them from the island of Crete, from whence they suppose Phrygia Minor to have been peopled; but these are again divided among themselves as to the leader of this colony, some bestowing that honour on Teucer, others on Dardanus. Some will have them descended from the Arcadians, and there are not wanting writers who make them even come originally from Italy; which opinion, though destitute of all probability, was embraced by Virgil, as most redounding to the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the Romans in his days. Bochart^{*} thinks, that Lesser Phrygia was planted by Ashtenaz, Gomer's eldest son, because some appellatives of lakes, rivers, islands, cities, and men of that country, bear a resemblance to this name. But whoever were the first inhabitants of this country, it is certain that, in process of

^{*} Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 9.

town was plundered by Verres, who, as Tully informs us, carried away, to the great grief of all the inhabitants, the statue of Tennes, founder of the city. This island is about eighteen miles in circumference. It had one city, two havens, and a temple, dedicated to Apollo Sminthius. There are no ruins to be seen at Tenedos, except those of the granaries, which Justinian caused to be built as a repository for the corn that

was brought from Alexandria to Constantinople, lest it should mould on ship-board, the vessels being frequently wind-bound for a considerable time at the entrance of the Dardanelles. These magazines, as Procopius informs us, were two hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad (1). The muscate wine of this island is the most delicious of all the Levant.

(1) Procop. de Edific. Justin. lib. v. cap. 1.

time,

time, their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely, of Mysians, Samothracians, Greeks, and Cretans, who settled among them, and were reckoned of the same descent with the ancient proprietors.

As to their government, it was, no doubt, monarchical and hereditary; for, from Dardanus to Priam, we find the father constantly succeeded by the son, or the elder brother by the younger. Their country was at first, like most others, parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of Cycnus, Pandarus, Eurypylus, and other princes of small territories, within the limits of Lesser Phrygia ⁷. But all these were, in length of time, either expelled or made tributary by the Trojan kings; insomuch that Strabo ⁸ enumerates no fewer than nine small kingdoms, or principalities, subject to Troy, besides the island of Lesbos. And this is the true reason that protracted the Trojan war to such a length; for all these countries were to be subdued before Troy could be invested.

Government.

We have no particular system of their laws, and shall therefore pass to their religion.

As to the religion of the Trojans, it was, in substance, hardly different from that of the inhabitants of Greater Phrygia, which we have already described. Their principal deities seem to have been Cybele, or, as they styled her, "The great mother of the gods;" who, according to the common opinion, was brought into Troas, from Crete, by Teucer, lord of that island, and the progenitor of the Trojans ⁹; she was chiefly worshipped on the hills of Ida, Dindymus, Berecynthus, and Cybele, whence she borrowed her name; Apollo, who had a temple in the citadel of Troy, called Pergamus; Minerva, or Pallas, in whose temple was the famous Palladium, a wooden statue of this goddess, holding in one hand a buckler, and a spear in the other, so contrived as to move them, and, at the same time, roll her eyes in a threatening manner. We are told, that, while the Trojans were erecting a temple to Pallas in their citadel, this statue fell from heaven into it before it was covered. An oracle being consulted on this occasion, returned answer, that the city of Troy could not be taken so long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift; which response coming to the knowledge of the Greeks, Diomedes and Ulysses privately entered the castle, killed the guards, and, by bereaving the Trojans of their main defence, enabled the Greeks to take the city. All the

Religion.

The Palladium.

⁷ Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 408.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Virgil. lib. iii.

Roman writers assure us, that this Palladium was brought into Italy by Æneas, and lodged first at Lavinium, afterwards at Alba, and at last removed to Rome, and deposited there in the temple of Vesta, under the care of the Vestals and the Nautian family. The Romans universally believed themselves masters of the true Palladium, but could never shew how they came by it. For, to say that it was in Troy when the city was taken, is to deny its boasted virtue of rendering that city impregnable in which it was lodged. On the other hand, if it was stolen by the Greeks before they entered Troy, how could Æneas bring it into Italy (T)?

Venus also is counted among the Trojan deities; but as to Vesta, whom Æneas is said by the poets to have carried into Italy with his household gods, we find not any footsteps of worship paid her at Troy.

Among the other Trojan deities, we find mention made of Apollo Sminthius, so styled from the Phrygian word *fminthos*, signifying a *field-mouse*. We are told^b, that this sort of vermin made such devastation in the fields of Troas, that the inhabitants, finding all other means of ridding the country of them unsuccessful, had recourse to the oracle

^b Strab. lib. xiii. p. 415. Ælian. Vit. H. lib. iv.

(T) There is great variety of opinions among the ancients as to the Trojan Palladium. Some tell us (1), that a king of Phrygia Major presented Ilus with a pyed ox, warning him, at the same time, to build a city where the ox should lie down; that Ilus followed him, and, in the place where he lay down, built a city, calling it, from his own name, Ilium. They add, that Ilus, having desired Jupiter to signify his approbation by some visible token, he found the Palladium next morning before his tent. Others say that Chrysis, daughter of Pallas (2), marrying Dardanus, brought him the Palla-

dium as part of his fortune: that Dardanus first erected a temple in Samothrace to this and other deities, and afterwards took them with him into Phrygia on the Hellespont. Lycophron seems to insinuate, that the Palladium was a Phœnician goddess; for he calls Ulysses *Δελφινόσημον κλέπτα Φοινίκης Θεᾶς* (3). Johannes Antiochenus, Eusebius, and others, say, that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with a human skin. Julius Firmicus (4), Clemens (5), and Arnobius (6), tell us, that the Gentiles believed it was made of the bones of Pelops.

(1) Apollod. lib. iii.

(2) Rosinum Roman. Antiquitat. p. 147.

(3) Seldenus de Diis Syriis, Syntag. ii.

(4) De Errore Pro-

fanar. Religion. cap. 16.

(5) In Protept.

(6) Arnob. ad-

versus Gentes, lib. iv.

of Delphos, which answered, "That they should be delivered from that plague if they sacrificed to Sminthian Apollo." They obeyed the injunction, and erecting a temple in Amasito, a city of Troas, dedicated it to their deliverer under that appellation. Others^c allege, that the inhabitants of Troas worshipped mice for having, on a certain occasion, gnawed the bow-strings of their enemies, and thereby secured a complete victory to the Phrygians. The worship of Apollo Sminthius was introduced into Mysia, the isle of Tenedos, and other countries; for Strabo tells us, that a mouse was engraved at the foot of Apollo's statue, in a temple of Chrysa, a city of Mysia; to unfold the reason of his being surnamed Sminthian; he adds, that the statue was made by Scopas, a celebrated statuary of Paros. The same author, speaking of the isle of Tenedos, says, that it had one town, two havens, and a temple dedicated to Sminthian Apollo (U).

We can say nothing particular touching the customs of the Trojans, their civil concerns, or their arts and learning; they are celebrated by the ancients as one of the most polite and civilized nations of those days; and in the reigns of their later kings they rose to a very considerable pitch of splendor and magnificence. Their language was, in all likelihood, the same spoken by the inhabitants of Greater Phrygia; and, perhaps, in all that tract, which was afterwards known by the name of Asia Proper, the several nations spoke one and the same tongue, with some variation of dialect.

*Customs,
language,
&c.*

Their trade we can only guess at from their situation, which, very likely, drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffick in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and must have abounded in all things necessary for life, since it could support, for many years together, two very considerable armies, as we shall see in the following section. Their settlements in Thrace, in Peloponnesus, in Sicily, in Italy, in Egypt, and in Africa, are a convincing proof, that they applied themselves pretty early to trade and navi-

Trade.

^c Ptolema apud Clem. Protrept.

(U) Tournefort mentions two medals of Tenedos, one with Apollo's head, and under it a mouse, having on the reverse a two-edged ax; the other bears two heads, back to back; and, on the reverse, the same ax with two mice.

gation, which, in all likelihood, were the sources of the riches, splendor and power wherein they far excelled all the neighbouring states^d.

S E C T. VII.

The Reigns of the Trojan Kings.

TR O A S, or Phrygia Minor, was, in all probability, governed by kings before the reigns of Teucer and Dardanus; for Servius names, out of Nero's Troica, one Cynthius, king of Troas, long before Teucer. But the Trojan history of that epoch is either fabulous or altogether uncertain. It is no less uncertain which of the two above said princes reigned first, some writers giving the precedence to Teucer, and others to Dardanus. We shall follow the most common opinion, and begin with Teucer, without pretending to add any thing of our own, or entering into the merits of so perplexed an enquiry.

Teucer.

Teucer, the son of Scamander and Ida, that is, born in Phrygia, near the river Scamander and Mount Ida, ruled over all Troas or Phrygia Minor. He is said to have been very fortunate and successful in all his undertakings; but what they were we find no where specified. Having no issue male, he married his only daughter, by some called Basia, by others Asia, by others Aarisha, to Dadanus, settling therewith the crown of Phrygia on him and his descendants. Those who make Teucer a Phrygian by birth, suppose him to have come to the crown by lineal descent; and place Cynthius, whom we have mentioned above, among his ancestors; so that, according to these writers, Teucer was not the founder of the Trojan kingdom, but the last of a long series of kings prior to those of the Dardanian family, sprung from Dardanus and Basia. From Teucer the country was called Teucris, and the inhabitants were denominated Teucris (X).

^d Pausanias lib. ii. & v. Strab. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. x. Herodot. lib. iv.

(X) This is the opinion of truth, as any other could have, Diodorus Siculus, and, as we and very likely did not depart have hinted, the most common. from it in such things as no However, Virgil, who had as ways concerned Augustus, good means to come at the makes Teucer a Cretan (7).

(7) *Æneid.* lib. iii. ver. 104.

Teucer

Teucer was succeeded by Dardanus, the son of Corytus *Dardanus.* or Corythus, by Electra, the daughter of Atlas. Corytus was king of Samothrace, and had by Electra two sons, Iafius and Dardanus, and one daughter, named Harmonia. Dardanus succeeded his father in the kingdom of Samothrace, where he erected a stately temple, and instituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of Pallas and the other gods, whose statues his first wife Chryse had brought with her as part of her fortune. This piety, together with the many excellent laws he is said to have enacted on his accession to the crown, gained him the reputation of a wise, just, and religious prince, insomuch that Teucer, who was stricken in years, and had no issue-male, invited him into Phrygia, gave him in marriage his only daughter Basia, and appointed him his heir and successor to the kingdom of Phrygia; which, after the death of Teucer he ruled with the same equity and moderation. He waged war with the neighbouring states, namely, the Paphlagonians; and, as he was always successful, extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by considerable acquisitions. He built two cities; one he honoured with his own name, styling it Dardana, or Dardania, and this he chose for his royal seat: the other he called Thymbra, from Thymbraeus, one of his intimates. Having settled the civil concerns of the kingdom, and made many useful laws for the due administration of justice, which he looked upon as the basis of regal authority, he applied himself entirely to religious matters. The Palladium, or, as others will have it, the Palladiums (Y), were,

(Y) Some writers tell us, that Dardanus had with Chryse two Palladiums, or statues of Pallas, and that they were both of equal virtue, the oracle having promised that the city, in which either of them was kept, should never be liable to any disasters. Dionysius Halicarnassensis gives us the words, which the oracle was said to have uttered, and are the following:

Fata dabunt urbem, poteris qua condere sacra,
Cœlicolæque illic festis colere atque choreis.
Munera namque deæ servabis arce reposita
Palladis; hæc quoniam cæpit tua regia conjux,
Servatura tuam duris procul omnibus urbem.

One of these, say they, was stolen out of the citadel of Troy by Diomedes and Ulysses; but the other was brought by

Æneas into Italy. But Varro tells us, that the Palladium was brought to Rome by one Nautes; and adds, that the

were, by his orders, brought over into Phrygia; 'as for the other gods, which he had with his first wife, they were left in Samothrace till the death of his brother Iasius, who governed that island in the absence of Dardanus. This last had two wives, the first named Chryse, an Arcadian, who brought him two sons, Idæus and Dimas; the other Basia, who likewise bore him two sons, Zacynthus and Erichthonius. Idæus and Dimas, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis^e, inherited, in right of their mother, the territories of their grandfather in Arcadia, whence they led colonies into Asia, being forced to quit their own country by frequent inundations. Zacynthus planted a colony of Phrygians in an island of the Ionian sea, which, from himself, he called Zacynthus^f; and Erichthonius succeeded his father in the kingdom of Phrygia. As to his sister Harmonia, she married Cadmus, founder of the Theban kingdom, whom her brother Iasius had initiated in the mysteries of religion. Dardanus reigned in Phrygia sixty-four or sixty-five years, and was succeeded by his son

Erichthonius.

Erichthonius, who, treading in the footsteps of his father, was revered by his subjects, and greatly respected by all the neighbouring princes, with whom, as he was more inclined to peace than war, he carefully maintained a good understanding. The long quiet he enjoyed gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense riches, without burdening the subject with taxes and impositions. By his wife Aftyche he had but one son, named Tros. He reigned, according to some forty-six, according to others, seventy-five years; and, dying, left the kingdom of Phrygia in a flourishing condition (Z),

On

^e Dionys. Halicar. lib. i.

^f Ibid.

priesthood of Minerva was hereditary in his family. Others say that Diomedes, after the destruction of Troy, being driven by a storm on the coasts of Italy, and there ordered by an oracle to return the Palladium to the Trojans, sent it to Æneas by Nautes, one of Æneas's friends and companions.

(Z) Apollodorus tells us, that Erichthonius had an elder bro-

ther, by name Ilus, who died before his father, and a sister named Idæa, who married Phineus II. king of the Thracian Thyni. As the name of Erichthonius is entirely Greek, some have concluded from thence, that the Greek tongue began very early to prevail in Phrygia; which argument would be of no small weight, could they but prove, that Erichthonius was that prince's

On the death of Erichthonius Tros ascended the throne; *Troy.* and, in the very beginning of his reign, laid the foundation of a city, which soon became the most famous of all Asia. This grand work being at last finished, he invited all the neighbouring princes, except Tantalus, king of Sipylus, to assist at the solemn dedication of the new city. Why Tantalus was omitted we know not; but he highly resented such a contemptuous exception, as he called it; and, soon after, had a fair opportunity of shewing his resentment. For Ganymedes, a youth of extraordinary beauty, the darling of his father Tros, being sent by him with a splendid retinue, to carry presents of great value to Jupiter Europæus, in passing through the territories of Tantalus, was not only detained, but abused, by that vicious and impious king. This indignity the generous youth took so to heart, that he died soon after of pure grief. Neither did his father Tros long survive him; for the war which he made upon Tantalus, to revenge the affront offered to his son, proving unsuccessful, the affliction, which arose from thence, joined to the concern he was in for the loss of his favourite son, put an end to his days in the sixtieth, or, according to others, in the forty-ninth year of his reign. He had by his wife Acalide, or, as Apollodorus calls her, Callirrhoe, three sons, Ilus, Ganymedes, and Affaracus, and one daughter, by name Cleomestra, or, as Apollodorus will have it, Cleopatra. Hyginus, by mistake, makes Ganymedes son to Erichthonius. From this king Phrygia Minor borrowed the name of Troas, as its metropolis did that of Troy.

Cleomestra had but one son, called Lyræsus, father to Antenor. *Antenor.* As to Lyræsus, ancient history is quite silent; but Antenor is greatly commended for his prudence and wisdom. He was sent by king Priam ambassador into Greece to demand his sister Hesiene, whom Hercules, after taking Troy, had carried captive into Greece, and bestowed on Telamon, as a reward for his having been the first that mounted the wall of that city. The Greeks treated him more like a spy than an ambassador; where-

prince's original or Phrygian name, and not a Greek translation of it; for the Greeks, as Plato observes (1), used to translate foreign names into their own language, as the Egyptians did all Greek names into theirs. Some, finding a king of Athens bearing the same name, infer from thence, that the Trojans were originally Athenians. An opinion built on so slight a foundation is scarce worth refuting.

(1) In Atlantic.

upon, returning to Asia, he inflamed Priam and his sons against that nation. However, some time after, he not only entertained in his house the Greek ambassadors that were sent to demand Helena, but protected them against the treacherous attempts of Priam's sons, and found means to convey them safe out of Troy. He was sent into Greece on a second embassy, on which occasion he is commonly believed to have betrayed the trust reposed in him, and, some years after, to have betrayed the city itself; seeing that Priam would hearken to no conditions of peace, to which Antenor shewed himself mightily inclined after his last embassy. It is agreed on all hands that the Greeks, entering Troy sword in hand, shewed, in the height of their revenge, a tender and friendly regard to Antenor, having even caused the skin of a panther to be hung up before the door, lest, through mistake, any violence should be offered to his house or person by the greedy and incensed soldiery. Many, however, clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable construction on the kindness shewn him by the Greeks; saying, that they spared him merely in compliance with the laws of hospitality, which, in those days, were deemed sacred, even by the most savage nations. Of this opinion is Livy^c; and Virgil also seems to free him from all suspicion of treachery, saying, that he escaped falling into the hands of the Greeks^d. Be that as it will, the Trojans, that remained in the country after the destruction of Troy, were so prejudiced against him, that they obliged him to withdraw from Troas. At the same time the Heneti, being driven out of Paphlagonia, and forced to seek for new settlements, chose him for their leader in the room of their king Pylæmenes, who had been killed at the siege of Troy. With these, and a few Trojans, he put to sea; and, steering his course up the Adriatic gulf, landed in the country of the Euganei, lying between the sea and the Alps. There he resolved to settle; and, having driven out the ancient proprietors, and blended the mixt multitude of Heneti and Trojans under the common name of Veneti, he gave rise to a new nation. He raised a small town in the place where he landed, and called it Troy; and he is supposed to have built the city of Padua. Antenor had by his wife Theano, sister to Hecuba, and daughter to Cisseus king of Thrace, Aphidamus, Coon, Heliæon, Laodocus, Acamas, Archilochus, Polybus, Agenor, Laodamas, Demolcon, Glau-

*Whether he
betrayed
Troy.*

*He settles
in Italy.*

*His off-
spring.*

^c Decad. I. lib. i.

^d Æneid. lib. i. ver. 246.

cus, and Crino. Iphidamas was brought up in Thrace, under the care of his grandfather, and came to succour Priam and his country with twelve ships, which he left at Percope, marching by land to Troy, where he was slain by Agamemnon, whom he had engaged, and would, very likely, have conquered, had he not been less fortunate than brave¹. Coon, attempting to revenge the death of his brother, singled out, and dangerously wounded the same Agamemnon, but at last fell likewise by his hand. Heliakon married Laodice, daughter to king Priam. Archilocus and Acamas commanded, in conjunction with Æneas, the troops of Dardania. Agenor was a warrior of great prowess, attended Hector in his boldest undertakings, and was not afraid to encounter Achilles himself². The others are named by Homer, Pausanias, Calaber, &c. but performed nothing worth relating. Pindar³ tells us, that the sons of Antenor, after the destruction of Troy, joined Menelaus and Helena, and with them settled in Libya. But Eusebius says, that they reigned in Phrygia till the return of Hector's sons, by whom they were driven from the throne and the country. Perhaps some of them remained in Phrygia, and some accompanied Menelaus and Helena; among the latter were, according to Symmachus⁴, Glaucus, Acamas, and Hippolochus or Archilochus. As to Theano, Antenor's wife, Suidas and Cedrenus inform us, that she was the chief priestess of Pallas, and that she betrayed the Palladium to Diomedes and Ulysses, who were sent into Troy under the pretence of an embassy to king Priam. Let us now return to the succession of the Trojan kings.

Tros was succeeded by his son Ilus, who, pursuing *Ilus.* with great vigour the war which his father had begun, after many signal victories, drove Tantalus out of Asia, and possessed himself of his kingdom, which he annexed to the crown of Phrygia. Pelops, the son of Tantalus, after several unsuccessful attempts, was at last entirely routed, and forced to quit Asia, and follow his father into Greece. Byfnus king of the Bebryces, who had espoused the quarrel of Tantalus and his son Pelops, was likewise defeated, and, some say, killed in the engagement. Ilus, having thus revenged the affront offered to his brother, applied himself intirely to civil affairs, and is said to have made a great many useful laws for the regulation of public affairs. He enlarged and adorned, with

¹ Homer. *Iliad.* A. Pausan. in Phoc. ² *Iliad.* A. ³ *Pyth.* Od. v. ⁴ Apud Isaac. Tzetzem. p. 276.

*His two
sons, Titho-
nus and
Laomedon.*

many stately buildings, the city of Ilium or Troy. Plutarch informs us, that in his time the temple of Pallas being set on fire by lightning, he saved the Palladium out of the flames; but, on that occasion, lost his sight, which however, he afterwards recovered. Herodian informs us^a, that he called the place, where he defeated Tantalus, Pessinus, which name was afterwards given to a city built on that spot. He died in the fortieth year of his reign. He had by his wife Lucippe two sons, Tithonus and Laomedon. Tithonus, whom some believe to have been the son, and not the brother of Laomedon, was from his early years greatly addicted to hunting; by which manly exercise, having acquired a strong and robust constitution, he betook himself to a military life, and went to serve among the Assyrians, who in those days were a very warlike people, and thought to excel all other nations in the military art. His courage and conduct soon raised him to the first posts in the army, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was ranked among the Titans, or chief lords of the Assyrian monarchy, and made governor of Persia. Hearing that Phrygia was invaded by the Greeks, he obtained leave of Teutamus king of Assyria, who had a great value for him, to send his son Memnon at the head of a considerable body of chosen troops to assist his countrymen. But this expedition proved fatal to the father and to the son; for Memnon being slain by the Thessalians, Tithonus, already worn out with old age, was so grieved for his death, that he did not long outlive him. The comeliness of his person, his rising early in the morning, as he was a great sportsman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at last with grief, may have given rise to the many fables which the poets relate of him; but for these, and their explanation, we must refer the reader to Athenæus^c, Tzetzes^d, Natalis Comes^e, and other mythologists.

*Memnon
and Emathion,
the
two sons of
Tithonus.*

Tithonus had by his wife Cissia, or, as Diodorus calls her, Ida, two sons, Memnon and Emathion, and one daughter named Hemera. Memnon, being brought up under the discipline of his father, proved a brave, wife, and experienced commander. He served with great success in Egypt against the Ethiopians, who were become very troublesome neighbours to the Egyptians; for he routed and dispersed their armies, laid waste their country,

^a Lib. i.
in Cassandr. Lyc.

^c Athen. lib. xii. 6.

^d Natalis Comes, lib. vi. cap. 4.

^e Isaac Tzetzes,

and obliged them to pay an annual tribute to the Egyptians, who, out of gratitude, transferred it to Memnon, appointing him king over the country which he had subdued. In Ethiopia he built a city bearing his own name, and some make him likewise the founder of Abydos. Having thus distinguished himself in Egypt and Ethiopia, he returned to his father in Assyria, where he was set over part of Persia, in quality of satrapa or chief governor; and is said to have built in his satrapy the city of Susa; and another, to which he imparted his own name. To gratify his father, he marched at the head of twenty thousand Ethiopians, and the like number of other auxiliaries, to the assistance of king Priam. On this occasion he behaved with his usual bravery, and often put the Greeks to flight; but at last, falling into an ambuscade, was killed by Achilles at the head of the Thessalians. His body was rescued out of the enemy's hands; his obsequies were performed with great solemnity; and his ashes sent back to his father. Josephus places his tomb near Ptolemais in Phœnicia; but Pliny and Ælian say, that he was buried at Susa (A). The story of the vocal statue of Memnon near Thebes, in Egypt, is generally known. This, according to Pausanias, Eustathius, and Lucian, was broken in pieces by order of Cambyſes; but ever after, that part which remained on the pedestal, at the rising of the sun, yielded a sound like that of the string of a lyre or lute, when it breaks on the instrument by being drawn too tight. Eusebius seems to have credited this story; for, he says, that this miraculous effect ceased at the birth of Christ. Pausanias informs us that Memnon's sword was kept at Nicomedia; and produces it as an argument to prove, that the arms used by the ancients were of brass. Anticles, quoted by Pliny, says, that Memnon invented letters fifteen years before the reign of Phoroneus first king

* In Atticis.

(A) Pausanias tells us, that of Memnonian birds. These, as a cenotaphium, or empty tomb, on stated days, flocked to the tomb, cleared the ground, on was raised to him in the country of Troas, not far from the river of which it stood, of all rubbish; Afopus, which tomb, as the inhabitants informed him, was and afterwards, dipping their wings in the Afopus, sprinkled yearly visited by strange birds, it with the water of that known to them under the name river (2).

(2) Pausan. in Phœcis.

of Argos. Heliodorus * makes him the progenitor of the kings of Ethiopia.

Emathion, the other son of Tithonus, remained at home with his uncle Laomedon, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and Hercules. Probus the grammarian is of opinion, that Macedonia was from him named Emathia, and Justin mentions an ancient king of Macedonia bearing his name †. Romus, descended from one of the sons of Tithonus, was reckoned by some, as Plutarch informs us, among the founders of Rome ‡. As to Hemera, we know nothing of her, but what is related by the spurious Dictys now extant, whose history deserves no manner of credit.

Laomedon.

On the death of Ilus, Laomedon was placed on the throne, his elder brother Tithonus being at the same time employed in foreign wars. He built the citadel of Troy, being assisted therein by Apollo and Neptune; that is, he carried on the work with the treasures that were consecrated to them, and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are said to have happened in his reign, and a plague to have broke out, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. These were looked upon as punishments inflicted by the gods, whose temples he had plundered. He treated Jason, and the other Argonauts, who had landed on the coasts of Troas, in a very inhospitable manner, refusing to supply them with necessaries, and even threatening to attack them as enemies, if they did not forthwith return on board their ships, and quit the country. To revenge this affront, Hercules, who was one of the Argonauts, returned some time after with twelve galleys to Troy, which he besieged, took, and plundered. In this war Laomedon killed Oileus, a commander of great renown, but was himself not long after slain by Hercules, whom he engaged with more courage than caution. Laomedon had five sons, Tithonus, Lampon, Clytus, Iceaton, and Priam; his daughters were Hesiene, Cilla, Astioche, Antigone, Proclia, and Euthria. All his sons, except Priam, were killed in the war with Hercules. As to the daughters, Hesiene being taken by Hercules, was bestowed in marriage on Telamon, who treated her more like his concubine than his wife; which indignity Priam, who had succeeded his father, no sooner understood, than he sent Antenor into Greece to expos-

*Troy taken
by Her-
cules.*

*The de-
scendants of
Laomedon.*

* In Ethiop. lib. x. cap. x.
in Romulo.

† Justin. lib. vii.

‡ Plutarch

telate with Telamon, and to demand his sister Hefione. In the council of the princes of Greece, this embassy was heard with contempt, and the ambassadors were used in a manner no ways suitable to their character; and this contempt gave occasion, according to several writers, to the Trojan war.

Laomedon being slain by Hercules, Podarces, the only *Priam.* surviving son, who had been carried away captive with his sister Hefione, was with a great sum of money ransomed, and placed on the throne of his ancestors; and hence came the surname of Priam, which is derived from the Greek verb signifying *to redeem* or *ransom*. His first care, after his accession to the throne, was to encompass the city of Troy with a strong wall, to prevent such calamities as had happened in his father's reign. A mine of gold having been discovered, in the beginning of his reign, near Abydus, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works; for he is said to have embellished the city with stately edifices, towers, castles, and aqueducts. He maintained in constant pay a considerable army, reduced most of the neighbouring states, and was rather considered as sovereign of all Asia Minor, than king of Troas. He married to his first wife Arisba, or, as others call her, Alyxothoe, by whom he had but one son named Ætacus; but by his second wife Hecuba, daughter to Cisseus king of Thrace, he had Hector, Alexander or Paris, Deiphobus, Helenus, Polites, Antiphus, Hipponous, Polydorus, and Troilus; his daughters were Creusa, Laodice, Polyxena, and Cassandra. Besides these, he had many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty. Some writers say, that, being abroad when Troy was taken in the reign of his father, he was called home, and placed on the throne by Hercules, although some of his elder brothers were then alive.

The name of this king will be ever memorable in history for the war that happened in his reign between the Greeks and Trojans, a war famous to this day for the many princes of great prowess and renown that were concerned in it, the battles that were fought, the length of the siege, the destruction of that great city, and the endless colonies planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors. The cause of this fatal contest is agreed on all hands to have been the rape of Helen: but what encouraged Paris to such an attempt, and induced his father Priam to support him at the expence of so much blood and treasure, is not determined by

*The cause
of the Tro-
jan war.*

*According
to the an-
cients.*

by ancient writers. Herodotus * gives us, upon the authority of the Persian writers, a very unnatural and far-fetched account of this rape. He says, that the Phœnicians having ravished Io, the daughter of Inachus king of Argos, and carried her, with other Greek women, into Egypt, the Greeks, making use of reprisals, first carried off Europa, the king of Tyre's daughter, and afterwards Medea, daughter to the king of Colchos, refusing to restore either, till such time as they received due reparation for the rape of Io. Paris, adds Herodotus, in the next succeeding age, hearing of these adventures, was encouraged to ravish Helen, persuading himself that he should not be constrained to make any reparation, seeing others had escaped with impunity. But this whole account is quite frivolous, and foreign to the purpose.

*The most
probable
cause of
that war.*

It is most natural to think that Paris, in ravishing Helen, never thought of Europa, Medea, or Hesiônê; but, falling in love with her, as she was the most beautiful woman in Greece, was prompted by his own perverse inclinations, to do what in those days was commonly practised both by Greeks and barbarians. Thus Helen herself had been stolen before by Theseus; and the practice of stealing women was so common, as Thucydides informs us, that none durst venture to live near the sea-coast. The same historian tells us, that, as Helen was a woman of extraordinary beauty, her father, Tyndareus, after recovering her from Theseus, to prevent a second rape, obliged all her suitors, who were most of the princes of Greece, to bind themselves by a solemn oath to rescue her, in case she should be taken from her husband. This precaution being taken, he gave his daughter free choice of a husband, who preferred Menelaus to all the rest. According to this account, the oath, which so many princes had taken to Tyndareus, was what drew them together, and armed them against the ravisher and his abettors. To which obligation we may add the great power of Agamemnon, brother to the injured Menelaus, who, as he was by far the most potent prince of all Greece, so he had, without doubt, a great influence over the rest of his countrymen. Be that as it will, war against Troy was determined in a general assembly of all the princes of Greece; and this was the first enterprize the Greeks ever undertook with common consent. Before the assembly broke up, Agamemnon was appointed commander in

* Lib. i. cap. 1, 2, 3.

chief of the whole army; Ægium, a city in Peloponnesus, was fixed upon for the place of the general rendezvous; and each prince, as Greece was at that time divided into dynasties, enjoined to send his quota of troops and ships.

The best and most rational account we have of this great war, is that which we collect from Homer, whose inimitable performance ought not to be regarded as a mere fiction, or the result of a poetical imagination, but as a rich fund of the most ancient history of Greece (O).

Homer's poems the most ancient history of Greece.

The number of ships employed by the Greeks in this expedition, according to Euripides, Lycophron, and Virgil, amounted to a thousand; Homer enumerates one thousand one hundred and eighty-six; but Thucydides raises the number to one thousand two hundred. The Bæotian ships, that were the largest, carried a hundred and twenty men each; those of the Philoetæ were the smallest, and each manned with fifty; every man, the commanders excepted, was both a mariner and a soldier; so that, supposing the fleet to have consisted of one thousand two hundred sail, as Thucydides affirms, and the ships to have carried, one with another, eighty-five men, we shall find the Greek army amounted to one hundred and two thousand men; no great force, considering, that all the powers of Greece, except the Acarnanes alone, were engaged in this war. The Greeks, as Thucydides observes, could have raised a far more powerful army; but were afraid of being distressed for provisions in a foreign country*. Against this army the city of Troy held out ten years; but the Trojans, as Homer makes Agamemnon say, were not the tenth part of the enemies

Number of the ships and men sent against Troy.

* Justin. lib. xviii.

† Ubi supra.

(O) Dion Chrysostom (1), in an oration addressed to the Trojans, attempts to prove the siege and destruction of Troy by the Greeks to be an arrant fable, without any foundation of truth. But his performance is generally looked upon only as a witty essay, since the author elsewhere (2) disproves what he endeavours to prove here. And truly the siege and taking of Troy are transactions so well attested, and have left such a remarkable epocha in history, that no man of sense will call them in question.

(1) Vide Dyon. Chrysost. Orat. xi.

(2) Περὶ ἀκρόπολεως, p. 225.

which the Greeks had to contend with ; for all Phrygia, Lycia, Mysia, and the greatest part of Asia Minor, sided with the Trojans. Rhesus, king of Thrace, marched at the head of a considerable body to their assistance ; and Memnon, as we have said, joined them with twenty thousand Ethiopians and other troops. The Greeks, foreseeing the resistance they were likely to meet with, and how dear it would cost them to carry their point by dint of arms, before they began any hostilities sent Menelaus and Ulysses ambassadors to Troy, to demand Helen, and the treasures which Paris had carried off with her ; hoping that the fame of the vast preparations, which they had made, might frighten the Trojans into a compliance with so equitable a demand. What answer was returned to the ambassadors we know not ; but it is certain, that they returned without Helen, highly dissatisfied with their reception at Troy.

Helen, according to some, taken from Paris before he reached Troy.

Herodotus ^a, upon a tradition that prevailed among the priests of Egypt, seems inclined to believe, that Helen was taken from Paris before he could reach Troy. The tradition, as Herodotus, who learnt it of the priests themselves, informs us, amounts to this : Paris, on his return with Helen, was, by stress of weather, driven on the coast of Egypt, and forced to put in at Tarichia, on the Canopian mouth of the Nile. Here, some slaves of Paris's retinue, taking sanctuary in a temple of Hercules, which stood on the shore, informed against their master, aggravating before the governor of the province, by name Thonis, the injury which he had done to Menelaus. Thonis laid the whole matter before Proteus, at that time king of Egypt ; who finding, upon examination, the deposition of the slaves to be true, detained Helen, and the treasures that had been taken with her, in order to restore them to Menelaus ; but commanded Paris, after having severely reprimanded him for his crime, to depart the kingdom within the term of three days, on pain of being treated as an enemy. The Egyptian priests add, that, when the Greeks sent ambassadors to demand Helen, and her riches, the Trojans protested, that they were not in their power ; but in the hands of Proteus king of Egypt : this excuse the Greeks looking upon as a mere evasion, began the war ; at last, after having reduced the city, as Helen no where appeared, and the Trojans persisted in their former protestations,

^a Lib. ii. cap. 113, & seq.

they

they sent Menelaus into Egypt, where he was kindly entertained by Proteus, and had his wife restored to him, without any injury done to her person or effects. These things the Egyptian priests assured Herodotus that they knew for certain, as they had happened in Egypt, and had been handed down to them from those who had conversed with Menelaus himself. Herodotus produces one argument, of no small weight, to prove the truth of this tradition; namely, that if it had been in king Priam's power to restore Helen, he would certainly have done it, rather than suffer the unspeakable calamities that befel his family, his kingdom, and himself, during the course of the war. How great soever his tenderness for Paris might have been, yet it could not be proof against so many misfortunes. Homer seems not to have been ignorant of the tradition of the Egyptian priests; for he mentions Paris and Helen's arrival in Egypt; and says, that Menelaus went thither before he returned home to Sparta, which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleasure. Whether the Trojans would not, or could not, restore her, the ambassadors, on their return, highly complained of the treatment they had met with; and with their complaints so incensed their countrymen, that they resolved, without further delay, to put to sea, and carry fire and sword into the enemy's country (K). They steered to the coast of Troas, where, on their landing, they met with so warm a reception, that they began to be sensible of the difficulty of the enterprize. In the first encounter they lost Proteusilaus, who was slain by Hector, together with many others of less note. However, they gained ground enough for their encampment. But what most of all retarded their progress was want of provisions, which daily increased, and was owing partly to their numbers, partly to the smallness of their vessels, which, as the building of ships with decks was not then introduced,

*The Greeks
land in
Troas.*

(K) Calchas, a famous soothsayer, without whose advice and approbation nothing was undertaken by the Greeks during the war, declared, that the goddess Diana opposed their passage with contrary winds; and that she was to be appeased with a victim of no smaller note

than Iphigenia daughter to Agamemnon. The goddess, say the poets, was incensed against that monarch, for having killed by chance one of her stags; but, after all, pitying the innocent young virgin, she prevented so horrid a sacrifice by putting a hind in her room.

could not carry such stores of provisions as were necessary to supply the army. Wherefore, they were obliged to divide their forces, sending a part of them to cultivate the ground in the Thracian Chersonesus, and part to rove about the seas for the relief of the camp. All writers, whether poets or historians, agree, that the Greeks employed the first eight or nine years in scouring the seas, pillaging the coasts, and reducing such cities and islands as sided with the Trojans. Hence, in the poets, we read of many towns taken, islands plundered, strong-holds raised, and numbers of people carried into captivity by Achilles, whom the army could not well have spared, had there been any service of importance to be performed before Troy (L).

At last the several detachments that had been dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries and islands, being joined in one body, and great store of provisions brought into the camp, they approached the city with a design to exert their utmost efforts, and put an end to so tedious a war. But by this time the Trojans had been reinforced with considerable bodies both of mercenaries and allies, insomuch that, when the Greeks first invested the town, Hector attacked them at the head of an army scarce inferior to theirs in number. The Greeks had not been long before the city, when a plague broke out in their camp, which Homer says was sent by Apollo, because Agamemnon refused to release the daughter of one of his priests; but Heraclides on this passage informs us, that it was occasioned by the violent heats, and pestilentious vapours raised by the sun, the Greeks being encamped among fens and marshes. The plague was followed by a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles; for Agamemnon, being obliged by the soothsayer Calchas, to return his fair captive to her father, a priest of Apollo, to appease that revengeful deity, took Briseis in her room, who, in the division of the booty, had fallen to Achilles. This affront Achilles revenged by withdrawing his forces, and retiring with them on board his vessels. In his absence, several battles were fought with great slaughter on

*A plague
in the Gre-
cian camp.*

*Quarrel
between A-
chilles and
Agamem-
non.*

(L) Ovid says, that, from the first year to the tenth, there was no fighting at all; and Herodotus tells us, that the Greeks did not sit down before Troy till the tenth year, contenting themselves with laying waste the enemy's country, and blocking up the city.

both

both sides, the victory generally inclining to the Trojans. In one of these, Patroclus was slain by Hector; but his death was not long unrevenged; for Achilles, returning to the camp, put the Trojans to flight, and revenged the death of his friend by killing Hector himself. Achilles did not long survive him, being slain with an arrow by Paris. Thus fell many of the chief leaders on both sides; but the Greeks at last carried the city, whether by force, stratagem, or treachery, is uncertain. All writers agree, that it was taken by night: some say, that Æneas and Antenor, who commanded the Dardanians, seeing that Priam would hearken to no terms, even after the death of Hector and Paris, concluded a separate peace with the Greeks, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horse; which fable, some think, derives its birth from the Greeks entering the city by the Scæan gate, over which was the picture or statue of a horse. Perhaps they entered the town through a breach made in the wall by some wooden engine, called a horse, and in the nature of that which the Romans in after-ages made use of to batter the walls, and from its shape called a ram. Be that as it will, the Greeks having at last mastered the city, practised all the cruelties and abominations which a cruel, hungry, and enraged enemy can be guilty of. The city was laid in ashes, and such of the inhabitants as had not time to save themselves by flight, were either put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, or carried by the conquerors into captivity. Thus ended the kingdom of Troy, after having stood from Teucer to Priam two hundred and ninety-six years, according to the common computation. This city is said to have been taken the twenty-fourth day of the month Thargelion, or April, one thousand one hundred and eighty-four years before Christ, and four hundred and eight before the first Olympiad.

Many of
the leaders
killed on
both sides.

Yr. of Fl.
1164.
Ante Chr.
1184.

Troy taken.

The Greeks, having at last finished the war, divided the booty, and put to sea, in order to return to their respective homes; but met with a variety of adventures, many of them being driven on far distant coasts. Mnestheus king of Athens died at Melos. Teucer, the son of Telamon settled in Cyprus, where he built a city, calling it Salamis, from the chief city of his own country which bore that name. Agapenor, who commanded the Arcadians, built in the same island the city of Paphos. Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, settled in Epirus, and there built Ephyra.

Adventures
of the
Greeks af-
ter the tak-
ing of the
city.

Ephyra. Ajax, the son of Oileus, was lost. Some of the Locrians were driven on the coasts of Africa; others sailed to Italy, whereof all the east part was called Magna Græcia, on account of the many towns built there by the Greeks. Many, who got safe home, were obliged to put to sea again, as Thucydides informs us, in quest of new seats, others having seized their territories, and usurped the sovereignty, during their absence. Agamemnon and his brother Menelaus disagreed, when they were upon the point of weighing anchor to return home; and their quarrel divided the whole fleet, some sailing with Menelaus to the Island of Tenedos, and others remaining with Agamemnon on the coasts of Troas. Those who followed Menelaus, not agreeing among themselves, parted, each holding his own course homewards. Agamemnon arrived safe at Mycenæ, where he was, soon after his arrival, murdered by his wife Clytemnestra; which his son Orestes revenged by putting to death Clytemnestra, Ægisthus her gallant, and Helen their daughter; for which he was tried and acquitted by the Arcopagus. The adventures of Ulysses are related by Homer in a fabulous manner; but what may have some foundation in history, is, that some years passed before he reached Ithaca. The adventures of the other Greeks are less known; but upon the whole, it appears, that this war proved no less fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

*And of the
Trojans.*

As for the Trojans, those who escaped the general slaughter, seeing their country utterly ruined, took their measures accordingly, and settled in distant regions. Antenor, as we have said already, established himself in Italy, and founded the nation of the Heneti. Helenus, one of Priam's sons, settled in Macedonia, where he built the city of Ilium. Some say, that during the siege, he went over to the Greeks, and informed them in what manner they might easily master the city.

Æneas.

All the Roman writers assure us that Æneas settled in Italy, and there founded the kingdom of Alba. From him the Cæsars affected to derive their pedigree. Livy alone seems to betray some sort of doubt as to this particular, insinuating, with a great deal of reserve, that he has not sufficient grounds either to admit or reject the common opinion. But, notwithstanding the unanimous consent of the Latins, there are not wanting arguments of great weight, which the learned Bochart^b has carefully

^b Bochart. *Epist. Utrum Æneas unquam fuit in Italia?*
collected,

collected, to prove the arrival of Æneas in Italy to be a mere fable.

The city of Troy being utterly ruined, and most of the inhabitants of Troas put to the sword, some writers tell us, that the neighbouring Phrygians and Lydians possessing themselves of that country, settled there; and that Troas from that time began to be called Phrygia; others are of opinion that Æneas, having gathered together the scattered remains of the Trojans, rebuilt the city; and that his descendents, and the descendents of Hector, reigned there till the country was subdued by the Lydians, who became so powerful as to over-run all Asia Minor. If the Trojans had any kings of their own, after their city was destroyed by the Greeks, they very probably made but an indifferent figure, since they are not even named in history.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.





